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ALBERT S. COOK AND GUSTAF E. KARSTEN

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# THE GENDER OF ENGLISH LOAN-NOUNS IN NORSE DIALECTS IN AMERICA;

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF GRAMMATICAL GENDER.<sup>1</sup>

## CORRECTIONS.

In the article entitled "The Gender of English Loan-nouns in Norse Dialects in America" in the last number of this JOURNAL, pp. 1-31, several misprints occur, due to the fact that the last proof failed to reach me. On page 12, line 8, correct § 21 to p. 30, and in line 21 correct p. 23, § 19 to § 20. On p. 15, l. 2 in foot-note, 'scoundel' should be 'scoundrel.' On p. 19 change *Meaning Associations* to II. MEANING ASSOCIATIONS at the bottom of the page. On p. 21, l. 9, for *Grümmär* read *Grümmær*. P. 22, l. 8, for § 20, p. 25, read § 22. P. 24, l. 14 b., for pp. 13-14, §§ 7-10, read pp. 14-17, §§ 7, 8, 9, 10, and 12. P. 26, l. 14, §§ 9, 12, and 13 should be §§ 9, 10, and 12.

G. T. F.

primitive man lived constantly on elevated heights of fancy and imagined all objects about him as possessing life and endowed with human attributes. This poetic view of the origin of gender was born in the imagination of the poet Herder. That it should appeal to the romantic mind of Jakob Grimm we can understand. It is due to his formulation and most skilful presentation that Science has so long been led to accept so fanci-

<sup>1</sup>The main part of this article was given as a paper before the Modern Language Association of America, at the meeting in Baltimore, Dec., 1902. The paper was presented under the auspices of the American Dialect Society and was read by Professor O. F. Emerson.

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## THE GENDER OF ENGLISH LOAN-NOUNS IN NORSE DIALECTS IN AMERICA;

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
GRAMMATICAL GENDER.<sup>1</sup>

§ 1. **I**N the domain of comparative grammar no subject is of greater interest than the origin of that mysterious grammatical mechanism known as noun gender. It is clear that the old theory, first suggested by Herder and supported by Adelung but most closely associated with the name of Grimm, and widely accepted among scholars even down to our own day, must be given up. This theory has again found recent support in a most able and enthusiastic exposition by Roethe in his introduction to the new reprint of Grimm's Grammar (1890). According to this, grammatical gender owes its origin to the creative fancy of primitive man. The substance concept, which found linguistic expression in the noun, primitive man individualized and personified and then further endowed with the chief characteristic of persons, sex. Every noun-concept was then supposed to have had in itself a certain something which left upon the primitive mind an impression of masculinity or of femininity, from which would follow the subsequent sexualization. There is pictured to us then a golden age in which primitive man lived constantly on exalted heights of fancy and imagined all objects about him as possessing life and endowed with human attributes. This poetic view of the origin of gender was born in the imagination of the poet Herder. That it should appeal to the romantic mind of Jakob Grimm we can understand. It is due to his formulation and most skilful presentation that Science has so long been led to accept so fanci-

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ful an explanation of the origin of gender. Brugmann has shown<sup>1</sup> that such a view is contradictory to the known facts of gender, that the idea of masculine or feminine sex is in the historical period nowhere connected with grammatical gender. The contradictions between sex and grammatical gender are numerous in all Indo-European languages. Epicene nouns afford added evidence. Furthermore there is variance of gender not only between language and language but also between the different dialects of a single language. Michels has shown<sup>2</sup> that personification could not have generally taken place. Still less, then, could sexualization have taken place. He has furthermore proved that there were present in the time when gender originated a number of noun concepts that were not even individualized, where personification, then, could not take place. Roethe adduces evidence from the personifications of Mythology.<sup>3</sup> But here we have to do with objects that were distant, unknown, incomprehensible to the mind of early man, and hence calculated to excite his wonder. We have, then, here the necessary conditions. Such personification of, for instance, the sun, the moon, or thunder, we observe in uncultured peoples of to-day. But so far from these proving the theory, they are rather exceptions proving the rule that personification and sexualization of all inanimate objects did not and could not have taken place in primitive times. Brugmann emphasizes the fact that the theory places a barrier between the present and the past which Science cannot recognize.<sup>4</sup> It is from the known that we must proceed to the unknown. It is from the study of the nature of gender in history that we must expect to find the solution of the question of the nature of gender in early times. We must assume that the nature of gender was not essentially different then from what it has been in the historical period. We must apply to the unknown the laws and principles deduced from the

<sup>1</sup> *The Nature and Origin of the Noun-genders in the Indo-European Languages*. A lecture delivered on the occasion of Sesqui-centennial celebration of Princeton University. Translated by E. Y. Robbins, Chas. Scribners, N. Y., 1897.

<sup>2</sup> 'Zur Beurtheilung von Jacob Grimms Ansicht über das grammatische Geschlecht.' *Germania* 36, (1891), pp. 121-135.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction to *Grimms Deutsche Grammatik*, 1890.

<sup>4</sup> P. 12 and following of the work cited.

study of the known. Brugmann's theory I may briefly state as follows: The rise of grammatical gender is closely linked with certain form-groups in primitive nouns. The first gender to develop out of these was the Feminine which is explained in this way: The original function of the *ā*-suffix was to form abstracts and collectives. We can imagine *equā* formed from *equos*, the latter meaning 'horse' in general, and *equā* 'that which characterizes horse' or 'a drove of horses.' *Equā* then developed to mean 'the flock of mares' out of which came the concrete meaning 'mare.' This process of meaning-change is illustrated in the German *Huhn* originally a generic term, then 'the flock of hens' as opposed to *Hahn*, from which came about later the concrete application. The Indo-Germanic word for woman *guenā* (Gothic *qinō*, Old Norse *kona*) can originally have meant 'bearing,' 'parturition,' out of which came the application of the word to 'the animal that bears.' Such change from the abstract to the concrete is seen in the German *die Schönheit* and English *youth*. This *ā*-suffix did not originally have any feminine signification, but later assumed that signification by reason of its presence in a few feminines. After it had received this meaning the feminine association was readily transferred to other words ending in *ā*. Not until the *ā*-suffix had assumed this new function did the *-o-s* stems develop the idea of masculinity by contrast. When finally the *ā*-suffix became productive and could attach itself to new stems with this new meaning a feminine gender-class was formed. This theory was first presented by Brugmann in 1888,<sup>1</sup> was accepted and further developed to include the *īz*-suffix class by Victor Michels in 1891 in *Germania* (36), pp. 121-136. In his Princeton address Brugmann presented his theory anew with admirable clearness and accepted the modifications of Michels. Contrary to Grimm's theory then, (grammatical) gender is shown to be the prior and sex (gender) the posterior.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Das Nominalgeschlecht in den indogermanischen Sprachen,' in *Techmers Internationale Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* iv, 100 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> On this Brugmann's position is supported by the evidence of non-Indo-European languages and languages that are in a primitive state of development. In the American Indian languages grammatical gender as we know it does not exist. Nevertheless there are classifications and grammatical cate-

Thus it is seen that even the personifications of mythology are not an evidence for the older theory but are explainable by the new. It was the feminine idea inherent in the ending  $\bar{a}$  which made *Luna* a goddess and not a god. So in Greek  $\gamma α ῖ α$ , 'Earth' is a goddess. For the same reason Greek  $\bar{\upsilon} \pi \nu ος$  'Sleep,' became a god. It is then the grammatical form of the noun through the impulse of analogy that decided the gender. So in Germanic mythology 'Night' is a goddess because the appellative was a feminine noun, not because of any characteristic inherent in the concept.

§ 2. Wheeler's theory which is presented in detail in *The Journal of Germanic Philology* 2, (1899), pp. 528-543 was first outlined in 1889.<sup>1</sup> Wheeler calls attention to the inadequacy of Brugmann's theory. That while proving the untenability of the older view it offers nothing that is final by way of a substitute. It make no provision for isolated stems not members of a well-defined suffix class. The  $\bar{i}$ -suffix class of feminines is not explained for the process of feminization in a new ending  $\bar{i}$  is not likely after the  $\bar{a}$ -suffix had assumed this function. Wheeler has shown a weakness in Brugmann's view. We are the more ready to follow Wheeler in the development of his theory when we bear in mind that the slender thread that connects the  $\bar{a}$ -class of nouns with the feminine gender is the presence of one or two nouns in  $\bar{a}$  that denoted females. The negative conditions are present. The reasons offered are, however, by no means con-

gories of a primitive type. In the Catawba language which is devoid of all signs of inflexions for gender, there is variation in the use of the demonstrative pronoun based on the idea of nearness to or distance from the speaker. ('Grammatical Sketch of the Catawba Language,' in *The American Ethnologist*, Vol. 2, No. 3, (1900) p. 527 sqq). The classifications in the Indian languages are quite generally into the animate and the inanimate as in Dakota and Cherokee, or into higher and lower classes. (H. Winkler, *Weiteres zur Sprachgeschichte*, Berlin, 1889, p. 4-9.) That is, there is here a sort of figurative gender division, cf. for instance the African Il-Oigob manner of designating a large or a small object by prefixing *ol*=large, or *en*=small, e. g.: *ol-alem*=large knife, *en-alem*=small knife, and cf. with this the real gender function of these prefixes in *ol-Oigob*=Oigobman and *en-Oigob*=Oigob woman. Winkler pp. 53-54. Nor do the ural-altaic languages have any fixed, well-developed mechanism for designating gender (Winkler, p. 13.). Grammatical gender is only present in the most highly developed languages.

<sup>1</sup> 'Grammatical Gender' in *Classical Review* 3, p. 390 sqq.

clusive. When we consider that there were present nouns in *os* denoting a female we may even say that the probability has not been established. Wheeler's theory seems to me to be open to the least objections. Furthermore it is the one to which the evidence of modern analytical languages and especially genderless dialects point, and here it seems to me we have most favorable conditions for a study of the question. Wheeler's theory<sup>1</sup> is that the development of grammatical gender in the noun has been determined by the inflexions of the pronoun. He points out the fact that gender was originally indicated in the Indo-European languages neither by the verb nor the noun, so we must expect to find its origin in the pronoun or the adjective, that it is in the pronoun that we find the opportunity for the emergence and development of categories distinguishing sex-gender and in the gender-forms of the pronoun the possibility for forming groups of words among the nouns. The English language which has lost its grammatical gender is a perfect illustration of dependence upon the pronouns for special mechanism in the indication of sex. Epicene nouns have gender only as indicated by the pronoun. The sex-gender inherent in the pronoun created a concord of the adjective and grafted itself upon those suffixal classifications of the noun which as a result of this process of engrafting have come to exhibit the phenomena of grammatical gender. The concord between pronoun and noun was established by means of the adjective as attested by the concord of the adjective (*-os*, *-ā*, *-om*). The adjective however in its original inflexion agreed with the pronoun rather than the noun. But how is the origin of the gender endings accounted for? The pronoun *sā*, Skr. *sā*, Greek *ή* whose great age is indicated by its isolation from a system was the source of the *a*-ending. Another feminine pronoun I. E. *sī* (*syā*), Goth. *si*, O. Irish *sī* may furnish a clew to the origin of the feminine *ī(jā)*-suffix. This would then account for the rise of the feminine gender categories in *-ā* and *-ī*. The variety of causes that might have played a part in determining gender (i. e. in associating a particular pronoun with a particular word) it is of course now not possible to

<sup>1</sup> P. 535 sqq., of *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. 2.

determine. The isolated stems are not accounted for by Brugmann, nor is any explanation offered of the psychological process which came to attach an idea of grammatical gender—the feminine—to a particular noun-class as opposed to the masculine, except over the very narrow bridge of one feminine in *-ā*, *genā* (*guenā*). That the *s*-ending of the nominative originally had nothing to do with the denotation of grammatical gender is shown by the fact that nouns which had already developed a feminine gender retained the *s* in the third declension, and in nouns like ἡ ὁδός as also elsewhere. It is furthermore present in epicene nouns. The *ā*-form was grafted upon the adjective (and the noun-adjective) of the *-os* ending as a further and more precise denotation when an object of female sex was referred to by such adjective or noun-adjective; thus e. g. *sā leuquós*, *sā leuqā*, or *leuqā*. The *ā*-sign was not introduced into words that bore in themselves the means of precise denotation (hence *snusós*, 'daughter in law,' for example). When once the possibility of such modification of the adjective into *-os*, *-ā* *-om* had been established the noun easily became affected, that is the concord that had been established as between noun and adjective extended itself to the noun. An adjective in *-ā* might be used as a noun and the idea of femininity being inherent in the ending, becoming productive, would in time produce a gender category of feminine words in *-ā*. Other words in *-ā* would come to take on some connection with the idea of femininity. By contrast those in *s* would become masculines. The fact that the collective abstracts in *-ā* and the verbals in *-os* bore a parallel development to that of the she-nouns in *-ā* and the he-nouns in *-os*, (as *nevā*, *nevos*) aided in giving a quasi-feminine idea to the abstract-collectives. In its origin then as in its later history I. E. gender is a blending of two systems, the classifications depend partly on meaning and partly on form. Through their coherence the old form-classes which predominated developed into an organized system affected especially by the adjective concord which afforded greater precision. The idea of sex-gender was not then spontaneously developed out of the old form-classes which is Brugmann's view, but the form-classes are themselves the product of the concord in pronoun, adjective,



and noun for the purpose of preciseness in denotation brought about by the grafting of the pronoun ending upon the adjective and the noun and infusing this new life or gender-idea upon the old form-classes.

§. 3. The resultant identity of gender in isolated stems as well as in form-classes differing in form could only arise, it seems to me, by association with an outward symbol such as the demonstrative or the substitutory pronoun. Assimilation of gender in living languages is the result of the levelling tendency of external symbols. But why, it might be asked, should the feminine substitutory pronoun and not the masculine be associated with a particular noun or class of nouns? We can readily understand that there were present a variety of associations tending to determine gender, causes that it is not now possible for us to determine. Frequently it would depend upon the nature of the object. Often perhaps upon the subjective attitude. In so far as the associations might be different in different localities we can readily imagine that the same noun developed a different gender in different localities. Hence, then, the difference in gender of the same word in different I. E. languages. Words which fell into well-defined gender categories by reason of their ending were also less susceptible to fluctuation. Isolated stems would be more likely to fluctuate. Of the process of grafting of the demonstrative pronoun upon the noun we have in the historical period a perfect illustration in the post-positive article of the Scandinavian languages. This article, which is the outward gender symbol of the noun, comes in Old Norse from the demonstrative pronoun *hinn* masc., *hin* fem., *hit* neut., e. g. *boginn* < *bogi hinn*; *bokin* < *boki hin*, *skipit* < *skip hitt*. Of this well-known process in O. N. it is not necessary to speak further here. Furthermore it is clear that if we are dealing with the origin of gender the evidence of non-Indo-European languages that have grammatical gender should also be considered. The Indo-European languages are a highly developed family. In the inflexional languages the idea of gender pervades the whole system in highly developed gender categories. We shall expect to find that more primitive languages, as far as they have gender, will throw light on what must have

been the original method of indicating grammatical gender. These languages illustrate and, indeed, prove the correctness of the above theory. We find grammatical gender in the Semitic family, in the Hamitic languages, and in a primitive state in other non-Aryan groups. Gender is, we know, indicated in pronoun, adjective, noun, and verb. In the Semitic-Hamitic languages verb-gender is highly developed. Whether it ever existed in Indo-Germanic we do not know. The gender of noun, pronoun, and adjective is fully developed in these families. In method of classification and in gender designation there are many points of similarity between Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages. *Now wherever gender distinctions exist they exist in the pronoun. Where they are imperfectly developed they are best developed in the pronoun. Where they are in a developing state it is in the pronoun that the effort at gender differentiation is first evidenced.* In some of the South-Hamitic languages gender is indicated only in the pronoun. The American Indian languages do not have grammatical gender but in a few cases the distinction is made in the pronoun e. g. in the Timacua language of Florida—*oque*, 'he' *ya*, 'she'—(Henning, 414).<sup>1</sup> In the Hausa language of northwestern Africa the masc. and the fem. gender is indicated especially in the pronoun, only in part in the noun. (Henning, 406.)<sup>2</sup> The gender of the pronoun is shown whether used in place of a noun or standing alone, and not only in the third person, but also in the second person singular. In the Bongo language Henning, citing Lepsius, points out that the third personal pronoun distinguishes between masc. and fem., no further differentiation having developed. So also in the Silluk language of the Nile group. In Bari gender has developed in the demonstrative and the possessive pronoun. Abundant illustrative material is contained in Winkler's article. In the Kassia language, e. g., the

<sup>1</sup> I find also, after the above was written, that a similar gender distinction in the pronoun is made in certain native languages of Oregon and the coast to the North, Chinook, Kalapuya and Selish, as also among the Pomo of California where he is *mip*, she, *mit*, him, *mibal*, her *miral* (*American Anthropologist*, V, No. 1, Jan.-March., 1903, p. 15).

<sup>2</sup> Henning's article, *Kuhns Zs.* 1894, pp. 402-419, here cited sets forth in a clear and concise manner the evidence of these non-Aryan languages.

difference in gender is shown by means of a pronominal masc. and fem. article *u* and *ka*, (Winkler, p. 15). In the Singalese there is furthermore a pronominal neuter distinguished (Winkler, p. 17). An excellent illustration is offered by the Bari language, where the highly differentiated pronoun is transferred to the noun as an attached article and serves here to distinguish gender in the noun (Henning 409). And in the Hottentot group there is gender in noun, pronoun, and verb and in the second as well as in the third person. Here likewise the pronominal elements are attached to the noun with the function of an article. Witness the same process exactly noted above in Old Norse and in all the Scandinavian languages. In Swedish it is purely under the influence of the substitutory pronoun aided by favorable negative conditions, that the majority of nouns that were formerly masculine or feminine grammatically, are now no longer so but have coincided into a class by themselves thus forming a new gender category, the *reäl*-gender, the substitutory pronoun of which is *den*.<sup>1</sup> If we grant this theory to be in the main correct we have in the English language and in the Jutish dialect of Danish the best illustration of the original method of denoting gender. We may expect here to find illustrated what varying influences may be at work toward associating a masculine or a feminine substitutory pronoun with a noun. We have, then, first a period of primitive syntax in which the possibility of denoting gender lay exclusively in the demonstrative pronoun. Then the form-classes appear with the slow development of the gender categories until finally there is created a perfect concord of verb, noun, and adjective in gender, case, and number, the highly inflexional stage which is represented

<sup>1</sup>The gender fluctuation is nicely illustrated in the use of the pronoun for *snäcka*, in Runeberg's *Kungarne på Salamis*, Act 1, Scenes 3 and 4. In Scene 3 Rhaistes uses *den* regularly, e. g., *Här fanns snäcken; min altså den var. Jag tog den . . . . and . . . att jag erkänt nu din rätt till purpursnäcken, att mot mit förbud. min son den från dig tagit.* In Scene 4, in the speeches of Leontes and Rhaistes the substitutory pronoun is the feminine *hon*, e. g., *Jag ser ej flere än den ena snäcken, kan altså ej mot en annan mäta henne.* Rhaistes: *Just därför är hon den största, och som sådan är hon min.* Leontes; *Ja väl; men som den en-da är hon minst också, och som den minsta tillhör denne gubbe hon.* Rhaistes: *Om sa du menar, unna då oss dela den.*

by Latin and Greek. Then we have a stage in which there is partial obliteration of the gender category. This is represented by German of to-day which no longer has any gender distinctions in the plural or in the predicate-adjective. Inflexional endings are broken down and gender differences further obliterated. This period is represented by the analytic languages, first those in which there is not yet complete obliteration of the gender categories, as French and Danish, in the latter of which all gender distinctions have been lost except in the neuter singular. Second by English the most highly developed of analytical languages in which grammatical gender no longer exists.

§. 4. The study of the change and development of grammatical gender in the historical period we assume, in the main, to have been governed by the same principles as were present and operating in early times. The influences that operated in developing the gender categories at that time must have been largely the same as those we find have exerted influence on the change of gender in languages that we know. The study of the change of gender, then, is important for the question of the origin and nature of gender in general.<sup>1</sup> I believe also that the study of the development of gender in nouns loaned from another language will help to a solution of the larger question. Here we have before our very eyes as it were the process illustrated. A word that is borrowed from a genderless language like the English must, since it has no gender associations, establish these for itself in the language possessing gender into which it is borrowed. What are the causes that operate for this or that gender in such words? In the following pages it will be my aim to try to determine this for English loan-nouns in Norse dialects. The list of 475 nouns on which this discussion is based is intended to be an exhaustive list of nouns borrowed

<sup>1</sup> A most instructive contribution to the study of the change of grammatical gender is Michels: *Zum Wechsel des Nominalgeschlechts im Deutschen*, Strassburg, 1899. On the subject of change of gender from MHG. in particular to Luther see W. W. Florer's article: 'Gender-change from Middle High German to Luther, as seen in the 1545 edition of the Bible,' *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. 15, (1900), pp. 442-491, where excellent illustrative material is offered. A little too much influence is, it seems to me, here sometimes attributed to particular associations.

from English and in general use in the dialects of Utica and Stoughton, Wisconsin. Words that find only occasional use are not included.

§ 5. The Norse settlers of the locality where these words have been collected have come largely from the districts of Sogn, Telemarken and Numedal, Norway. The settlement dates back to 1839, being thus the oldest extensive Norse settlement in America.<sup>1</sup> The country had before been settled by Americans mostly of English descent, from western New York, and their coming dates back to about the year 1800. The occupation is chiefly tobacco farming, the two counties Dane and Rock forming the tobacco district of Wisconsin. A number of the loan-words then, are such as belong to the cultivation and packing of tobacco. Other produce are, corn, oats, barley, wheat, flax, and potatoes. The nouns collected are given in the form they have in the Sogn dialect though the variation in form for the other dialects is very slight being rather one of intonation than of phonology occasioned by the differences in the musical accent as between the three dialects named. The gender of nouns corresponds almost without exception in the dialects in the district represented, a noun that is masculine in one is in nearly all cases masculine in the others. There is also very little fluctuation in gender in any one dialect. In fact the gender of English loan-words, as given in this list is found to correspond very closely to that which they have in Norse dialects in other Norwegian settlements in America. Lists of words from other settlements show, however, a slightly larger proportion of feminines (see below). The close agreement in gender is explained by the fact that in the various dialects the conditions have been the same and the genderizing influences very much the same. Of course not the same words have been borrowed everywhere, so that lexicographically the differences may even be considerable. This consideration might account in part for certain slight differences in the proportion of masculines, feminines, and neuters in different localities. As regards fluctu-

<sup>1</sup> See *Dialect Notes*, Vol. 2, Part 4, pp. 257-259. My list of loan-words is printed there, pp. 260-269; list A includes the nouns on which this article is based.

ation in gender only seven nouns may be either masculine or neuter (leaving out of account mass-words), two are either masculine or feminine, not any fluctuate only between the feminine and the neuter, one may be masc. fem. or neut. There seems to be far more fluctuation in the gender of English loan-words in German in this country.<sup>1</sup> Of these 475 nouns, 341 are regularly masculine. 34 more are masculines with certain limitations to be specified in § 21 below. 78 are neuter and only 22 are feminines. Omitting the 34 words just referred to from the list of masculines, 71 per cent of the whole are masculines, 16 per cent are neuters and 5 per cent are feminines. The proportion of neuters corresponds almost exactly to the proportion of neuters among English loan-words in literary Danish, which is 15 per cent of a list of 240 words as shown by Professor Dodge in an article on the subject in *Americana Germanica* II. 27-32, 1897. The latter, however, makes no attempt to account for the causes that have determined gender, except in a few cases and then on the basis of the influence of native synonyms, which is only one of a variety of influences that have operated, and often, as in these Norse dialects, a minor influence as I shall show below (see especially p. 23, § 19.) In Old Norse approximately 41 per cent of nouns are masculines. 31 per cent are feminines, and about 28 per cent are neuters. These figures are based on an examination of about 5000 words. In modern Norse dialects, according to Aasen, the proportion of neuters seems to be a trifle less 27 per cent, with perhaps a very slight increase in the feminines. There cannot, then, be said to be any tendency away from the neuter gender in Norse, a tendency that certainly is present in Danish. In modern Danish only about 21 per cent of all nouns are neuters (cf. 28 per cent for O. Norse above, which corresponds to the proportion in Old Danish of course), and of words that have come into Danish from English only 15 per cent assume the neuter gender

<sup>1</sup>Of the 392 loan-words listed in Wilson's article on 'The Grammatical Gender of English Words in German,' *Americana Germanica*, 1899, seventy-four or nearly 29 per cent fluctuate in gender. This however represents literary German. The proportions might vary considerably in the dialects in this country.

(so in Dodge's list). This falling off among the neuters is due to the levelling influence of the common gender in Danish. While Danish dialects in general distinguish between a masculine and a feminine gender, the Jutish dialect has lost even the distinctions of the neuter gender, and, like English, has no longer any grammatical gender, thus pointing out the direction in which the Scandinavian languages are tending.

In the list of English loan-nouns in Norse dialects in America the great majority are masculines, while only 5 per cent are feminines. What are the causes that have brought about such a preponderance of masculine nouns over against the feminine gender? The development of the gender in these words is due to a variety of associations, some of which are well-known and everywhere operating in the change of gender, others are peculiarly Scandinavian, these latter being also preëminently masculinizing influences. These associations I shall consider under two heads—Sound-Associations, and Meaning-Associations.

#### I. SOUND- OR FORM-ASSOCIATIONS.

§ 6. When a new word comes into a language possessing grammatical gender it will, since it now must assume gender, immediately become subject to the gender influences or associations present in the language into which it comes. If such a word, by reason of its form, becomes associated with a class of words of a particular gender, such form-association is a very powerful influence toward fixing upon the new word the gender of the class. If this form-association is that of an ending which is regularly connected with a certain gender, a new word possessing that ending is very likely to fall into that particular gender category. There are in Norse dialects five endings that have fixed gender associations, namely (*e*)*ri*, *-tion*, *-el*, *-er*, *-ing*. The endings *ment*, *sel*, *i*, and *st*, are less fixed and have had less influence in determining gender in loan-words.<sup>1</sup> The nouns will here be taken up under separate endings.

<sup>1</sup>The feminine endings *-a*, *-d*, and *heit*, the masculine endings *dom*, *else*, and the neuter endings *-maal* (*maul*), and *-skap* do not occur in the loan-nouns and hence need not here be considered.

*Nouns in -(e)ri.*

§ 7. This is in Norse a very common neuter gender ending. Thirteen loan-nouns have this ending, eleven of which are neuters, namely: *baundri*, *bottri*, *fäkttri*, *faundri*, *grénri*, *køntri*, *krakəri*, *krimri*, *painri*, *päntri*, and *stëshänäri*. In the case of *køntri* and *krimri* the gender may also be due in part to the synonyms *Land* and *Mjelke-hús*. The word *stëshänäri* might have called up the Norse *Skrive-papir* which is neuter. The two words that are not neuters are *jári* and *histəri*. *Jári* is a newspaper word of the common gender, the ending of which is the same as that of the masculine gender in the dialects. The word has, furthermore, probably come into the dialects through the newspapers which would then account for the gender in the dialects. *Histəri* belongs to a class of masculines that are functionally associated, the other words of the class being: *äldzäbra*, *dikshänäri*, *dzogräfi*, *grämmär*, *rídar*, and *ritmätik*. The masculine gender of this class is primarily due to the influence of the literary language, On *säləri* and *laibräri* see below.

*Nouns in -tion.*

§ 8. These are masculines, as the corresponding ending-class in Norse. Here belong the following words: *äddiishän*, *edyukëshän*, *ekskörrshän*, *eksämenëshän*, *fäshän*, *invitëshän*, *karnëshän*, *lekshän*, *lokëshän*, *möshän*, *pätishän*, *pin-kushän*, *selebrëshän*, *sensëshän*, *söspishän* and *kömüshän*. The masculine gender of *invitëshän* would also be favored by that of the synonym *Indby-delse*, and the Norse *Mode* might have influenced the gender of *fäshän*. In the following cases the gender of synonyms is different from that of the loan-words: *Valg*, neuter, the synonym of *election*; *Udflugt*, fem. synonym of *excursion*. *Pröva*, f. synonym of *examination*.

*Nouns in -el.*

§ 9. These are regularly masculines as in Norse dialects.<sup>1</sup> The list includes twenty-three words with syllabic *l* as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Fogl*, bird, *Kongel*, spider, *Shaungel*, one who stumbles, *Hvirvel*, whirl, *Handel*, trade, purchase, *Knokkel*, joint, *Nykkjel*, *Lykkjel*, key, *Skavl*, snow-drift,



*baisikl*, *bärri*, *bøkk*, *bøndl*, *bushəl*, *händl*, *chisl*, *fänl*, *hikril* (< hickory), *isl*, *mēpl*, *pōssl*, *süchəl*, *shingl*, *sikkl*, *sōshəbl*, *stäbl*, *tail*, *tōnnl*, *traiəl*, *tēbl*, *trobbl*, and *pensl*. Four monosyllables in *l*: *mēl*, (mail), *pail* (pile), *pail* (bucket), and *stail* (style), may have received their masculine gender by analogy to the word *traiəl* (trial). The synonym *Titel* has helped perhaps in the case of *tail* (Hence a case in which likeness of meaning and similarity of form has operated). So *Blyant* and *Pakke* have, in part, determined the gender of *pensl* and *bøndl*. *Haug* m. 'hill,' may have helped to make *pail* (pile) a masculine. Synonyms that have a different gender from that of the loaned words are: *Tynna*, f. 'barrel,' *Sylja*, f. 'buckle,' *Bry*, n. 'trouble,' *Bord*, n. 'table,' *Fjös*, n. 'stable,' *Gauta*, f. 'puzzle.' In the Numedal dialect the gender of *bøndl* might have been influenced by the word *Pakke*, m. In the Telemarken dialect, however, this word is both a masculine and a feminine. While in the Sogn dialect *Pakke* is masculine and *Pakka* is feminine, both meaning the same.

#### *Nouns in -er (-ar).*

§ 10. The great majority of these are masculines as in Norse. I shall first give a complete list of the masculines. They are: *baindr* (a grade of tobacco), *blattar*, *blōndr*, *bøilar*, *börnär*, *dippär*, *dämpär*, *dressär*, *ellevêtär*, *gêtär* (*gêtärs* is also used as a singular), *harvistar*, *hélodar*, *hillär*, *jökär*, (the card), *lōmbr*, *moär*, *ordär*, *pälär* (< parlor) *pinsär*, *pōintär*, *pen-hōldär*, *pitchär*, *pökär*, *rīpär*, *rōbbär* (< rubber), *sidär*, *slippär* (and *slippärs*), *sprinklar*, *gófär*, *rövär*, *sörklär* 'circular' and *kräkär* (*kräkärs* also used as a sing). In this class are of course to be included the words *vair* (wire), *tair* (tire), *fair* (and *banfair*) which are also masculines. These words are frequently pronounced as dissyllabic words. The

*Mangel*, lack, want, *Regel*, rule, *Himmel*, heaven, *Aingel*, angel, *Jubel*, rejoicing, *Hövel*, a plane, *Soppel*, broom, *Skammel*, stool, *Slyngel*, scoundel, *Snabel*, nozzle, snout, *Nagl*, nail, tack, (but *Nøgl*, f. fingernail). It is of course particularly dialect words that are important for our purpose. Exceptions to this list of masculines are *Hagl*, n. hail, and *Svauvel*, n. sulphur. Observe that these two are mass-words. *El*-words are in literary Norse predominantly com. gen., though the grammars usually fail to state the fact, (cf. *Kjortel*, *Fakkel*, *Vrimmel*, *Strimmel*, *Nögle*, (pron. *Nökkel*), *Skammel*, *Handel*, *Himmel*, &c).

word *partnar* (a partner in a dance, member of a firm) is also to be included which is a masculine gender noun whether the reference is to a male or a female. So also the word *visitör* (and *visitär*). The influence of related Norse words is here also probable in for instance, *fire* (cf., *eld*, m.), *vair* (*Straing*, m.). In several cases again the gender of synonyms conflicts with that of the loan-word. Of the noun *order* I shall speak below. The five words *badər* (*bathər*), *køvær*, *pastər* 'pasture,' *pitchər* 'picture,' and *taur* 'tower,' are neuters. *Badər* suggested the Norse words *Bry* and *Bryderi* both of which are neuters. *Pitchər* has undoubtedly been influenced by the dialect word *Poträt* 'portrait.' Likewise the Norse neuter *Taarn* has been the chief influence in making *taur* a neuter. The words *køvær* and *pastər* will be considered below.

#### *Nouns in -ing.*

§ 11. This is in Norse a feminine ending. In the list *beking*, *betting*, *hønting*, *kämping*, *kløning*, *mting*, *saiding*, and *trimming* are feminine. *Mting* is occasionally masculine. These it will be noticed are mostly verbal nouns. The two words *røling* and *stling* are usually feminines but often masculines. A confusion has evidently taken place here between the endings *-ing* and *-ling*, the latter being a masculine ending. The word *kinling*, where the ending is more distinctively felt as *-ling*, is always a masculine.

#### *The Endings -st, -i, and -ment.*

§ 12. The ending *-st* is in Norse dialects predominantly a masculine one. Examples are: *Vækst*, *Frost*, *Blomst(er)*, *Gnist*, *Ankomst*, *Angest*, *Haust*, *Hest*, *Fest*, *Gjæst*, *Fangst*, *Læst*, *Kyst*, *Pest*, *Rest*. Feminines are: *Lyst*, *Kost*, *Tryst*, *Rost*, *Mast*, *Last*, *Hast*, *Ryst*, all of which are com. gend. in the literary language. *Bryst* and *Kast* are neuter). The following loan-nouns in *-st* are all masculine: *harvist*, *inkvest*, *jøist*, *køst*, *test*, *tøst*, *twist*, *vest*. The synonyms of most of these words are fem. which shows that it is the ending *-st* as a predominantly masculine ending that has here operated. The gender of *i*-suffix nouns varies in Norse with the preponderance again in favor of the masculine. This has created a tendency on the part of *i*-suffix loan-nouns

to become masc., e. g., *boggi*, *brändi*, *fyrtri*, *grêvi*, *polli*, *póni*, *pöngki*, *sikyuriti*, *simbli*, *sosaiäti*, *sölki*, although here the influence of related words and group associations have also been present. The gender of *sosaiäti* has been in part decided by the synonym *Forening*. Beverages are as a class masculines, hence especially the gender of *brändi*. Four loan-words in *-i* are regularly neuter: *kaunti*, *kómpeni*, *partri*, and *shanti*. The primary influence here has been that of the synonyms: *Amt. Distrikt*, *Syssel* which the word *kaunti*, has suggested, *Kompagni*, *Lag*, and *Skjul*, *Veskjul* and the generic *Hus*, these three being suggested by *Shanti*. On *partri* see further § 21. Words in the suffix *-ment* vary as in Norse. They are: *eksaitmënt*, m. *sessmënt*, m. *imprávmënt*, m. *settlamént*, n. *kámplément*, m.

*Isolated stems in final n.*

§ 13. In Norse dialects native words in final *n* if masculine do not suffix the definite article *-en* in the definite form. That is, the indefinite and the definite forms are identical except that the final *n* sound is sometimes prolonged when the noun is used in the definite. Even this difference is present only when the word is in stressed position, e. g., *Mann*, man, *mann*, the man; *Stain*, stone, *Stain* or *Stainn*, the stone. The words *Munn*, *Bjönn*, *Brynn* (*y* here represents a sound between *ö* and *ü*), *Grunn*, *Dán*, *Món*, *Saan*, *Kæun*, and *Orden* are both indefinite and definite. This is also commonly the case in Swedish dialects, cf., *han sköt BJÖRN* (he shot the bear), *har du set HUNN?* (have you seen the dog?), *den store OCEAN*, (for *oceanen*) 'the big ocean.' In literary Swedish the definite article *-(e)n* is not added in the following nouns that end in *n*: *början*, *längtan*, *fröken*, *lekamen*, *examen*, *orden*, and frequently in the following words stressed on the last syllable: *baron*, *kapten*, *patron*, *kusin*, *pantheon*, and sometimes nouns in *-tion*, e. g., *är baron hemma*, 'is the baron at home?' The final *n* has, then, in these words (through the process *baronen* > *baronn* > *baron*) assumed definite article function. It is easily understood, therefore, how final *-n* in loan-words might assume the office of a definite article. This becomes then at the same time a masculinizng influence. Out of 27 nouns in final

*n* 21 have become masculine through this influence. They are the following: *barn*, *bargin*, *fǎn*, *lǫn*, *laisn*, (licence), *lemən*, *gardn*, *gēn*, *fain* (fine), *kērsin*, *opinyən*, *pān*, *pīn*, *pōisn*, *ribbən*, (ribbon), *salōn* (< saloon), *twain* (twine), *plān*, *klaun*, *ēprən*, *brand* (< bran). A proof of the correctness of this explanation of the masculine gender in these nouns is offered by the word *barn*. In the indefinite form this word very commonly appears as *bare*, where the fact that the *n* is a part of the stem has been lost sight of and it has taken on purely article force. In the indefinite form *n* has then later been dropped and the new form *bar*, *bare* resulted. It is interesting to note that *bare* has later in some localities come to be used as a feminine developing a new definite form *barao* or *bara*, according to the dialect. Other influences may also have operated in some of these words, so the cognate "*Plan*" in the case of *plān* and possibly literary influence in *barn*, *lǫn*, *lemən*. The six neuter stems in *n trēn*, *taun*, *tavan*, *sain*, (sign), *körtn*, and *skrin* will be discussed below. The last two of these are occasionally masculine.

§ 14. In 153 nouns then, considered above, the influence of ending has been the primary cause in fixing gender. Of these 132 are masculines, 11 are neuters, and 10 are feminines. The great preponderance of masculines here is to be noted. It is also to be observed that there are a large number of loan-nouns whose gender conflicts with that of synonyms, the loaned word having usually assumed the gender of the nouns with which its ending associated it.

*The masculinizing influence of the literary language.*

§ 15. Literary Norse has only two grammatical genders,—the common and the neuter. This common gender corresponds to the former masculine and feminine which merged in early Danish. Formally this common gender is closely associated with the masculine gender of the dialects, the indefinite article is the same for both and the post-positive definite article is the same. This fact has undoubtedly been an important masculinizing influence in our list of nouns in the masculine-feminine

category. This influence is so much more certain as many of the nouns in question are also used in the newspapers read everywhere, throughout Norwegian settlements. Just how extensive this influence has been is, however, very difficult to ascertain. Just in which cases it has operated as the primary influence will be almost impossible to say. Wherever the negative conditions are such that a noun may become either a masculine or a feminine, its general influence will be a very strong one for the masculine gender. In the case of those nouns that are predominantly newspaper words or would seem to have come into the dialects through the newspapers it will perhaps be fairly safe to say that it has been a primary cause. We may perhaps also say that regular dialect loan-words that are used quite frequently in the newspapers would tend to assume the gender that they have in the newspapers. This would of course only be a tendency that might be diverted in any one case by any opposing positive influence. The following nouns are regularly used in the newspapers as common gender nouns. We are justified in assuming that that fact has been in part the influence that has given to the same nouns the masculine gender in the dialects. The list contains about 50 nouns, as follows: *block, blizzard, buffalo, buggy, bureau, basket, dime, deed, depot, draft, farm, feed, harvest, humbug, improvement, inquest, job, carpet, assembly, notice, office, pie, pint, peck, plea, cyclone, cent, porch, risk, strike, style, street, tariff, ticket, tax, toast, (speech at a banquet), trunk, whiskey, mob, mortgage, jury*, and perhaps a few more.

The following neuters occur regularly in the Norse newspapers, the corresponding words being also neuters in the dialects: *fence, town, drug-store, board (of men), sign, settlement, government, party, train, team*. The three nouns *taun, trèn, and sain*, which we should have expected to become masculines in the dialects, as stems in *n* regularly have, are then neuters because of this literary influence (see above § 13).

### *Meaning Associations.*

§ 16. We shall here first take up the influence of synonyms. In the first period only such words were borrowed, as a

rule, as represented new ideas. Later we find loans taking place more generally. Words that only in part represented new ideas were now freely borrowed. In the later period borrowing has taken place on a large scale without any regard to the real need for the word. The result is that the dialects are now characterized by a host of doublets, the one word native Norse, the other English. In many cases the English word has entirely replaced the Norse. Among words of this last class, then, we should expect to find that the Norse synonyms have exerted influence on the gender of the loan-word, and especially so in the case of words whose meanings corresponded very closely or that are still used side by side. The associations of meaning here present may be of various kinds: 1, likeness of meaning, where may also be included contrast of meaning; 2, related meaning with difference of form; 3, likeness of meaning and partial likeness of form; 4, likeness of form and difference of meaning. The third of these would comprise especially cognates. The fourth is of course purely a formal association. Of this I shall speak below. For our purpose it will be best to consider 1, 2, and 3, together. The stems will be given separately and under each stem the Norse synonyms with collateral influences that may have operated.

#### *Masculines.*

§ 17. *Bórd*, 'board.' Norse synonym *Kǫst*, which is still in common use.

*Bøtt*, 'button.' Norse synonym *Knap*, masc. which is still the usual word.

*Brekfast*, 'breakfast.' Norse *Frukost*, lit. word *Frokost* com. gend. The associated word *Middag*, 'dinner,' has also undoubtedly been influential here. In the same way the more recent loan *dinner*, *dönner*, has become a masculine. In *brekfast* the ending *-st* may also have had some influence, see § 12 above.

*Brám*, 'broom.' Norse synonyms are *Låme* and *Soppel*, both being in regular use. The literary word *Gyvel* com. gend., 'broom' is unknown to these dialects. *Brám*, which is probably a comparatively late loan-word, is still somewhat limited in use.

*Brøsh*, 'brush.' Norse synonym *Køst*, masc. in common use.

*Chis*, 'cheese.' Norse synonym *Qst*, *Ost*, masc. (with many compounds) is still the usual word.

*Diffrens*, 'difference.' Norse word *Förskjil*, *Forskjel*, masc.

*Envelop*, 'envelope.' The synonym in Norse dialect is *Konferlutt*, (also *Kongvelutt*), in the literary language it is *Konvolut*, common gender.

*Glov*, *Glovs*, 'glove.' Norse syn. *Hanske*, masc.

*Grämmär*, 'grammar.' Norse syn. *Grammatik*, masc. The influence of associated words, as a group has also operated here. See above p. 13, § 7.

*Hill*, 'hill.' Norse syn. *Haug*, masc. *Haug* is the generic word. The loan-word has received a specialized meaning. In the tobacco-planting season the earth that is hoed up and flattened down into a round flat little heap for the tobacco-plant is called a 'hill.' Otherwise the word *Haug* is regularly used.

*Hukk*, 'hook.' Norse syn. *Krök*, masc.

*Hedék*, 'head-ache.' Norse syn. *Høveverk*. Literary word *Hovedpine*, common gender.

*Inch*, 'inch.' Norse syn. *Tomme*, masc. This is also the literary word, which is com. gend.

*Kattar*, 'cutter,' a knife used for cutting tobacco-plants in the harvesting season. Norse syn. *Kniv*, masc.

*Kattar*, a 'cutter' (a vehicle). Norse syn. *Kutter*, masc. The gender may also have been influenced in part by the ending *-ar*.

*Ki*, 'key.' Norse syn. in the dialect *Nykkjel*, *Nykke* and *Lykkjel* masc. The lit. syn. is *Nögle* (and *Nökkel*), com. gend. *Ki* is hardly in general use yet.

*Laik*, 'lake.' The masc. gender is probably due chiefly to the generic *Sjö*. The syn. *Insjö* is no longer used and *Sjö* is used only of a larger body of water. *Laik* is the regular word for any small inland body of water.

*Mirrør*, 'mirror.' A word that is not yet in common use. The masc. gender is due partly to the Norse syn. *Speigel*, the dialect word for mirror, and partly to the masc. ending *er*. The literary word *Speil* is neuter.

*Mél*, 'mail.' Norse syn. *Post*, masc. and lit. word *Post*, com. gend. See p. 14, § 9.

*Nois*, 'noise.' The Norse synonyms are *Brauk*, *Stoi*, and *Leven*, all of which are masc. Lit. words are com. gend.

*Plét*, 'plate.' Norse syn. *Talerken*, which is a masc. in the dialect and com. gend. in the literary language. *Plét* is a very early loan-word and has entirely taken the place of the native word.

*Pólka*, 'polka.' Norse synonym and cognate *Pølka*. Group influence is also present here, see § 20, p. 25.

*Prafit*, 'profit.' Norse word. *Fördél*, masc. literary form, *Fordel*, com. gend. A formal influence may also have operated here. There are in the list a number of words, ending in *et (it)*, that are masculines. This may in time have caused this ending to be felt as a masculine ending, and new words possessing this ending have by analogy tended to become masculines. The list of words in *et (it)*, includes the following: *biskit*, *blänket*, *bøkket*, *bäskit*, *hätchit*, *jäkket*, *karpöt*, *korsöt*, *lakkät*, *miskit*, *pakat*, *pämflöt*, *sakkät*, *tikkit*, *visit*. Cf. also *Køltivët* and *Räl-estët*. *Bäskit* and *hätchit* are also pronounced *bäskät*, *hätchät*.

*Shär*, 'share.' Norse syn. *Del*. masc.

*Spích*, 'speech.' Norse syn. *Tale* masc. (occasionally also feminine). The literary word *Tale* is com. gend. *Spích* is the usual word, though *Tale* is felt to be the finer word. Very often the contrary is the case.

*Sték*, *Bifsték*, 'steak, beefsteak.' Norse syn. *Steik*, masc. Literary word *Steg*, com. gend.

*Sút*, 'suit of clothes.' Norse *Klædning*, m. also the literary word where it has com. gend.

Two words that have a masculine and a feminine synonym have assumed the masculine gender, viz: *Jäkkät*, 'jacket.' The Norse synonyms are *Blúse*, masc. and *Troia*, fem. *Préssönt*, 'present.' The Norse syn. *Presang* (< French *Présent*), is a masc. The syn. *Gave*, *Gaua*, is fem.

#### *Neuters.*

§ 18. *Bír*, 'beer.' The occasional neuter gender is due to the Norse *Øl*, masc. *Bír* is however, usually masc., following thus the gender of other names of beverages.



*Kård*, 'card.' Norse *Kort*, neuter. In present use the two have been specialized. The native word is applied only to playing cards while the English word always means a visiting card, the Norse word for which is *Navne-kort* (name-card).

*Shed*, 'shed.' Occasionally neuter due to the dialectal *Veaskjul*, and the literary word *Skjul*, neuter. *Shed* is more often masc.

*Tåvan*, 'tavern.' Norse *Hotel*. One of the earliest loans but now rarely used, having given way to 'hotel.' Other neuters that belong here, but that have been discussed above are, *bader*, *pitcher*, *taur* (§ 10), *kaunti*, *kompenni*, *shanti* (§ 12).

### *Feminines.*

§ 19. *Fil*, 'field.' The reason for the feminine gender in this word is not clear. The word that it naturally calls up is *Aaker*, *Auker*, which is a masculine, in the dialects and *Ager* the literary word which is a common gender noun. *Fil* seems everywhere to be a feminine and is not used in the newspapers. In Swedish dialects the word occurs also as an English loan-word and is of the 'real' (or common) gender, and in literary Norse, if used, it would have the common gender. Because of *Auker* and *Ager* we should have expected *Fil* to become a masculine. *Fil* is one of the earliest loans, from the first practically entirely taking the place of *Auker* and *Aaker*. It seems to have been loaned earliest in the Telemarken dialect. It is possible that the word was originally predominantly masculine by influence of *Auker*, &c., and that the related word *Mark*, which is feminine in the dialects, has influenced the gender also in part, in such a way that it sometimes came to be used as a feminine. *Auker* and *Aaker* early fell out of use, but *Mark* continued to be used and is in common use to-day. By association with *Marki* and *marka*, then, the definite feminine forms of *Mark*, it assumed definitely the feminine gender. Why *Fil* should be borrowed and come to be used instead of the exact synonym *Auker*, *Aaker* is difficult to say. Perhaps the fact that it was a shorter word and one easier to pronounce may have helped.

*Gømm*, 'gum.' The feminine gender of this word is due to the Telemarken dialect word *Kvga*, which is a feminine, and

whence it has come into the Sogn dialect. In the Numedal dialect, where *Kvqa* does not seem to be used. *Gqmm* is a masculine.

*Injain*, *injaina*, 'engine.' The fem. gender is probably due chiefly to the Norse *Maskina* in the dialect. *Injain* is used only of the steam engine that drives the threshing machine. The ending -a in the more usual form may be due to the ending -a in *Maskina*, or may have been transferred to the indefinite form from the definite *Injaina*, *Injainao*.

*Insyuræns*, *Insyuring*, 'insurance.' A fem. as the dialect synonym *Forsikring* is. The form *insyuring* is probably due to the ending of the Norse word.

*Plänte*, 'plant.' The word is a hybrid, the vowel being due to the English cognate and synonym *plant*, while the vowel ending -e is that of the corresponding Norse word *Plante*. The word *plänte* is only used of the tobacco-plant, otherwise *plante* is the regular word, used only in the Telemarken and Nummedahl dialects. In the Sogn dialect the word *Planta* is used for the tobacco-plant as well as for other kinds of plants.

*Trokks*, 'truck-wagon.' Feminine gender due to the generic *Vogn* fem. in Norse dialects. In the literary language *Vogn* is a common gender noun.

*Yogg*, 'jug.' Norse synonym is *Krukka*, which is still also the regular word.

On cases where synonyms have influenced in part the gender of loan-words see pp. 13-14, §§ 7-10.

§ 20. The following are some of the most common cases of masculine loan-words, that correspond to neuter or feminine synonyms: *Bax* (*Kassa*, f.); *bargin* (*Kjöp*, n.); *bet* (*Vaugemaul*, n.); *bläck-bord* (*Bord*, n.); *bokkl* (*Sylja*, f.); *bushel* (*Skjeppa*, f.); *bäskit* (*Korg*, f.); *ryver* (*Au*, f.); *fait* (*Slagsmaul*, n.); *fens* (*Gjærde*, n.); *gém* (*Spæl*, n. but *Laik*, m.); *harvist* (—*ønn*, f.); *impruvement* (*Förbedring*, f.); *Kersin* (*Olja*, f.); *laisn* (*Bevilgning*, f.); *løn* (*Tân*, n.); *Mék* (*Gjærdsel*, f. *Gjære*, f.); *myul* (*Æsel*, n.); *nektai* (*Slacifa*, f.); *lemæn* (*Citrona*, f.); (*dönner*) -*pél* (*Spann*, n.); *poisn* (*Gijt*, f.); *ribbæn* (*Bora*, f.); *sens* (*Vît*, n.); *skêt* (*Skjaaita*, f.); *sopper* (*Qvelsmaaltid*, n.); *spring* (*Fjör*, f.); *strüt* (*Gata*, f.); *tébl* (*Bord*, n.); *test* (*Pröva*, f.); *trip* (*Rais*, f.).

§ 21. Influence of words that are like in form but different

in meaning (see § 16) cannot be shown to have operated in the loan-words. Great care is necessary in words of this class and influence on gender rarely to be assumed. Only one word need here be considered as a possible case: the Norse *Parti*, n. 'part, share; faction, division,' may in part have operated toward fixing upon the loan-word *party*, 'a social gathering,' the neuter gender. Most nouns in a final -i sound are masculine in the loan-words it may be noted. However the primary, perhaps the exclusive influence here has been the synonym *Lag*, n. 'a social gathering,' which is still in regular use. In the words *skrin*, 'wire netting,' and *fil*, 'field,' the phonologically identical Norse words *Skrin*, 'a case, a chest,' and *Fil*, 1, 'a file,' 2, 'the right bower in playing cards,' the meanings are so widely removed that influence on gender is out of the question. To bring about analogy in gender some relationship in concept is to be assumed as necessary. Such a relation exists between the Norse *Parti* in the meaning 'faction,' and the English, and dialect loan-word *party*, 'a social gathering.' The German *Schild* whose change to the neuter seems to have been influenced by the word *Bild* is a case in point, cp. *Bild*, *bemaltes Schild*, *Wirtshausschild* (Michels, *Zum wechsel des nominalgeschlechts im Deutschen*, p. 9). There is not then in these cases absolute diversity of signification.<sup>1</sup>

#### GROUP ASSOCIATIONS.

§ 22. We have above considered those meaning associations in which a word calls up a native word very closely related to it in meaning such as cognates and synonyms. We have now to consider certain group associations, in which a word, because of its functional relation to a group of associated words, tends to assume the gender of that group. Naturally a large number of

<sup>1</sup>The transition of MHG. *gruoz(e)*, masc-fem. (Florcr, p. 461) to a masculine was caused chiefly by *der buss* and *der kuss* which *Gruoz* suggested. The influence of rhyme-words probably helped in part here. The extent of such influence depending, of course, entirely upon the strength or weakness of the particular gender associations, in this case the masculine associations, that such stem-forms have. Where there is as here a group of similar stems there may be absolute divergence of meaning.

the words in the list are such as are name of tools and farm implements, since these for a large part were new and with the new object came also the name. As these words are in Norse masculine so they became masculine here also. The class includes the following words: *harvistar*, *sidar*, *moar*, *ripər*, *bindar*, *køltivēt*, *sikkē*, *chisəl*, *hetchit*, *hō*, *rinch*, *rins* (wrench), *skrudraivar*, *skvār*, *pinsər*, *kattar*, *fense-stretchar*, *hillar*, *horspaur*, *helodar*, *nekyog*, *polli*, *pän*, *pail*, *hal-bushəl*, *dippər*, *sprinklar*, *pekk*, *króbar*, *spaik*, *täx*, *spring*, *händl*, *rular*, *söpperaitar*, *räk*, *sölki*, *skrépər*, *välv*, *rich*, *pitman*, *sylindər*, and perhaps a few others.

Collateral influences have also operated in many cases here, such as the endings *-el*, *-er*, and also in a few cases the ending *-i*, see §§ 9, 12, and 13. In some instances a Norse word with a synonymous meaning may have influenced in part the gender of the loan-word. This last influence is of minor importance, however, in this class and need not occupy our attention here.

Names of flowers, fruits, and plants are in Norse predominantly masculine. Here belong the following loan-words: *grənj*, *lemən*, *bändäna*, *pīch*, *grēp* and *grēps* (both used as singulars), *cräb* (but *kräb-epplə*, neuter), *gərēniəm*, *karnēshən*.

The two names of trees, *mēpl*, and *hikril* (hickory) are probably masculines by influence of the masculine ending, see § 9.

Names of vegetables are regularly masculines. The list includes: *käbbij*, *bīts*, *rädish*, *törnip*, *rutabégo*, *tométo*, *lettis*, *seləri*, *kyukəmbər*.

Names of dances are masculine as in Norse, viz: *kədril*, *kotilyən*, *pólka* (Norse, *Pölka*), *shattish*, *tu-step*, *Virginia ril*, *gävat*. On the word *pólka* see also § 17.

Words denoting parts of wearing apparel are predominantly masculine in Norse dialects, which accounts for the masculine gender of: *Kót*, *vest*, *gløv*, *nektai*, *gétər*, *mufflər*, *kəff*, and perhaps also *búsom*. The masculine gender of the word *Sát*, 'suit' is probably due chiefly to the synonym *Klädning*, cf. § 17.

Under the head of Meaning Associations we have then considered about 125 words, or 26 per cent. of the whole number, of which 75 have received their gender chiefly by influence of words associated in a group, and about 50 by influence of synonyms.

## CONCLUSION.

§ 23. In conclusion, then, it has been shown that a variety of associations have operated to fix the gender of English loan-words in Norse dialects in America. Of these certain fixed formal groups, endings that have well defined gender associations are of special importance. About 150 words or a little over 32 per cent. of the whole number have assumed a certain gender chiefly through this influence. As far as this purely formal association has been operative the result has been the masculine gender in a great majority of cases, 132 of the 150. It has also been shown that stems in final *n* have in nearly all cases become masculines. This is due to the tendency of such final *n* to assume the function of a post-positive article, since final *n* in native masculines has that function. In all such cases where the *n* assumes article function, it fixes in the dialect the masculine gender. The gender of 21 words has been fixed in this way. The influence of the common gender of the literary language has probably been extensive, but just how far such influence has operated it is not possible to ascertain since here definite criteria fail. From the occurrence in the newspapers of a number of the dialect loan-words, however, and from the fact that the gender symbol, the article ending in nearly all these cases coincides with that of the dialects it would seem that about 60 nouns have received their gender primarily by influence of the literary language (by which is meant here the language of the American Norwegian newspapers where many English words are used). Of this list only 10 are neuters. This is then an important masculinizing influence, that may have operated even in words that are rarely or never used in the newspapers. It furthermore becomes a direct influence against developing feminine gender nouns. In the neuter category it would act as a preserving influence. The formal associations are then predominantly masculinizing influences. Under meaning associations that of synonyms would seem to have been the primary cause in determining the gender of about 50 nouns. The influence of synonyms has very often failed to operate where opposing

positive influences have been present. Especially often has it yielded to that of an ending with fixed gender associations. Functionally associated groups have been a strong gender influence. New groups of functionally associated nouns of one gender, have formed themselves in the loan-words, not having corresponding groups in Norse. Such groupings may originally be due to the fact that the earliest loans of the group assumed a particular gender by influence of form or meaning, and new words coming in and naturally associating themselves with such group would tend to take the gender of the group. Conceivably it might also be due to the fact that the generic word of that class had a particular gender. Names of beverages and articles of food all have the masculine gender, a fact that may be accounted for at least partly under this head. Of the whole number of 475 nouns the gender of about 120, or 25 per cent. cannot be accounted for on the basis of form or meaning or functional associations. It may be noted that of the whole body of words where the genderizing associations seem plain, 351 in all, 276 are masculines, 57 are neuters, and 18 are feminines. A certain preponderance of the masculine also characterizes that part of the native vocabulary that represents ordinary everyday speech. Of such words in these Norse dialects, 52 per cent. are masculines, 29 per cent. are feminines, and 19 per cent. are neuters. This is significant. It is of course the common every-day vocabulary that must here be taken into account. The proportions given here are based on a carefully collected list of the words of ordinary speech. Over half of these are of the masculine gender, that is over half of every-day nouns have masculine gender associations. These gender symbols are here the indefinite pre-positive article, the definite post-positive article and the substitutory pronoun. This preponderance of the masculine symbols becomes itself an indirect masculinizing influence. New nouns that do not naturally fall into a fixed gender category by reason of formal or functional associations would tend to become masculines just in proportion as masculine symbols exceed the other gender symbols. Furthermore traceable gender influences creates a preponderance of the masculines in the loan-words, which would tend to give the

direction to new loan-nouns. If the negative conditions are alike as between the masculine and the neuter the possibility of a neuter developing is present. Positive neuter influence would probably fix the neuter gender and the neuter once established change to another gender would be in part hindered by the various neuter inflexional forms, such as the neuter ending of the adjective and the peculiar plural formations. In so far as indirect influence of the literary language might be present that would generally be a preserving influence for the neuters. With the feminine the case is very different. While there are more feminines than neuters in native words, there are in present dialect speech as we have seen above very few feminizing influences, formal or functional. Of the whole number only about 5 per cent have become feminines. The tendency toward the feminine gender would be exceedingly small. The preponderance of masculines due to known causes and the influence of the common gender would act as masculinizing influences, and the last would be a direct influence against the feminine gender. The positive influence for the feminine gender would have to be exceedingly strong in order to establish the feminine gender in any one case. Feminine groups are much broken up in Norse by the presence of masculines. Group associations would be weak then. We should of course expect feminine synonyms to operate often perhaps, but it has been shown that the influence of synonyms is a weak one where there are opposing influences present. There also exists the possibility of a feminine passing over into the masculine category. The differences between the masculine and the feminine category has become obliterated in the plural. Nouns used chiefly in the plural might then easily pass over from one to the other. That the tendency would be overwhelmingly in favor of the masculine is clear to us when we bear in mind that the masculine-feminine plural ending is in the great majority of cases associated with the masculine singular ending and the masculine pronoun. Furthermore the masculine-feminine adjective forms are the same in the singular and the plural, and the demonstrative pronoun is the same (dial. *dan* for masc. and fem. neuter *da*). In the singular of the article, the pre-positive indefinite and the post-positive definite,

the gender symbols are distinct. Cases of transition from one to the other gender would be difficult to establish now. That there were more feminines in the dialects in question earlier is rendered probable by the fact that in younger settlements the proportion of feminines is somewhat larger than in our list. (Of English loan-nouns in Norse dialects in western Goodhue Co., Minn., 8 per cent are feminines,<sup>1</sup> and in the dialects of Nerstrand, Minn., about 10 per cent are feminines.<sup>2</sup>)

Our list of nouns is of interest as illustrating some points in the nature of gender at present in dialects where gender categories are much broken up but where three distinct grammatical genders still remain. These points are best illustrated in loan-words coming from a genderless language. The neuter is the gender of matter, mass, and indefinite quantity. Thus, in the list, nouns that represent mass or quantity-concepts, and that are consequently incapable of pluralization, are neuter. A number of nouns that are regularly used as masculines or feminines when a particular amount or quantity is indicated are neuters whenever the quantity is not specified, when it is the idea of mass or bulk that is uppermost in the mind. Such words are: *bír, brändi, lemenéd, mottén, víl, jelli, jām, disört, gingom, kalko, &c.* The same is the case with such words as *mail* and *insurance*. Some mail and some insurance is *nøkø mail, nøkø insuræns*, rarely *nøken nêl, nøken inshuræns*, but "the mail" and "the insurance"

<sup>1</sup> See the list offered by Flaten in *Dialect Notes*, 2, 2, pp. 120-126.

<sup>2</sup> In Prof. Wilson's summary on p. 19 of 'The Grammatical gender of English Words in German' we note that of 392 words 136 only are always masculine while 54 others may be masculine but are also neuter and feminine, 129 are regularly, and 71 more occasionally neuter. Any tendency in favor of the masculine gender as compared with the neuter is not evidenced. The absolute tendency then which seems to exist (Wilson, p. 15) is measured by the amount that masculine loan-nouns actually exceed native German masculines. There is, however, a very pronounced tendency toward the masculine gender as over against the feminine. Of the whole number only 53, or 13½ per cent, are always feminine and 28 more occasionally, the relative number of which is certainly far below that of native German words. As between the masculine and the feminine the tendency is for the masculine and against the feminine, —only eight nouns may be used as masculine or feminine. Florer pointed out, p. 471, that fluctuating nouns tend to become masc. as between MHG and NHG.



becomes *mēlen*, and *inshurənsi*, *inshuringi* (not *melet*, and *inshurənsət*). As in Norse the masculine personal and substitutory pronoun is pre-eminently the pronoun of familiar designation, the masculine gender in the loan-words becomes especially the gender of familiar particularization. The feminine gender is more particularly the gender of distinctively feminine associations.<sup>1</sup> It more readily calls up the idea of sex than does the masculine pronoun. If we say *hó*, "she" the idea of sex is apt to be called up, something that is not the case with *han*. In *han* the sex-idea has been partly obliterated. Herein lies also then a most important explanation of the fact that the masculine gender has established itself in so many cases where we otherwise might have expected the feminine.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA,  
Dec. 12, 1902.

<sup>1</sup> In the Bilin language, which possesses grammatical gender, there are only natural feminines, no purely grammatical feminines (Henning 411), and in the Bischari language the number of (non-natural) purely grammatical feminines is exceedingly small as compared with the purely grammatical masculines.

## PARADISE LOST 3. 7.

ON the expression, 'Or hear'st thou rather', Todd in his edition refers to Bentley, who cites Horace, *Sat.* 2. 6. 20 :

Matutine pater, seu Iane libentius audis?

Todd also refers to his note on *Ad Salsillum* 25. Here we have (24-26) :

Tuque, Phœbe! morborum terror,  
Pythone cæso, sive tu magis Pæan  
Libenter audis.

To these instances from Milton might be added *Epit. Dam.* 209-210 :

Seu tu noster eris Damon, sive æquior audis  
Diodotus.

The classical originals are not exhausted by the mention of the line from Horace's *Satires*. In his *Carm. Sæc.* 15-16, the invocation to Ilithyia contains :

Sive tu Lucina probas vocari  
Seu Genitalis.

In Apuleius (*Met.* Bk. 11) the prayer to Isis and her reply contain a number of alternative titles. Catullus (34. 4) has :

Sis quocumque tibi placet  
Sancta nomine.

The Greek instances seem to be chiefly confined to Æschylus, Euripides, and Plato. For Æschylus compare *Ag.* 160; for Euripides, *Heracles* 1263; *fr.* 480 (in Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 6); *fr.* 912 (904). 2; for Plato, *Crat.* 400 E; *Tim.* 28 B; *Phileb.* 12 C. Add Callim. *Hymn.* 3. 6. For the Bible, compare *Exod.* 6. 3. Note that Ephraem Syrus says (p. 44): 'Nec decies millies nomina te explicant.'

ALBERT S. COOK.

## MOTIVE AUS SCHILLER IN GRILLPARZER'S MEISTERWERKEN.

### I.

IN meiner Abhandlung *Schillers Einfluss auf Grillparzer*<sup>1</sup> habe ich nachzuweisen versucht, dass Grillparzer von seinen frühesten dramatischen Studien an bis zur *Sappho* unter dem Banne von Schillers Dichtungen stand. Im Folgenden möchte ich vorläufig in aller Kürze andeuten, wie weit sich die Spuren der psychologischen Beziehungen beider Dichter in den Meisterwerken des jüngeren verfolgen lassen. Schon aus der blossen Gegenüberstellung von ähnlichen Motiven wird ersichtlich, wie Grillparzer von direkter Nachahmung, die noch im *Goldenen Vliess* da und dort zu konstatieren ist, zur gänzlich selbständigen Weiterbildung der von Schiller empfangenen Anregungen fortschreitet: im *Ottokar* bietet er ein dem Schillerschen verwandtes, aber durchaus eigenartiges, historisches Drama.

### DAS GOLDENE VLISS.

An die Spitze des Szenars zum *Goldenen Vliess* schrieb Grillparzer als Motto die Verse Schillers: 'Das eben ist der Fluch der bösen That, dass sie fortzeugend Böses muss gebären.'<sup>2</sup> Wie diese unmittelbare Anknüpfung an die Anschauungsweise Schillers, so deutet auch die unbewusst einen Gedanken desselben ausführende Behandlung des Stoffes als Trilogie, auf die innere Verwandtschaft beider Dramatiker hin. Als Grillparzer 1844, dreiundzwanzig Jahre nach Vollendung der Trilogie, bei der Lektüre von Schillers Briefwechsel die Stelle fand: 'Für den tragischen Dichter stecken noch die herrlichsten Stoffe darin' (im *Hyginus*) 'doch ragt die *Medea* vor, aber in ihrer ganzen

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin of The University of Wisconsin*, No. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Reich, *Grillparzers Dramen*, p. 90.

Geschichte und als Cyclus müsste man sie brauchen,' schrieb er wehmütig in sein Tagebuch: 'Merkwürdiges Zusammentreffen. O der vergangenen Zeit!'<sup>3</sup> Elf Jahre darauf verwirft er am *Wallenstein* und *Goldenen Vliess* die Form der Trilogie als episch: offenbar hatten ihm inzwischen die Untersuchungen Goethes und Schillers über den Unterschied von Epos und Drama die Augen geschärft.<sup>4</sup>

Über die Quellen, aus denen Grillparzer für seine Trilogie geschöpft hat, haben Schwering<sup>5</sup> und August Sauer<sup>6</sup> ausführlich gehandelt. Es ist wohl möglich, dass auch Schiller schon auf die Wahl des Stoffes zu einem Teil eingewirkt hat. Wenigstens wird Grillparzers den Vortrag Schillers *Die Schaubühne als moralische Anstalt betrachtet* gekannt haben. Dort heisst es: 'Wenn keine Moral mehr gelehrt wird, wenn keine Religion mehr Glauben findet, wenn kein Gesetz mehr vorhanden ist, wird uns Medea noch anschauen, wenn sie die Treppen des Palastes herunterwankt, und der Kindermord jetzt geschehen ist.'<sup>7</sup>

Sowenig wie in dem gleichzeitig entstandenen Gedicht auf die Ruinen des *Campo Vaccino*<sup>8</sup> fehlen im *Goldenen Vliess* Anklänge an Schiller. Wie der erste Kürassier in *Wallensteins Lager* verachtet Medea die kleinlichen Sorgen und das stille Glück engbegrenzten bürgerlichen Lebens. Frei will sie herabschauen können auf die Gefährtin, die sich um dürftiges Auskommen abplagt; vgl. *Gastfreund*, p. 11 mit *Wall. Lager* 945 ff. Um eine wörtliche Entlehnung kann es sich natürlich schon deswegen nicht handeln, weil der allgemein ausgedrückte Gedanke Schillers hier auf einen speziellen Fall angewendet erscheint. Nach der rein stofflichen Seite findet an dieser Stelle eine Berührung mit Kleist's *Penthesilea* statt.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft* III, 222; Scherer, *Vorträge und Aufsätze*, p. 236; *Schillers Briefe*, Jonas, V, 421.

<sup>4</sup> *Werke* 19, 78 f.

<sup>5</sup> Schwering, *Franz Grillparzers Hellenische Trauerspiele*.

<sup>6</sup> August Sauer in einer zum Aufsatz ausgedehnten Rezension dieses Buches, *A. f. d. A.* 37, 326 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Schwering, *ib.*, p. 68 f.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. Sauer, *Jahrbuch* VII, 46.

<sup>9</sup> Schwering, *ib.*, p. 97.

Als Phryxus sich rettungslos verloren sieht, ruft er aus :

Nun denn, so muss ich sterben?—Ha, es sei!  
Doch ungerochen, klaglos fall' ich nicht.

(*Gastfreund*, p. 28.)

Dazu vgl. :

So muss ich hier verlassen sterben,  
Auf fremdem Boden, unbeweint,  
Durch böser Buben Hand verderben,  
Wo auch kein Rächer mir erscheint!

(*Kraniche des Ibykus*.)

Wie Ibykus die Kraniche als Boten der Götter, so fleht Phryxus die unbekannte Macht, deren Nähe durch das Vliess versinnbildlicht ist, um Rache an. In beiden Fällen übt dann später 'die furchtbare Macht, Die richtend im Verborgenen wacht' mit Hilfe ihrer Symbole die Rache wirklich aus. Also hier, wie in der Ahnfrau, lässt sich eine Berührung der fatalistischen Ideen beider Dichter beobachten.

Einzelheiten sind :

MEDEA.      Nichts weiter von Vergleich, von Unterredung,  
Von gütlichen Vertrags fruchtlosem Versuch!  
(*Argonauten*, p. 79.)<sup>10</sup>

JOHANNA.   Nichts von Verträgen! Nichts von Übergabe!  
(*Jungfrau von Orleans*, 302).

JASON.      Geschmeid und Blumen ziemt euch zu berühren,  
Nicht diesen Stahl, gemacht für Männerhand!  
(*Argonauten*, p. 9\*).

SOREL.      Leg' diese Rüstung ab! Die Liebe fürchtet,  
Sich dieser stahlbedeckten Brust zu nahen.  
(*Jungfrau*, 2640 ff.).

Wie die Sorel den Weg zu dem Herzen der kriegerischen Jungfrau sucht, so Jason die Liebe Medeas, die in manchen Zügen an Johanna erinnert, wie ich ausführen werde.

Sonderbarerweise übersieht Schwering, obwohl schon Gottschall<sup>11</sup> darauf hinweist, die Beziehungen zwischen Medea, Jason und Johanna-Lionel; er nennt nur Kleists *Penthesilea* als Vorbild für Medea in der Szene, wo sie Jasons Leben schont. Sicher hat *Penthesilea* ihrerseits manche Züge von Johanna überkommen; und es ist interessant zu sehen, wie eine poetische

<sup>10</sup> Z. f. ö. G. 44, 290.

<sup>11</sup> Gottschall, *Porträts und Studien*, V, 29.

Schöpfung Schillers nicht bloss direkt sondern auch noch mittelbar durch das Medium des einen grossen Nachfolgers auf den andern wirkt. Ein Beweis, wie frisch der dramatische Lebensodem der Gestalten Schillers war. Den drei Heldinnen gemeinsam ist ihr Doppelwesen. Mit echt weiblichem Empfinden ausgestattet, werden sie in Verhältnisse gedrängt, wo sie dieses Empfinden verleugnen und die rücksichtslose Härte des Mannes bethätigen sollen. So werden sie denn auch ihrer äusseren Erscheinung und ihrem Auftreten nach ähnlich geschildert. Johanna heisst 'schön zugleich und schrecklich' (*Jungfrau*, 956 f.), 'wie aus der Hölle Rachen ein Gespenst der Nacht' (*Jungfrau*, 1568); dagegen 'liebliche,' 'rührende Gestalt' (Vers 1604 und 1801). Penthesilea wird 'halb Furie, halb Grazie,' Medea 'halb Charis, halb Mänade' genannt; vgl. *Gastfreund*, p. 20; *Penthesilea*, Szene 21.<sup>12</sup>

Dass sich Grillparzer bei der Schilderung Medeas an Schillers Johanna erinnert hat, zeigt sich schon in der Turmszene, bei der ersten Begegnung zwischen Jason und Medea (*Argonauten*, p. 51 ff.). Nachdem Jason Medea bei der Beschwörung der Götter belauscht hat, stürzt er hervor:

JASON. Verfluchte Zauberin, du bist am Ende!  
Erschienen ist, der dich vernichten wird.

Vgl.:

RITTER. Verfluchte! Deine Stunde ist gekommen,  
Dich sucht' ich auf dem ganzen Feld der Schlacht . . .  
(*Jungfrau*, 1687 ff.).

Wie Burgund und Lionel anfangs Johanna für ein böses Zauberweib halten, aber durch Johannas schöne und edle Erscheinung gerührt werden, so verschwindet auch Jasons Abscheu vor Medea rasch, als er sie nahe vor sich sieht. Und ebenso plötzlich und leidenschaftlich wie bei Lionel und Johanna flammt zwischen Medea und Jason die Liebe auf. Beide Frauen wollen den Geliebten vor ihren herannahenden Freunden schützen.

JASON. Du sorgst um mich? Hab Dank, du holdes Wesen!  
. . . . Und dieser Kuss sei dir ein sichres Pfand,  
Dass wir uns wiedersehn.—Gebt Raum!

<sup>12</sup> Schwering, *ib.*, p. 96.

LIONEL.      Bin ich dir teuer? . . .  
                   Werd' ich dich wiedersehen? Von dir hören?  
                   . . . . Dieses Schwert zum Pfand' dass ich  
                   Dich wiedersehe!

Wie Lionel weicht auch Jason nur der Übermacht.

JASON.        Doch auch ein Tapfrer weicht der Überzahl.  
 LIONEL.        Jetzt weich' ich der Gewalt, ich seh dich wieder!

Zum zweiten Mal dient die Lionelszene zur Vorlage, als Medea den letzten, verzweifelten Versuch macht, sich von Jason zu trennen (*Argonauten*, p. 89 f.). Johanna und Medea lieben widerstrebend und unheilahnend den Feind ihres Landes und bringen es nicht über sich, ihn zu töten, als er in ihre Hand gegeben ist. Medea dringt mit vorgehaltenem Speer auf Jason ein:

MEDEA.        Stirb oder töte!  
 JASON.                      Medea! was thust du?  
 MEDEA.                      Töte oder stirb!  
 JASON.        (ihre Lanze zertrümmernd.)  
                   Genug des Spiels! Was nun?  
 MEDEA.                      Treulose Götter!                      (Einen Dolch ziehend).  
                   Noch sind mir Waffen!

Bis hierher hat Medea die Rolle Lionels. Dieser dringt auf Johanna ein: 'Nicht beide Verlassen wir lebendig diesen Platz . . .' Johanna schlägt ihm das Schwert aus der Hand, worauf Lionel ausruft: 'Trenloses Glück!'; aber wie Medea giebt er den Kampf noch nicht auf, sondern ringt mit der Gegnerin. Lionel wird von Johanna entwaffnet und erwartet den Todesstreich; Jason, nun Lionels Stelle einnehmend, wirft freiwillig Schild und Schwert von sich, und bietet (um Medea auf die Probe zu stellen) sein Leben dar. MEDEA, mit abgewandtem Gesicht, den Dolch in der Hand: 'Kraft!'—JOHANNA, mit abgewandtem Gesicht: 'Rette dich!' Nachher erhebt sie das Schwert mit einer raschen Bewegung gegen Lionel, lässt es aber, wie sie ihn ins Gesicht fasst, schnell wieder sinken, mit den Worten: 'Heil'ge Jungfrau!'—Beide Frauen geraten in einen Zustand starrer Verzweiflung, nachdem sie das Leben des geliebten Feindes geschont haben; sie wissen, dass diese ihre Schwäche ihnen zum Verderben gereichen wird. Ihr tragisches Geschick entspringt also gerade aus dem edelsten Zuge ihres

Charakters. Wie Johanna auf Lionels Aufforderung ihm zu folgen, mit Entsetzen antwortet: 'Dir folgen!' und entschlossen ist, Lionel, nie mehr zu sehen, so will sich auch Medea losreißen, wird aber von dem stärkeren Willen Jasons gezwungen zu bleiben. Auch Lionels Willen erscheint zunächst als der stärkere, wenn er Johanna zum Pfande des Wiedersehens das Schwert entreißt.

*Argonauten*, p. 59 ff. wehrt sich Medea in ihrem jungfräulichen Stolz gegen den Eindruck, den der Unbekannte auf sie gemacht hat; sie findet Trost in dem Gedanken, es möchte einer der Himmlischen gewesen sein.

GORA. Was hat deinen Sinn so sehr umwölkt, . . .  
Ein Mensch war's, ein Übermüt'ger, ein Frecher,  
Der hier eindrang. . . Der die Nacht benützend—  
MEDEA. Schweig! . . . Verruchte, schweig! . . .  
Ein Sterblicher! Scham und Schmach! . . .

Trotz der gänzlichen Verschiedenheit von Charakteren und Situation darf man wohl an Schiller's *Semele* erinnern. Die als Semeles alte Amme erscheinende Juno spricht ähnlich wie Gora und Medea:

JUNO. Verlorene! Das war nicht Zeus!  
SEMELE. Nicht Zeus? Abscheuliche!  
JUNO. Ein listiger Betrüger  
Aus Attika, der unter Gottes Larve  
Dir Ehre, Scham und Unschuld wegbetrog—  
. . . . O Schande! Schande!

In *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* kehrt dasselbe Motiv wieder, indem Hero auf die Fragen des Priesters, wer im Turme gewesen sei, antwortet: 'Nun, Herr, vielleicht der Überird'schen einer!'

#### KÖNIG OTTOKARS GLÜCK UND ENDE.

Nach Vollendung des *Goldenen Vliesses* nahm Grillparzer mehrere dramatische Pläne in Angriff, die sich mit Schiller berühren. *Kaiser Albrecht* hätte sich in der Gestalt Johanns von Schwaben stofflich an *Wilhelm Tell* angeschlossen, *Kassandra* an die gleichnamige Ballade, *Die Glücklichen* an den *Ring des Polycrates*, wobei allerdings Amasis und nicht Polycrates die



Hauptperson geworden wäre.<sup>13</sup> In diesem letzteren, sowie in einem Fragmente *Krösus*, bei dem die Idee war, 'dass er sich über die Unbeständigkeit des Glückes erhaben glaubt und ihm trotzen zu können wähnt,'<sup>14</sup> das also 'wieder eine Art Schicksals-tragoedie'<sup>15</sup> geworden wäre, haben wir Keime zum *Ottokar* zu erblicken.

Den Zeitgenossen schien Grillparzer in diesem seinem ersten historischen Drama mit Schiller wetteifern zu wollen.<sup>16</sup> In der That hat Grillparzer die ganze Auffassung des Historischen mit Schiller gemein, indem das Allgemein-Menschliche ihm als die Hauptsache erschien, während das Historische, Nationale, Politische zurücktrat. Von Abhängigkeit ist jetzt aber keine Spur mehr zu sehen, obgleich in Einzelheiten da und dort Berührungen mit Schiller zu konstatieren sind. Über den historischen Dramenstil Schillers ist Grillparzer ein grosses Stück weiter vorwärt gedrungen. Mangel an Kulturgehalt<sup>17</sup> wirft ihm Volkelt vor: es ist aber die Objektivität des echten Dramatikers, der seine eigene Persönlichkeit ganz verschwinden lässt, und die Charaktere des Stückes als lebendige Organismen, nicht als Träger von 'Ideen' hinstellt. Grillparzer ist in das Seelenleben seiner Gestalten viel tiefer hineingestiegen als Schiller. Und in diesem Sinne muss Grillparzer mit Kleist und Hebbel als der Fortsetzer des Werkes gelten, von dem Schiller allzufrüh abberufen wurde.

Der Sänger, der in Schillers Ballade *Der Graf von Habsburg* die Frömmigkeit Rudolfs verherrlicht, erscheint im ersten Akte des *Ottokar* als Kanzler des Erzbischofs von Mainz unter den Abgesandten des Reichs, die Ottokar die Kaiserkrone anbieten. Mit Rudolf nimmt er sich der vom König brutal behandelten Königin Margarete an, und giebt sich als jenen Priester zu erkennen, dem Rudolf einst sein Pferd schenkte. Nachher ist er es, der die Wahl der Kurfürsten auf Rudolf lenkt. Natürlich ist die Berührung mit Schiller hier rein zufällig, da Grillparzer alles Stoffliche aus den alten Chroniken

<sup>13</sup> *Werke* 12. 108.

<sup>14</sup> *Werke* 12. 102 und 112.

<sup>15</sup> Sauer, *Gesammelte Reden und Aufsätze*, p. 122.

<sup>16</sup> Costenoble, *Aus dem Burgtheater* I, 338.

<sup>17</sup> Volkelt, *Franz Grillparzer als Dichter des Tragischen*, p. 199.

direkt schöpfte.<sup>18</sup> Dagegen ist der Gedanke an Schiller nicht ausgeschlossen, wenn Grillparzer ursprünglich beabsichtigte, den Priester in romantischer Weise in einem Prolog auftreten zu lassen. Danach hätte Rudolf den Priester in seinem Zelte schlafen lassen. Der Priester erhebt sich früh, tritt an das Bett des Schlafenden, segnet ihn, und prophezeit ihm künftige Grösse. 'Nach dem Abgange des Priesters erwacht Rudolf, greift ans Haupt, auf dem er eine Krone zu fühlen glaubte, wundert sich über das Verschwinden des Priesters, der ihm als ein Kronenspenders erschienen und dann wie ein lichter Engel davongeflogen sei, und deutet schliesslich die Vision in seiner schlichten Weise,' nämlich als Vorhersagung der Fürstenkrone, die zu tragen er sich Manns genug hält.<sup>19</sup> So sieht Thibaut im Prolog zur *Jungfrau von Orleans* die künftige Erhebung seiner Tochter voraus.

Grillparzer dachte auch an ein Vorspiel, Sieg Ottokars über die Ungarn auf dem Marchfelde. Wahrscheinlich wollte er dabei dem von Schiller im Prolog zur *Jungfrau von Orleans* und in *Wallensteins Lager* gegebenen Vorbilde folgen. Ähnlich wie letzteres hätte das Vorspiel auf dem Marchfeld die Heeresmacht des Helden veranschaulicht, gegen die dann die Katastrophe sich umso furchtbarer abhob. Mit Recht rühmt Klaar, dass schliesslich Grillparzer 'ohne diese Krücke in die dramatische Handlung eintrat.'<sup>20</sup> Und wenn man *Ottokar* mit *Wallenstein* verglichen hat, so ist ebendiese Konzentration des dramatischen Gewebes als ein wesentlicher Vorzug Grillparzers hervorzuheben.

Der erste Akt selbst ist wegen seiner mächtigen Steigerung und der kunstvollen Zusammendrängung historisch auseinanderliegender Ereignisse mit dem ersten Akte der *Jungfrau von Orleans* in Parallele gesetzt worden.<sup>21</sup> Hier die steigende Bedrängnis, dort die wachsende Macht des Königs. Bei Schiller

<sup>18</sup> Alfred Klaar, *König Ottokars Glück und Ende*, p. 52. Vgl. Schiller's Anmerkung zur Ballade.

<sup>19</sup> Klaar, *ib.*, p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> Klaar, *ib.*, p. 112.

<sup>21</sup> Laube, *Franz Grillparzers Lebensgeschichte*, p. 46. Klaar, p. 52: 'Selbst der in dieser Hinsicht merkwürdige erste Akt der *Jungfrau von Orleans* schliesst kaum die Herrschaft über so zahlreiche und verwickelte Beziehungen in sich.'

folgt der tiefsten Verzweiflung der plötzliche Umschlag zum Bessern, bei Grillparzer erfährt der Held nach einem Augenblick höchsten Triumphes die erste Demütigung.

Die rasch aufeinander folgenden Begrüssungen Ottokars als Herzog von Österreich, Steiermark und Kärnten, als Kaiser von Deutschland werden von R. M. Meyer zu Macbeth in Beziehung gebracht, der zum Than von Glamis und Cawdor erhoben wird und die Königskrone gewinnt.<sup>22</sup> Auch an die wiederholten Siegesbotschaften im *Ring des Polycrates* muss man erinnern.<sup>23</sup> Die Ähnlichkeit mit Schillers Ballade zeigt sich besonders in dem epischen Fragment *Rudolf und Ottokar*; vgl. die vierte Strophe des ersten Stückes, den Anfang des zweiten, und das ganze vierte.<sup>24</sup>

Das Verfahren gegen Margarete, die Verlesung des Ehescheidungs- und Schenkungsdokumentes, die Ignorierung von Margaretes sanfter Einsprache erinnert an die Szene zwischen Lord Burleigh und Maria Stuart. Vgl.: MARGARETA. 'Es war kein feierlich Gelübd!' OTTOKAR. 'Hier steht! Fahrt fort!' . . . MARGARETA. 'Ich Könnte manches Euch entgegensetzen!' OTTOKAR. 'Wozu? Es bleibt der Spruch in Kraft.' MARIA. 'Unterworfen hätt' ich mich Dem Richterspruch . . . ?' BURLEIGH. 'Ob Ihr sie anerkennt, ob nicht, Mylady, Das ist nur eine leere Förmlichkeit, Die des Gerichtes Lauf nicht hemmen kann.' (*Maria Stuart* I, 7).

Fäulhammer sieht vom dritten Akte an eine gewisse Verwandtschaft zwischen Ottokar und Wallenstein, 'auch darin, das beide Persönlichkeiten mehr sprechen als handeln; nur ist Ottokar viel kleiner gedacht, ein Schoosskind der Fortuna . . .'<sup>25</sup> Diese Verwandtschaft ist aber nur zufällig. Denn wie Klaar in seiner unübertrefflichen Quellenuntersuchung darge-  
than hat, beruht die ganze Darstellung des Dichters auf genauester Kenntnis der überlieferten Charakterzüge und Schicksale des Königs. Es ist in keinem Punkte eine Anlehnung an Schiller wahrzunehmen. Nicht einmal darin, dass beide Helden von ihren nächsten Vertrauten verraten werden. Milotas Verrat war

<sup>22</sup> R. M. Meyer, *Die deutsche Litteratur des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, p. 69.

<sup>23</sup> Lichtenheld, *Schulausgabe des Ottokar*, p. 77.

<sup>24</sup> *Werke* 2. 232 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Fäulhammer, *Franz Grillparzer*, p. 97.

ebenso geschichtlich gegeben wie der Octavios. Milotas Motive — Rache für die seinem Hause angethane Schmach — sind ganz andere als die Octavios: menschlich natürlichere, als die kaltherzige Staatsraison des verkörperten Fatums. Auch unternimmt Milota nichts gegen Ottokar, bis zum Schluss, als Ottokar sowieso verloren gewesen wäre, während Octavio von Anfang bis zu Ende das Schicksal Wallensteins in der Hand hat.

Noch eine andere Parallele ist hinfällig. Man kann nicht, wie R. M. Meyer es thut, sagen, dass Grillparzer allzu Schillerisch eine Liebesintrigue in das Drama eingemischt habe.<sup>26</sup> Das Verhältnis von Zawisch und Kunigunde ist wiederum geschichtlich, und hat nicht die entfernteste Ähnlichkeit mit der Thekla-Max-Episode, sondern ist ein wesentlicher, treibender Bestandteil der Handlung: ein weiterer Vorzug vor Schiller.

So ist auch in Seyfried Merenberg, der noch am ehesten Schillers Gepräge hat, nicht bloss 'der Typus des Max Piccolomini mit viel Glück fortgebildet;'<sup>27</sup> vielmehr ist Seyfried im Gegensatz zu Max, ebenso wie Zawisch, als thätiger Faktor in den Organismus des Dramas einverleibt. Beiden gemeinsam ist nur das sympathische, ritterliche, jugendlich-frische Wesen, und dass beide den Helden lange als höchstes Vorbild verehrt haben. Die Gründe der Enttäuschung sind jedoch so verschieden wie die Stellung der Helden im Stück und wie das Verhältnis der Väter zu denselben. Im übrigen ist Seyfrieds Charakter durchaus lebenswahr, fest und energisch sich entwickelnd, was man von dem sentimental des Max ja nicht sagen kann.

Eine Kleinigkeit ist noch anzuführen: 'Aehnlich wie Schiller im *Wallenstein* die Gustel von Blasewitz auftreten lässt und im *Tell* dem Geschichtschreiber Johannes Müller einen Dankspruch weiht, bringt Grillparzer Katharina Fröhlich als echtes Wiener Kind und seinen Gewährsmann Ottokar von Horneck (der übrigens thatsächlich jener Zeit angehört) auf die Bühne.'<sup>28</sup>

Wie vorsichtig man übrigens bei der Aufspürung von littera-

<sup>26</sup> R. M. Meyer, *a. a. O.*, p. 78.

<sup>27</sup> Erhard-Necker, *Franz Grillparzer*, p. 329.

<sup>28</sup> Klaar, p. 72. Klaar findet den Namen des Schweizer Soldaten 'Stüssi' in den Quellen nicht (vgl. Klaar, p. 74, Anm. 3); sollte Grillparzer den Namen nicht von *Tell* geborgt haben? — Stüssi der Flurschütz.

rischen Reminiszenzen zu Werke gehen muss, zeigen zwei Theorien, die sich an den Zusammensturz des Zeltcs im dritten Akte knüpfen. Farinelli bringt das Motiv mit Lope de Vega in Zusammenhang, obwohl es gar nicht erwiesen ist, dass Grillparzer im Jahre 1822 schon Lopes *Imperial de Oton* gelesen habe.<sup>29</sup> Landau geht sogar bis auf den Lucius Papirius des Apollonius Zeno zurück,<sup>30</sup> während das Motiv ganz einfach in den Überlieferungen der Chroniken gegeben war, wie Klaar deutlich genug auseinandergesetzt hatte. Eine Erinnerung an Schillers Demetrius wäre noch eher möglich gewesen.

Nein, in keinem wesentlichen Punkte zeigt sich Grillparzer in *Ottokar* abhängig von den Quellen der Überlieferung oder von andern Dichtern. Wie Klaar erwiesen hat, verarbeitete der Dichter das überreichlich vorhandene Material in vollkommen künstlerischer Weise. Er hat historische Ereignisse, die weit auseinander lagen, zu dramatischer Wirkung zusammengezogen, er hat gegebene Motive vertieft, nackte Thatcsachen psychologisch begründet, kurz er hat, im Sinne Schillers, mit dem Stoff der Geschichte frei geschaltet, um ihrem Geist Form und Ausdruck geben zu können. 'Wenn man in Sachen des *Wallenstein* so oft darüber gestaunt hat, dass Schiller in einzelnen Szenen, die den Charakter des Helden angingen, intuitiv das getroffen hat, was die Geschichte später feststellte, so kann man in Sachen des *Ottokar* eine ganz ähnliche Beobachtung bei Grillparzer machen.'<sup>31</sup>

O. E. LESSING.

SMITH COLLEGE.

<sup>29</sup> Farinelli, *Grillparzer und Lope de Vega*, p. 77; dagegen Ehrhard-Necker, p. 317.

<sup>30</sup> *Jahresberichte f. n. d. l.* 1895, IV, 4. 304-306.

<sup>31</sup> Klaar, p. 91, wo die Einzelheiten nachzulesen sind.

TRANSLATION OF THE OLD ENGLISH *EXODUS*.<sup>1</sup>

## 1. THE GREATNESS OF MOSES.

LO! far and near throughout the world have we heard the commandments of Moses, wondrous statutes for the generations of men, proclaim unto all the blessed an amends for this life in heaven after death's fatal journey, and to all the living a long-lasting counsel; who will, let him hear. 5

Him in the desert the Lord of hosts, the righteous King, eternal and omnipotent, invested with His own might, and into his possession gave many wonders. He was dear to God, a prince of the people, a wise and prudent leader of the army, a firm commander. Pharaoh's race, God's adversaries, he bound with affliction by the stroke of his rod, when the Ruler of victories entrusted to him, valiant leader<sup>2</sup> of men, the life of his kinsmen, and granted to Abraham's children an abiding home. Noble was the recompense, when the gracious Master gave him power over weapons against the raging might of the enemy, 20 wherewith he overcame in combat many kinsfolk, the liberty of foes.

The first time that the Lord of hosts addressed him, he related to him many true wonders—how the wise Lord, powerful in victory, created this world, fixed the circuit of earth and the firmament, and revealed His own name, which the sons of men, the ancient race of the fathers, knew not before, though they knew many things.<sup>3</sup> With true powers had He strengthened and honored the prince of the host, Pharaoh's enemy, on his wayfaring, when long ago that mightiest of multitudes with ancient punishments was drowned in death. At the 25

<sup>1</sup> Based on the text of Grein-Wülker. The text often seems corrupt, so that the rendering must be regarded as in some respects a provisional one.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *magoræswan*, with Grein.

<sup>3</sup> Exodus 6. 3.

destruction of the treasure-warders mourning was renewed ; mirth 35  
 slumbered in the hall, robbed of its riches. Fiercely at midnight  
 had He slain his malicious foes, many of the first-born, had  
 crushed the city-defenders. The slayer, fierce persecutor, strode  
 far and wide ; the land darkened with the bodies of the dead. 40  
 The host set forth ; lamentation was abroad, little joy was there  
 in life, locked were the hands of them that had raised laughter.  
 The people were suffered to begin their toilsome journey ; the  
 nation was departing. Despoiled was the enemy, hosts were in 45  
 hell. There entered lamentation ; the idols fell prostrate.

## 2. THE MARCH OF THE ISRAELITES.

Glorious upon earth was the day when the multitude set forth,  
 the band of Egyptians, accursèd of old, they who have suffered 50  
 many seasons of captivity<sup>1</sup> in hell because they had thought,  
 if God should permit them, for evermore to deny to the kinsmen  
 of Moses their long-cherished desire for the journey. The host<sup>2</sup>  
 was made ready ; brave was he who led the kinsmen, a 55  
 doughty commander. He passed with the troop many fortified  
 cities, land and demesne of the hated foe, many narrow defiles,  
 an unknown course, until they bore their armor against the  
 warlike Ethiopians. A cloud concealed their lands, their 60  
 march-dwellings on the hillside.<sup>3</sup> Over them Moses led his  
 army against many hindrances. Then, two nights after they  
 had escaped the enemy, he bade the glorious heroes,<sup>4</sup> the mighty  
 force, encamp with tumult of the host in the border lands,  
 round the city of Etham, all the army together. 65

Straitly they pressed on the northern roads, and on the south  
 became aware of the land of the Ethiopians, the city-heights  
 scorched by the sun, and the people bronzed with the glowing 70  
 coals of heaven. There holy God shielded his people against  
 the terrible heat, overspread the burning heaven with a canopy,  
 the glowing air with a sacred network. With wide embrace

<sup>1</sup>*fæsten*. The next two words are not in the original. The sense is obscure. Grein suggests: '*Hölle?* oder *Gefangenschaft unter den Fluthen des rothen Meeres?* oder *jejunium?*'

<sup>2</sup> of the Israelites.

<sup>3</sup> Meaning of *môrheald* uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> Reading *tîrfæste hæleð*.

had the tempestuous cloud equally divided earth and heaven, 75  
 leading on the host. Quenched was the fiery flame which had  
 blazed with heavenly splendor. The heroes were amazed, most  
 joyful of companies. The sun<sup>1</sup> moved above the clouds; wise  
 God had screened its course with a sail, though men who 80  
 dwell upon earth could discern by no cunning its halyards and  
 spars, nor divine by what means He had fastened that greatest  
 of tents. 85

Here for the comfort of the people was the third encampment,  
 since He had clothed in glory His faithful vassals. All the  
 marching host saw how the sacred sails were towering there, a  
 flashing air-wonder. The people, the noble band of Israel, per- 90  
 ceived that the Lord was come, the Lord of hosts, to mark off  
 their camp-ground. Before them traveled fire and cloud in the  
 bright firmament, two pillars, sharing between them by night 95  
 and day the high service of the Holy Ghost, the march of the  
 bold in heart.

Then have I heard that in the morn the war-trumpets of the  
 valiant in spirit blew a loud blast of glory. All the host arose, 100  
 as Moses, the famous leader of men, had commanded them, all  
 the troop of the brave, the people of God, making ready their  
 battle-array. Onward they saw the guide of life measure the  
 air-way; a sail led the journey. The seafarers moved toward the 105  
 waters; the people were happy; loud was the shout of the army.

Each evening another rare wonder arose, a heavenly beacon,  
 a burning pillar, whose care was to shine in a flame on the folk 110  
 of the nation after the setting of the sun. Gleaming above the  
 archers rose the pure radiance; bucklers glittered, shadows  
 disappeared. The deep shades of night availed not to hide  
 the dark retreats. Heaven's candle burned, a new nightly 115  
 guardian, tarrying perforce above the hosts, lest, through dread of  
 the wilderness, the hoary heath with tempestuous weather  
 should distract their minds with sudden sense of peril.

The forerunner had fiery locks, bright beams; with terror of 120  
 flame,<sup>2</sup> with fervid fire, it threatened the troop to consume their  
 host in the wilderness, unless they, the stout of heart, listened to

<sup>1</sup> Following Cosijn, *Beitr.* 19. 460.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *bell egsan.*



Moses' voice. Flashed the resplendent host, the bucklers glit- 125  
tered. The shield-warriors saw in a straight course the stand-  
ard above the troops, until at the end of the land the fastness  
of the sea opposed their eager march. A camp arose; the weary  
men rested. Stewards gave food to the brave, renewing their 130  
strength. Along the hills the seafarers spread their tents at the  
sound of the trumpet. There was the fourth encampment, rest  
for the shield-warriors, beside the Red Sea.

### 3. FEAR FALLS UPON THE ISRAELITES.

Then befell the army sudden dread tidings, fear of the men of 135  
the land. Panic and deadly terror arose mid the host. The  
fugitives awaited the hateful pursuers, who long ere this, stead-  
fast in punishments, had imposed upon the homeless people 140  
tribulation and woe, for they had kept not the covenant<sup>1</sup> which  
the former king had granted<sup>2</sup> of old, when with treasures he  
purchased the lordship of the native-born people, and so mightily  
prospered.<sup>3</sup> All this the tribes of the Egyptians forgot, as soon 145  
as they became vexed at resistance.<sup>4</sup> Then they fashioned deadly  
injuries for their countrymen, plotted strife, broke the covenant.  
Welling passion and violent anger stirred the hearts of the  
treacherous men. They wished, wicked ones, to requite that 150  
blood-vengeance with perfidy to the people of Moses, to pay for  
that day's work with blood, if mighty God should speed them on  
their journey of destruction.

Then the hearts of the nobles grew despondent when they 155  
saw the army of Pharaoh advancing from the southern ways, the  
forest-paths,<sup>5</sup> a resplendent host. The spears were thick clus-  
tered as the war rolled on, bucklers were flashing, trumpets 160  
sounding, banners floating, people treading the plain. Soaring  
in a circle the army-birds were screaming, eager for slaughter;  
the black carrion-seeker, dewy-feathered, [hovered]<sup>6</sup> o'er the  
bodies of the slain. The wolves, care-free beasts, howled a fear- 165

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gen. 47. 5, 6, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Supplying *tiðode*, with Grein.

<sup>3</sup> Construction and meaning doubtful; cf. Gen. 47. 14-26.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Exod. 1. 8-10, also 2. 11-15; but the sense is doubtful.

<sup>5</sup> Reading, with Kluge, *ofer holtwegan* (for -um).

<sup>6</sup> This word supplies a lacuna in the MS.

ful even-song in hope of food, savagely threatening on the track of the foe the slaughter<sup>1</sup> of the multitude; in the midnights howled those warders of the frontier. Many a death-doomed soul departed; the people were afflicted.

Forth from the host at times proud thanes measured the mile- 170  
paths with their steeds. There before the banner rode their victorious king,<sup>2</sup> prince of men, war-guard of heroes, with his border army. He clasped the visor of his helmet in expectation 175  
of combat, while the helm-adornments flashed. He rattled the links of mail, and bade his cohorts zealously hold fast the battle-array.

With hostile eyes the enemy were gazing on the approach of the men of the land. Round about the leader were moving 180  
fearless warriors, grizzled army-wolves were seeking battle, thirsty for hard fighting, loyal to their lord. For that ancient<sup>3</sup> duty he had chosen from the manhood of the people two thousand famous warriors of noble lineage, who were kings 185  
and kinsmen. So every one led forth his men, all the male warriors whom he could find in the allotted time. All the youths were together, princes in a throng, awaiting meanwhile 190  
the familiar sound of the horn in the assembly. To their young warriors the war-band offered itself ready.<sup>4</sup>

So there they led on too the swarthy host, foe after foe, a mul- 195  
titudinous throng, hastening thither by thousands. They were minded at daybreak to destroy in hardy bands with their battle-axes the race of Israel, in vengeance for their brothers. Therefore wailing was uplifted in the camp, a dire even-song. Terrors arose, 200  
toils of battle ensnared them, tumult entered, they fled the fearful tidings. The foe was courageous, the host brilliant in battle-gear, until the mighty angel, who protected the multitude, 205  
scattered the arrogant, so that no longer could the foes gaze upon each other. Their path was divided.

<sup>1</sup> *fyll*, Gr. *ful* MS. Bouterwek, Thorpe, Wülker.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *sigeceyning*, with Grein.

<sup>3</sup> Reading *ealde*, with Kluge.

<sup>4</sup> Meaning doubtful.

## 4. THE ISRAELITES PREPARE FOR BATTLE.

The fugitives had night-long respite, though on either side foes were pressing, the troop or the sea-stream. No way of 210 escape had they, no hope of a homeland. Along the hills they tarried in glistening apparel, in expectation of woe. That band of kinsmen watched and waited, all together, for the mightier multitude, till Moses bade the nobles at morning light 215 assemble the people with brazen trumpets, bade warriors arise, don their corselets, think on valorous deeds, bear shining armor, summon the troop with beacons beside the sandy shore. 220

Quickly the warders bethought them of the battle-cry. The host was arrayed; the seafarers struck their tents along the hills, obeying the trumpet. The host hurried forward, as soon as they had assigned to the van of the army twelve troops of men stout 225 of heart, embattled against the wrath of the enemy; aroused was the multitude. From each of the noble tribes they selected fifty cohorts in the folk-numbering, chosen from the manhood of the people who bear the linden-shield. Each cohort of the 230 famous host had a thousand glorious, spear-bearing warriors. That was a warlike company. In that number the army-leaders summoned not the weak, who by reason of youth could not yet defend with their hands the corselet of men 'neath the 235 buckler against the treacherous enemy, nor had ever awaited over the hollow<sup>1</sup> linden-shield the pang of a wound, trace of a body-wound, boastful play of the spear. Nor could the warriors 240 hoar with age do battle, whom bodily strength had failed, though still rich in valor. Yet according to their vigor they sought the conflict, as courage and dignity prompted them to 245 remain amid the people and their bodily force let them wield<sup>2</sup> the spear-shaft. Then was the army of the strong of hand gathered together, ready for the march. Uprose their ensign, brightest of pillars. Again they all tarried until the harbinger broke brightly through the regions of air over the linden-shields 250 beside the sea-streams.

<sup>1</sup> *lærig*. Grein, *margo clypei*? Rieger, *Körper des Schildes*. I have followed the rendering in S. W. Singer's article in reply to Jacob Grimm's inquiry 'Was heisst lærig?' *Notes and Queries*, Vol. I, Mar. 9, 1850.

<sup>2</sup> Supplying *gegān mihte*, with Grein.

## 5. THE PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.

Then up sprang the war-herald, bold warrior, before the heroes, raised his shield aloft, and bade the leaders of the people restrain the army until the many had heard the speech of the valiant one, 255 guardian of the nation, who wished with holy voice to harangue the cohort. Spake then in grave discourse the counselor of the host :

‘Be not the more dismayed though Pharaoh bring countless troops of sword-girt warriors, heroes unnumbered. This day 260 by my hand will the mighty Lord give them all a recompense, that no longer they may live to vex with woes the race of Israel. 265 Fear not, with timorous breasts, the legions of the dead ! The respite of their transitory life is at an end. From your minds God’s lore has departed ; I counsel you to better purpose, that ye honor the Prince of glory, and pray the Lord of life that He 270 grant you his grace, speed of victories, whithersoever ye go. This is the eternal God of Abraham, Lord of creation, who, valiant and mighty, guardeth this host with his powerful hand.’ 275

Then before the armies the leader of the living spake in a loud voice, saying unto the people :

‘Lo ! now gaze ye with your eyes, best beloved, on a sudden wonder, how I myself and this right hand have smitten the 280 ocean’s depth with a green rod. Up surges the billow, straight-way forms the water into a rampart. The ways, gray army-roads, are dry, the ancient foundations of the sea spread open, 285 whereon never in the world went men aforetime, so far as I have learned. Here are foamy<sup>1</sup> fields, the fettered sea-depths, which ever of old, eternally, the billows covered. The south wind, a blast from the sea, hath snatched them away, the ocean is 290 torn asunder, the ebbing sea spat sand. I know full well that mighty God hath revealed to you His mercy, nobles gleaming in bronze !<sup>2</sup> Haste is best, that ye may escape from the grasp of the enemy. Now hath the Master reared up the red streams in a 295 bulwark ; fairly are the ramparts builded, wondrous sea-paths, toward the roof of heaven.’

<sup>1</sup> Reading *fāmge*.

<sup>2</sup> Doubtful.

After these words all the host arose, the band of the brave. 300  
 Silent abode the sea. The cohorts lifted white linden-shields,  
 standards on the beach. The sea-wall arose and stood upright  
 for the space of a day beside the Israelites. The troop of heroes  
 was stout-hearted; with firm grasp the wall of waters<sup>1</sup> kept 305  
 covenant of peace. Naught did they scorn the holy instruction,  
 as soon as the lay of the dear one, nigh to fulfilment, ceased,  
 the tumult and mingling of song.

Then the fourth tribe went first, passing over the green bed 310  
 through the ocean wave with a crowd of warriors. The troop  
 of Judah<sup>2</sup> accomplished alone the strange journey before  
 their kinsmen. For that day's work mighty God gave them 315  
 ample recompense, when triumph of victorious deeds befell  
 them thereafter, that they should have dominion over the  
 realms, glory among their kinsfolk. Over their bucklers as a 320  
 token, when they stepped into the deep, the greatest of tribes  
 had raised the standard of a golden lion, fiercest of beasts, amid  
 the throng of spearmen. They would not brook an insult con-  
 cerning their chief throughout his life from any nation, when they  
 raised the spear-wood to battle. Strife was in the vanguard, hard 325  
 hand-play, squires doughty in the deadly smiting of weapons,  
 fearless warriors, bloody sword-strokes, rush of the battle-troop,  
 crashing of helmets, where Judah was faring. 330

After that host moved the seafarers proudly, the sons of  
 Reuben. Over the salt marsh the vikings bore their shields,  
 a throng of men,<sup>3</sup> a mighty array, marching unterrified. For  
 Reuben had lost his sovereignty by his sins, and so he followed 335  
 in the track of the beloved. His own brother had taken from  
 him the right of the first-born in the nation, his estate and pre-  
 eminence. Yet was he ready withal.

Thronging after him came the troop of Simeon's sons, the third 340  
 division. Banners waved over the spear-bearing company; on  
 pressed the war-troop with dewy spear-shafts. Over the ocean's  
 way<sup>4</sup> came the rush of dawn, one of God's beacons, radiant 345

<sup>1</sup> Supplying *ȳða weall*, with Grein.

<sup>2</sup> Mürkens (*Bonner Beitr.* 2. 74), compares *Gen.* 29. 35; 49. 8, 9; *Deut.* 33. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Reading *manna menio*, with Sievers.

<sup>4</sup> Supplying *begong*, with Grein.

morning. On moved the multitude, host after host. One guided the iron-clad army, mightiest ranks, whereby he gained renown. Race after race,<sup>1</sup> tribe after tribe fared<sup>2</sup> on the march. Each knew the rights of family, the rank of nobles, as Moses had commanded them. One was their father, a beloved prince, sage of mind, dear to his kinsman, one of the patriarchs. He received the land-right, and begat a race of spirited men, a holy nation, the tribe of Israel, God's peculiar people;<sup>3</sup> so the ancients with clear vision recount, they who best understand all men's kinship and lineage and ancestry.

#### 6. INTERPOLATION.—NOAH AND ABRAHAM.

[Noah, the glorious chief, sailed with his three sons over strange floods, over the mightiest of drowning torrents that ever befell the world. And because he had holy faith in his breast, he brought over the waters the greatest of treasures whereof I have knowledge. For the protection of earth's living creatures that sagacious seafarer preserved for all mankind an everlasting remnant, a first generation, both father and mother, of all that bear offspring, of sorts more diverse than are known to men. Moreover in the bosom of their ship the heroes carried every seed that men enjoy on earth.

Now the sages tell us that Abraham's father was of Noah's lineage in the ninth generation. He is that Abraham for whom the God of angels appointed a new name, and gave into his keeping holy assemblies, far and near, and sway over people. He lived in exile. Afterward he brought the soul most dear to him in answer to the Holy One's behest. They twain, blood-kindred, mounted a high place, the hill of Zion. There, as men have learned, they saw God's glory, found a pledge and covenant, noble and holy, where in after time the wise son of David, the famous king, sagest of earthly monarchs, builded with prudent counsel a temple to God, a holy fane, the loftiest and holiest and best known to heroes, greatest and of highest renown, that the

<sup>1</sup> *folcum*, Grein. *wolenum*, Wülker.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *lor*, with Grein.

<sup>3</sup> *onriht Godes*. This is Bosworth's rendering. Grein reads *gôdes* and renders 'sich ans Gute haltend.'

children of men ever fashioned on earth with the labor of their hands.

To this tryst Abraham led Isaac his son, and kindled the funeral-pyre. Upon the primal murderer was laid no greater woe! He was minded to deliver as a glorious sacrifice to the 400 blaze and flame of fire his heir, the best of children, his own dear son and sole successor upon earth, the comfort of his life. And there after this wise he found long-lasting hope for the 405 instruction<sup>1</sup> of the people. Then did he reveal, when he seized the boy with firm hand, and drew his world-famed, ancient heir-loom with loud-clanging blade, that the days of his life were not more precious to him than that he should hearken 410 unto heaven's King. Up rose the hero with intent to slay his offspring, to kill his son, a boy ungrown, with the edge of the sword, should God permit it. But the noble Father had no will to bereave him of his child in holy sacrifice, and with His 415 hand laid hold upon him. Then came a voice from heaven, a sound of glory, to restrain him, and thereto added a word:

'Abraham, slay not thine own child, thy son with the sword! Truly is it made manifest, now that the King of all creatures hath proved thee, that thou hast kept troth, firm faith, with the 420 Ruler. That shall be unto thee peace throughout all thy life for aye unto time imperishable. Needeth the son of man a surer pledge? Heaven and earth cannot cover the words of His 425 glory, which are farther and wider than the regions of earth can embrace, the circuit of earth and the firmament, the tracts of ocean and the unbounded<sup>2</sup> air. By His own life He swears 430 an oath, He, Lord of angels, Ruler of destinies, God of hosts, just Warden<sup>3</sup> of victories, that of thy race and kinsmen no man on earth shall have skill to tell the tale of shield- 435 warriors in words of truth, save if one wax so wise of understanding that he alone can count all the stones upon earth, 440 stars in heaven, sands on the sea-shore, and the salt billows. Between the seas shall thy people inhabit, even unto the nations

<sup>1</sup> Reading *lære* with Grein.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *eormenlyft*, with Cosijn. The MS. reading, *gēomre lyft*, 'mournful air,' seems to make no sense.

<sup>3</sup> Supplying *weard*, with Dietrich.

of Egypt, the land of the Canaanites, the free-born children of 445  
their father, the best of nations.]

#### 7. THE SEA ENGULFS THE EGYPTIANS.

The people were affrighted ; dread of the flood fell upon their troubled spirits, the sea threatened death. The mountain-steeps were bedewed with blood, the deep spat gore, tumult was among the billows, the water full of weapons, death-mist arising. The 450 Egyptians wheeled about and fled in terror, when they perceived the sudden danger. Fain were they to reach their homes, a panic-stricken army. Sadder grew the voice of boasting, while the terrible welter of billows rolled over them. None of that 455 army came home again, but fate fell on their rear and caught them in the wave. Where roads had lain, the sea was raging ; the multitude was drowned.

Streams towered up ; the tumult rose high toward heaven, 460 the greatest of army-laments. Foes made uproar, the air grew dark above them ; blood from the bodies of the slain mingled with the waters. The ramparts were broken down, the greatest of deaths from the sea smote the heaven. Brave princes perished in a crowd, hope waned at the end of the billow.<sup>1</sup> 465 The battle-shields glittered. High over the heroes an ocean-wall arose, a furious sea-stream. The multitude was fast bound in death, their tide<sup>2</sup> of advance was cunningly fettered. The sand 470 abode the appointed destiny,<sup>3</sup> until the stream of billows, the bitter cold sea with its salt waves, naked harbinger of ill, prone 475 to wander, should come on hostile visit to the everlasting depths, after overwhelming the foe.

The blue sky was polluted with blood ; the bursting sea, the path of seamen, threatened horror of blood, until the just Disposer by Moses' hand removed the valorous, harried them afar, 480 swept them away in the grasp of death. The flood foamed, the death-doomed sank, the sea fell upon the land, the air was troubled. Down crashed the ramparts, waves burst, sea-towers

<sup>1</sup> Reading *wāges*, with Grein.

<sup>2</sup> *nēp*? *nep*? Grein connects the word with *neap-tide*.

<sup>3</sup> *wyrde* Wülker; *fyrde* (ford) Grein.



melted, when the mighty One, heaven's Warden, struck with holy hand those warriors of oak,<sup>1</sup> the haughty nation. They 485 could not stay the deep,<sup>2</sup> the raging waters, that troubled many with roaring horror. The ocean raved, up weltered, down toppled. Terrors arose, death-wounds welled forth. High from 490 the heavens fell on that warlike march<sup>3</sup> the handiwork of God. With ancient sword the foamy-bosomed sea struck down the flood-ward, a wall that gave no shelter, so that the troops, sinful bands, smitten with a death-wound, fell asleep. There, 495 fast encompassed, the army, wan with drowning pallor, gave up their souls, when the murky stretches, maddest of billows, swept over them. All the host perished, when the chivalry of 500 Egyptians was drowned, Pharaoh with his people. Straight-way as he sank, God's adversary found that the Warder of the flood was mightier than he, One who, wroth and terrible, willed with grasp of death to decide this battle. 505

Heavy recompense for that day's work befell the Egyptians, for none of all that innumerable army came home again, nor was any left to tell their journey, to proclaim among the cities that most woeful of tidings, the destruction of the treasure- 510 warders, to the wives of heroes. But the sea-death, that had success in its keeping, swallowed up the mighty hosts, slew<sup>4</sup> the messenger, silenced men's boasting. Against God they had battled!

#### 8. THE WORDS OF MOSES.

Thereupon Moses, illustrious hero, in a holy speech pro- 515 claimed upon the strand eternal counsels, a solemn message; they call it the day's work.<sup>5</sup> Still in the Scriptures are found all those commandments that the Lord delivered to him in true 520 words on that journey. If life's interpreter, the bright warder of the body in the breast, wishes to unlock the ample good<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *werbēamas*.

<sup>2</sup> *helpendra pað* (path of the helpers?).

<sup>3</sup> Following Grein.

<sup>4</sup> Supplying *spilde* with Grein; but perhaps there is a lacuna here.

<sup>5</sup> *dægweorc nemnað*. Apparently a corrupt passage. *Dægweorc* is usually applied to war or an act of hostility.

<sup>6</sup> Reading *gōd* instead of *god*. This gives a more satisfactory sense for *ginføst*.

with the keys of the spirit, the mystery will be explained, from 525  
it counsel will follow. He hath wise words in his grasp, he will  
teach our hearts with power, that we be not forlorn of God's  
fellowship, of the Master's loving kindness. He revealeth unto  
us, as the learned say, better and more enduring life-joys. 530

This life is a transient bliss, choked with miseries, the lot of  
exiles, a pause of the wretched. It is an inn that homeless men  
occupy with sorrows, grieving in spirit, aware of that house of 535  
the wicked fast beneath the earth, where are fire and the worm,  
the ever-yawning pit of all evil. So now arch-thieves of ability  
participate in old age or early death, but future fate will come,  
the mightiest of powers in the world, a day guilty of (evil) deeds. 540  
The Lord himself in that place of assembly will give judgment  
unto many. Then will he lead the souls of the righteous,  
blessed spirits, into heaven, where are light and life, and the joy 545  
of peace. A noble band shall praise the Lord with melody, the  
glorious King of hosts, through time unending.

So in a loud voice he discoursed unto them, mindful of coun-  
sels, gentlest of all men, strengthened with might. The army 550  
awaited in silence the will of the law, apprehended the wonder,  
the salvation declared unto them by the mouth of the valiant  
one. To the multitude he said :

'Great is this throng, and steadfast its Captain, mightiest of  
Supports, who leadeth this expedition. He hath granted unto 555  
us in the land of Canaan cities and ring-money, wide dominions.  
Now, if ye will observe His holy precepts, He will fulfil what 560  
long ago in days of old He promised, Lord of angels, unto the  
race of our fathers, that ye shall henceforth win victory over  
all your enemies, and possess in triumph betwixt the seas the  
wassail-halls of heroes. Great shall be your rejoicing !'

#### 9. THE TRIUMPH OF THE ISRAELITES.

After these words the host was exultant, the trumpets of vic- 565  
tory rang out, standards arose amid gladsome tumult. The folk  
was on firm land ; by grace of God had the pillar of glory led  
the host, the holy throngs. They took joy in life, for they had 570  
snatched it from the power of the enemy, though they had

ventured boldly, those heroes, beneath the roofs of water. There had they seen walls arise. All the surges showed bloody unto them where they had borne their battle-armor. They triumphed in a pæan of victory, since they had escaped the host;<sup>1</sup> the troops lifted a loud voice, praising the Lord for the mighty deed. That greatest of companies chanted a song of glory, an army-chorus of many great wonders, men and women answering each other in tremulous voices. 575

Then could one readily find on the ocean's strand African maidens, adorned with gold. They lifted their hands in thanksgiving, they were blithe at sight of their deliverance; they won the spoils of battle; their bonds were loosed. On the shore they began to gather with nets what the sea had left them, ancient treasures, shields and raiment. Into their possession fell gold and costly texture, the wealth of Joseph, the heroes' precious riches. In that place of death lay its former guardians, greatest of bands. 585

WILLIAM SAVAGE JOHNSON.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

<sup>1</sup> Supplying *herge* with *Grein*.

THE SOURCES OF *VENICE PRESERVED*.

THOMAS OTWAY'S masterpiece, *Venice Preserved*, was first performed at the Duke's Theatre in Dorset Garden some time during February, 1681-2. The source of the play has long been known to be Saint-Réal's romantic history, *Conjuración des Espagnols contre la République de Venise*, which Otway adopted very freely for the most part, though he did not scruple to appropriate the speeches of the conspirators word for word when they suited his dramatic purpose. The character of Antonio, for which no hint is found in Saint-Réal, is regarded as a lampoon on the Whig leader Shaftesbury. References in the prologue to the Popish Plot and to Poland's choice of a king make it certain that the author intended this identification.

Certain elements in Otway's plot, however, which have hitherto been regarded as entirely his own, were, I believe, suggested by another play popular at the time. Let us first consider what parts of the tragedy and what characters Otway did not find in the history essentially as he used them. In the first place, he changed the motive of the plot by the introduction of the heroine Belvidera, who is represented as the daughter of the Venetian senator Priuli, and the wife of Jaffier,<sup>1</sup> the conspirator who in the tragedy, as in Saint-Réal, betrays his companions in arms. Thus while Saint-Réal made the man discover the conspiracy to the senate through sheer faint-heartedness after he has heard what bloodshed must follow, Otway explained his defection by the appeals of Belvidera, who, after an unsuccessful attempt to move him on behalf of her father, recounts that an attempt on her honor has been made by Renault, another conspirator, to whom she has been entrusted as a hostage of Jaffier's good faith. The character of Belvidera, then, and the circumstance of her

<sup>1</sup> Spelled Jaffeir in first ed. *V. P.*; cf. reprint by Gollancz.

being held as surety, two factors very important in the tragedy, are not found in *Saint-Réal*, and must either have been of Otway's own invention or have been taken from some other source. Again, the particular form in which the Earl of Shaftesbury is so vilely caricatured must somehow be accounted for, since there is no buffoon in the *Conjuraton*.

Of course it is unnecessary to assume *a priori* that a dramatist of such ability as Otway need have had a source for these changes, but it is interesting and important to know that he actually did receive something more than a hint for them from a tragedy by his contemporary and friend Nathaniel Lee. This play was *Cæsar Borgia*, produced at the Dorset Garden Theatre in 1680. It is in some respects the poorest as well as the most bombastic of the author's works, though it has many beauties concealed among the rubbish of its verbiage; but what is of more importance for the present purpose, it was successfully played and well known in its day. The plot, which he took from Gomberville's *Pharamond*,<sup>1</sup> turns upon the rivalry of Cæsar Borgia and his brother Palante, Duke of Gandia, for Bellamira, daughter of Orsino, who finally consents to sacrifice herself to Cæsar in order to save her father and her lover from death. In the end, nevertheless, Orsino and Palante, together with the heroine herself, fall victims to the monster's brutality.

The similarity in the fate of the heroine with that of Belvidera is the only likeness between the two plays apparent from this brief statement; and taken by itself this similarity of character and fate as well as the resemblance between the two names would in no wise prove that Otway took a hint from Lee in the composition of *Venice Preserved*. This might be chance, especially as Bellamira is the dupe of Machiavel, and so partially responsible for the succeeding misfortunes, while Jaffier's weakness and folly are the cause of Belvidera's fate. But when there is added to this the fact that Cæsar Borgia gives his little son, Seraphino, as a hostage of his good faith to Orsino and Vitellozzo, the similarity becomes striking. The passage in question runs as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. article on Nathaniel Lee by Sidney Lee, in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

*Borgia.*

Behold this Child, my Son!

I know not anything the World calls precious,  
Which in the darkness of my heart can match him,  
But *Bellamira*. Take him *Vitellozzo*,  
Take the dear Blood that trickles from my heart,  
The very Strings that wind about my Life,  
And let him for my part be surety,  
As beauteous *Bellamira* is for yours.<sup>1</sup>

In the corresponding passage of *Venice Preserved*, Jaffier, to prove himself a resolute conspirator, says to the assembled leaders :

Still I see

The cause delights me not. Your friends survey me,  
As I were dangerous—but I come armed  
Against all doubt, and to your trust will give  
A pledge, worth more than all the world can pay for.  
My *Belvidera*! Ho! My *Belvidera*!

Accordingly *Belvidera*, who is ignorant of the whole undertaking, enters. After some conversation, her husband says :

To you, sirs, and your honours, I bequeath her,  
And with her this, when I prove unworthy—[*Gives a dagger.*  
You know the rest:—then strike it to her heart;  
And tell her, he, who three whole happy years  
Lay in her arms, and each kind night repeated  
The passionate vows of still-increasing love,  
Sent that reward for all her truth and sufferings.<sup>2</sup>

It is impossible for me to doubt that Otway took the suggestion for this scene, as well as for the character of *Belvidera*, from Lee.

A still more striking correspondence, however, is found in the similarity of Antonio (a fine speaker in the senate) to Ascanio (a buffoon cardinal) of the earlier play. Not only is there resemblance in name, as in the case of *Bellamira-Belvidera*, but the fact that no such person is found in *Saint-Réal*, and that the two are pictured in almost precisely the same way, gives sufficiently convincing proof of the hypothesis. Ascanio plays a more important part than does Antonio, but both are clowns,

<sup>1</sup> Act I, Sc. 2. I quote from the edition of 1713.

<sup>2</sup> Act II, Sc. 3.

and clowns of precisely the same type,—elderly fools characterized by a brainless flow of words and a satyr's passion for a young woman. That Antonio is as unnecessary for the movement of the play as Ascanio rather adds to than detracts from the force of the argument. Apparently Otway, wishing to lampoon Shaftesbury, found in Lee's popular drama a personage ready made to his hand. The folly of the two buffoons even finds vent in similar language, which gives a touch of finality to the proof. The first words which Ascanio speaks on his entrance are these :

Well, *Borgia*, well ! if I am not reveng'd !  
Was there none else in *Rome*, but *Bellamira* ?  
Ah *Bella, Bella, Bella, Bellamira* !  
I saw her first at Mass, as I remember ; etc.<sup>1</sup>

Antonio says to Aquilina, when he first enters :

'Nacky, Nacky, Nacky—how dost do, Nacky ? Hurry durry. I am come, little Nacky ; etc.'<sup>2</sup> This kind of thing Antonio repeats *ad nauseam*, though Ascanio is not permitted to express himself further in the same fashion. Yet the hint for it was given by Lee.

I have pointed out what I believe to be a clear case of borrowing on the part of Otway. I do not wish thereby to disparage him. *Venice Preserved* is incomparably a greater play than *Cæsar Borgia*, so great indeed that any information with regard to its composition is interesting and valuable. Whatever material Otway borrowed from Saint-Réal, and whatever hints from Lee, he used to the best advantage, and he made them his own in what is perhaps the finest tragedy of the Restoration period.

GORDON HALL GEROULD.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

<sup>1</sup> Act I, Sc. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Act III, Sc. 1.

## A DRAMATIC TENDENCY IN THE FATHERS.

IN my paper entitled 'A Remote Analogue to the Miracle Play,' (*Jour. Germ. Phil.* 4. 421-451) I commented (pp. 423-4) upon the tendency of certain editors of the Fathers to assume that the works containing dramatic dialogue are spurious. I now find that invented addresses to the infant Savior, by Joseph and Mary respectively, are to be found in the works of Ephraem Syrus († 373). As I am not acquainted with Syriac, I think it safer not to translate the Latin rendering, since the latter is no doubt closer to the original than any version of it would be. The passage in question is (2. 415-6):

'Joseph Dei Filio parvuli speciem praeferenti amplexum dabat, praestabat obsequia, puerum sciens esse Deum. Bonum habere praesentem sibi gratulabatur, reverebatur Justum, ipsius acta observantem, magnopere suspensus tenebatur utrinque. "Ecquis," ajebat, "me dignetur honore tanto, ut Altissimi Filius mihi sit Filius? Sollicitum me habuit, fateor, injecta de matre tua suspicio, proptereaue illam dimittere cogitabam; laqueum mihi fecit mysterii ignoratio quod occultus in ea me lateret thesaurus qui inopem me momento posset efficere copiosissimum; David proavus meus regale diadema gestavit, ego vero eo honore dejectus in summam contemtionem deveni, quemque natura regem destinavit, fors fabrum fecit. Nunc vero ablata revenit corona, postquam regum Dominus in meum venis sinum."

Simili affectu exarsit Maria, erupitque in voces multorum invidiam concitaturas, istud Nato modulata carmen: "Eccui acceptum referam, quod pepererim simplicem et multiplicem, parvum et magnum, mihi hic totum, et ubique totum. Quo die Gabriel ad meam humilitatem venit, ex ancilla Dominam fecit, et quae eram divinitatis tuae famula, repente mater evasi humanitatis tuae, Domine et Fili; ancilla, extemplo facta sum



regis filia ; tu me fecisti, qui es Filius Regis. Inter omnes Davidis posteros elegisti puellam humilem, terraeque filiam, caeloque invexisti, qui es caelestis. Papae quid video ! video infantem mundo antiquiorem ; caelo suspensum tenet oculum, clausum os ; ejus tamen silentium, ut apparet, cum Deo sermo est. Nemo tamen vidit uspiam parvulum sic omnia circumspicientem ; aspectus iste indicat hunc esse cujus providentia mundus administratur, atque superum inferumque rebus consulitur ; talem enim habere decet oculum qui imperat atque cuncta gubernat. Quorsum igitur tibi fontes lactis aperiam, qui rerum Fons es et Caput ? aut quorsum tibi cibum porrigam, cujus mensa mundo alimenta ministrat ? aut quo pacto attingam fascias circumfuso te lumine amictum involventes ? Praeterea quo te appelem nomine non video, Fili Viventis, nec enim ausim vocare te Filium Joseph ; horret at vocem auris, nec vero sanguis ejus es. At nec tutum mihi, ejus cui sum desponsata nomen suppressere. Quare licet unus tuus sit Pater, parentes tibi deinceps plures addiscam. Et sane nec decies millies nomina te explicant, ex quo Filius Dei etiam hominis factus es Filius, Filius Joseph, et Filius David, et Dominus Mariae. Jam quis fecit elinguem Dominum linguarum ? Quin ergo, Sancte, non loqueris pro matre, postquam maligni quidam homines mihi ex tuo purissimo conceptu struxere calumniam ? quin obtrectantibus ostentum opponis, unde cognoscant tuae conceptionis Auctorem ? Tui causa, qui omnes amas, in odium multorum incidi, infestorque et exagitor quod conceperim et pepererim Reparatorem mundo, Adae Consolatorem ob redditam Paradisi clavem. Ecce autem turbatur insurgitque mare, et matrem tuam petit, ut olim Jonam. Eccum Herodes saevus fluctus suffocare molitur matris Dominum suae. Mihi tamen sedet animo fixum, extorrem tecum errare ; certa quippe ubique, te duce, paratur salus. Carcer, te praesente, carcer non est ; te sublevante, homines caelo invecti sunt : sepulcra sepulera non sunt, te vindice, qui est resurrectio et vita mortuorum.”

It thus becomes clear that the dramatic tendency in question did exist in the fourth century. On the other hand, it would seem as though my statement on p. 448, ‘This method of

animating a discourse by the introduction of dramatic elements is undoubtedly due to Hellenic influence,' might need to be taken with reservation. It seems doubtful whether Ephraem was acquainted with Greek; yet the brief Syrian life of him (quoted in the *Encyc. Brit.* under his name) says: 'After a time he went . . . to Caesarea of Cappadocia to Basil, and received from him the imposition of hands for the diaconate.' Would this be likely if he knew no Greek, seeing that his home was in Edessa, where Christianity was flourishing at this time? In any case, Greek influences are likely to have reached him, since, for example, the Edessene Protonike legend, which had been elaborated by the end of the fourth century, is, according to Lipsius (*Die Edessenische Abgar-Sage*, p. 91) based upon the story of the invention of the cross by Helena.

ALBERT S. COOK.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

## DIE KÜCHE DES 16. JAHRHUNDERTS NACH JOHANN FISCHART; EINE KULTUR- GESCHICHTLICHE STUDIE.<sup>1</sup>

IM Essen und Trinken stellte der Deutsche des 16. Jahrhunderts seinen Mann. Gingen die höheren Genüsse z. T. auch ab, so erfreute man sich um so mehr an der Schüssel und dem Becher.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ein gut Mahl ist Henkens wert,' ist ein Sprichwort jener Zeit, welches bezeugt, wie sehr man diesen Genüssen ergeben war.

Den übermässigen Genuss von Speise und Trank im Auge, sagte Fischart einst <sup>3</sup> 'uns Deutschen fällt's Geld durch den Bauch.'

Einheimische Speisen waren verhältnismässig wolfeil; wer aber nach 'welschen' d. h. ausländischen Raritäten verlangte, der musste es am Geldsäckel büssen.

<sup>1</sup> Von Texten sind die folgenden benutzt worden: Für *Das Podagrammisch Trostbüchlein* (Abkz. Pod. Trost.), *Das Philosophisch Ehezuchtbüchlein* (Ehezucht.), *Der Eulenspiegel Reimensweis* (Eulen.), *Das Glückhafte Schiff von Zürich* (Gl. Schiff.), *Flöhhatz* (Flöh.) *Das Glückhafte Schiff. Kehrab.* (Kehrab.) die Ausgabe von Hauffen in der Deutschen Nationallitteratur, Stuttgart, o. J. Für die *Geschichtklitterung*. (Gschklit.), und *Aller Praktik Grossmutter* (Praktik.), die Ausgabe in den Neudrucken deutscher Litteraturwerke des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, Halle, a/S. 1882.—Für *Eine Vorbereitung in den Amadis*. (Amadis.), *Die Dichtungen des Joh. Fischart, genannt Menzer*, herausgegeben von K. Goedeke, Leipzig, 1880.

Sonstige Abkürzungen: Gr. = *Grimms Deutsches Wörterbuch*; Dief. = *Diefenbach und Wülckers Hoch- und Niederdeutsches Wörterbuch*, Basel, 1885.—Sanders = *Sanders' Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*.

Zu dieser Studie sind alle deutschen Werke Fischarts, ausgenommen *Der Bienenkorb*, *die Bücher vom Feldbau*, und etliche unbedeutende Gedichte, die mir nicht zugänglich waren, ausgezogen worden. Alles was auf die Küche Bezug hat, einschliesslich der Sprichwörter, ist benutzt worden. Die Belege sind unter Angabe der Zeile, oder der Seite und Zeile angegeben.

<sup>2</sup> Pod. Trost., 34. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Eulen., 7164.

<sup>1</sup> Wer schlecken will, der muss es zahlen,  
Den Schleck verkaufen teuer die Waalen (*Welschen*).  
Drum haben sie 's Geld im Beutel auch.

<sup>2</sup> 'Eigner Herd ist Goldes wert,' hiess es im Volksmund, denn wer den nicht hatte, musste sich entweder <sup>3</sup> 'aus dem Stegreif nähren,' wie der nunmehr herabgekommene Raubritter oder der Söldner, oder aber zuweilen <sup>4</sup> 'am Hungertuch nagen' und <sup>5</sup> 'den Hunger zum Koch haben.' Hingegen hiess es von dem am eignen Herd Geborgenen, <sup>6</sup> 'wohlgemäst ist man wohl getröst,' 'vollgesetzt Bäuch thun wohlgesetzt Streich: Hinwieder wo Hunger regiert, die Stärke man verliert: wo <sup>7</sup> Nagenranft die Oberhand gewinnt, da hat die Stärke ausgedient.'

Zum Küchenpersonal gehört, ausser der Hausfrau, welche die Aufsicht führt, den Schlüsselbund trägt, und auch selbst tüchtig mithilft, die Magd, auch <sup>8</sup> 'Küchenratz' genannt. Streitigkeiten zwischen der Hausfrau und den Mägden sind im 16. Jahrhundert alltäglich. Die Frau beklagt sich meistens, die Mägde seien faul, naschhaft, unreinlich und diebisch. Auch wirft man ihnen vor, dass sie viel Geschirr zerbrechen, das ihnen dann gewöhnlich vom Lohn abgezogen wird. Die Magd aber verteidigt sich, die Frau sei geizig und lasse der Magd das ihr Gehörige nicht zukommen. Sie droht, falls man sie entlassen sollte, gewisse Vergehen der Hausfrau aufzudecken, denn bei den lockeren sittlichen Verhältnissen vollbringt die Frau manches, was der Mann nicht zu wissen bekommen soll, und umgekehrt.

Nach modernem Dafürhalten gehört in jede wohlbestellte Küche das Kochbuch; auch unseren Vorfahren des 16. Jahrhunderts ging dies wertvolle kulinarische <sup>9</sup> Hilfsmittel nicht ab. Fischart nennt besonders das Mainzische, doch lag ihm das, als aus seiner <sup>10</sup> Vaterstadt stammend, näher als etwaige andere.

Tisch- und Küchengerät ist in Auswahl vorhanden. Selbstverständlich bezieht sich dies sowohl als das über das Kochbuch

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 7161 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ehezucht.*, 159. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Flöh.*, 128. 69.

<sup>4</sup> *Gschklit.*, 347. 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Pod. Trost.*, 71. 36 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Gschklit.*, 347. 7 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Nagenranft = Nage die Brotrinde.

<sup>8</sup> *Flöh.*, 869.

<sup>9</sup> *Gschklit.*, 275. 22.

<sup>10</sup> Es ist nicht gewiss, ob Mainz seine Vaterstadt ist. Seine Heimat war Strassburg. Er führte den Namen Joh. Fischart, genannt Menzner.

Gesagte nur auf die vornehmeren Verhältnisse. Linnene <sup>1</sup>Tischtücher sowohl als Handtücher webt die Hausfrau für den eigenen Bedarf. Servietten waren nur bei Festlichkeiten oder an den Tafeln der Vornehmen zu finden.

Mahlzeiten gab es in der Regel drei, das <sup>2</sup>Mittagessen um zwölf Uhr. Das Volk begnügte sich mit grober Speise, oft ging es auch spärlich zu, und man musste sich mit dünnen Wassersuppen abfinden. Das waren die Bettelsuppen, von denen es im Sprichwort lautet: <sup>3</sup>‘Er hat ein Herz wie eine kalte Wassersuppe.’ Auch darein musste man sich schicken, es hiess dann wohl: <sup>4</sup>‘Friss Vogel oder stirb,’ und man getröstete sich auf einen künftigen ‘Schlamp.’

Der beehrte Gast erhielt den Sitz nächst dem Wirt und war also der <sup>5</sup>‘nächste am Brett.’ Ging dann der Hausfrau nicht alles nach Wunsch, so ängstigte sie sich wohl gerade wie die heutigen Evastöchter, und es <sup>6</sup>‘fiel’ ihr vielleicht auch ‘die Witz in die Asche.’ Auch sie setzt ihren Stolz darein, reinlich zu kochen und aufzutischen, doch wollen wir bedenken, dass sie dem 16. Jahrhundert angehört, in dem es oft nicht allzu ‘katzenrein’ zugeht.

Es wird aufgetragen. Garten- und Feldfrüchte sind wohl vertreten, <sup>7</sup>Erbsen, Bohnen, gelbe und weisse <sup>8</sup>Rüben, Zwiebel, Rettich, Kraut, <sup>9</sup>Knoblauch, sehr beliebt unter den Bauern, <sup>10</sup>Salat, <sup>11</sup>Linsen, <sup>12</sup>Petersilie, Lauch, <sup>13</sup>Brunnenkresse, bei den Holländern sehr beliebt, <sup>14</sup>Hirse, <sup>15</sup>Kohl, <sup>16</sup>Trauben, Erdbeeren, <sup>17</sup>Äpfel, Birnen, <sup>18</sup>Kirschen, allerlei <sup>19</sup>Wurzeln, <sup>20</sup>Pflaumen und Knopfsterteken (*Paradiesäpfel*).

Heute ist's aber eine vornehme Tafel, an die wir geladen sind, und es wird feinerer Gaumenkitzel aufgetragen. Ausländische Früchte ‘aus Nysa in Arabien, wo der Pfeffer wächst;’ dahin wünscht man solche, die einem lästig sind, d. h. recht weit

<sup>1</sup> Gschklit., 109. 8 ff.<sup>2</sup> Eulen., 10659 ff.<sup>3</sup> Pod. Trost., 20. 5 ff.<sup>4</sup> Eulen., 764.<sup>5</sup> Ehezucht., 140. 22.<sup>6</sup> Flöh., 503.<sup>7</sup> Praktik., 24. 28.<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 24. 12.<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 29. 4.<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 20. 8.<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 20. 21.<sup>12</sup> Eulen., 8234.<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 11205 ff.<sup>14</sup> Gschklit., 312. 5 f.<sup>15</sup> Eulen., 4833.<sup>16</sup> Pod. Trost., 85. 7.<sup>17</sup> Praktik., 6.10.<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 23. 30.<sup>19</sup> Gschklit., 275. 21.<sup>20</sup> Eulen., 11458 ff; Gschklit., 58. 33.

fort, wenn man sagt <sup>1</sup> 'Ich wollt er wäre wo der Pfeffer wächst.' Vom Ausland kommen auch ausgesuchte <sup>2</sup> Weintrauben, Mandeln, Kütten (= Quitten, Gr. v, 2894), Granatäpfel, nebst Spezerei, Zucker und Getreide. Daher kam auch das 'Fleisch von verschnittenen Hammeln, so faist, dass sie kaum gehen können, da ihrer Schwänz einer 24 Pfund wiegt.' Aus Arabien kommt auch die Zimmetrinde. Ausländisch sind ferner: <sup>3</sup> Safran, Reis, welsche Disteln, Artischoken, rote Rüblein, Melonen, Pfed (= *Pfebe*, eine Melonenart, Gr. VII, 1633), und Citronen.

Fleisch darf auf dem Tische nicht fehlen, soll das Mahl kein mageres werden. Der Vegetarianismus hatte seinen Einzug noch nicht gehalten. Die kräftigen Zeitgenossen verlangen nach kräftigen Speisen. <sup>4</sup> 'Besser eine Laus im Kraut als gar kein Fleisch,' berichtet uns der Volksmund.

Das Fleisch wird häufig am <sup>5</sup> Spiess gebraten, und bei der Naschhaftigkeit der Dienstboten muss es gut gehen, wenn der Braten unversehrt auf die Tafel gelangen soll. So isst Eulenspiegel seinem Brotherrn ein Huhn vom Spiess in der Küche, und Hans Sachs erzählt einen drolligen Schwank von einem Diener, der einen Schenkel vorweg ass, und sich deswegen vor seinem Herrn verantworten muss. Man weiss aber das Fleisch auch sonst zuzubereiten und <sup>6</sup> geräuchertes, gedörrtes, <sup>7</sup> gesottenes, frisches und eingesalzenes wechseln mit einander ab. Rindfleisch ist nicht so alltäglich wie Schweinefleisch, was jedenfalls mit dem Preis zusammenhängt. Wurst ist sehr beliebt. Man kennt davon manche Sorten: <sup>8</sup> Rot- Knack- <sup>9</sup> Knoblauch- und <sup>10</sup> Leberwurst; Bluthunde, jedenfalls eine Art grosser Blutwürste, Schübel- Pfeffer- Ross- Mett- Reh- Hasen- und Rosenwürste; Salzbutzen, Blutwürste, flämische Hillen, <sup>11</sup> Kuttelfleck (*Eingeweide*), Kopf, Kröss (*ähnlich wie Kuttelfleck*), Utter (*Euter*), Gehenck (*Eingeweide*, Sanders, I, 687,3.), Netzen (*Netzhaut der Eingeweide*, Gr. VII, 639.), Börsel (*Eingeweide*, Dief. 279.), Tribdärm, Sultzwammen (*gesalzenes Bauchfleisch*, Sanders, II,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 9650 f.<sup>2</sup> Pod. Trost., 26. 21 ff.<sup>3</sup> Gschklit., 58. 8 ff.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 241.37 f.<sup>5</sup> Eulen., 1280 ff.<sup>6</sup> Gschklit., 76.25 f.<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.29 f.<sup>8</sup> Eulen., 4792 f.<sup>9</sup> Gschklit., 75.17 ff.<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.31 ff.<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.36 ff.

1474.), Saltziss, bononische Tucedenwürste, lucanische Mettwürste, Bülling, Burgundische Allandrillewurst, Langennitzische Botullenbaden, Rollpanzen (*Panze = tripa, omentum.*), Bauntzen (*eingemachte Därme*), Wurstbauntzen und Weckerlin.

Dazu kommen <sup>1</sup> Geis-, Schaf- und Kalbfleisch, einheimisches und ausländisches Geflügel: <sup>2</sup> Tauben, <sup>3</sup> Hühner, <sup>4</sup> Krammetsvögel, <sup>5</sup> Wachteln, <sup>6</sup> kalkuttische Hennen, <sup>7</sup> Fasanen, Urhähne (*Auerhähne*), Ringeltauben, allerlei wilde Enten, Antvögel (*Hausenten*), Schnepfen, Haselhühner, Rebhühner, Fincken, Rohrhähne (= *Art Wasserhuhn*), Wasserhühner, Pfäuen, vielerlei Gänse, Kraniche, Plovögel (*Blauvogel oder Blaumeise*), Brachvögel (*Regenvögel*), Böllhinn, Scheltrachen, Scholucker, Fluder (*mergus*), Giftzen, Hegeschär (*Art Erdhuhn*), Mattkern (*Wachtelkönig*), Koppri-gerle (*erythropus minor*), Möven, Mistler (*Misteldrossel*), Schnee-hühner, Holbrot (*teils für Wasserhuhn, teils für den Kibitz*), Merchen (*mergus*), Lerchen, <sup>8</sup> Kapaune, <sup>9</sup> Rohrspatzen. Von Wildpret begegnen ausserdem <sup>10</sup> Hasen, Wildschweine und Rehe.

Als Gewürz dienen: <sup>11</sup> Salz, <sup>12</sup> Muskatnüsse, <sup>13</sup> Zimmet, Ingwer, <sup>14</sup> Safran, Pfeffer, <sup>15</sup> Meerrettich, Senf, Pfefferkraut, bittere Mandeln, Essig, Kappernblättchen und sonstige <sup>16</sup> Spezereien.

An Festtagen sind gewisse Gerichte gäng und gäbe. So isst man zu Ostern <sup>17</sup> Fladen (*dünner gebackener Kuchen*), am Martins-tag <sup>18</sup> Gänse, am Charfreitag <sup>19</sup> Fladen und Eierkäse, am Dreikönigstag <sup>20</sup> Köningsküchen. Feste feierte man das Jahr hindurch nicht nach den Dutzenden, sondern nach den Hunderten, so dass sich die Festlichkeiten eng aneinanderreiheten, <sup>21</sup> "also dass kein Schlamp dem andern weichen kann."

Noch mehr bietet der Küchenzettel, denn diese Leute essen, <sup>22</sup> "dass ihnen schier der Herzbündel kracht." Nicht nur die gewöhnlicheren Gerichte, die erwähnten Bauntzen, d. i. <sup>23</sup> "feiste

<sup>1</sup> Gschklit., 375. 25 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 112. 75.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 376. 1 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 375. 29 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Pod. Trost., 35. 20.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 26. 23.

<sup>19</sup> Praktik., 4. 30 f.

<sup>22</sup> Eulen., 768.

<sup>2</sup> Eulen, 9056 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Gschklit., 304. 9.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 375. 28.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 275. 20

<sup>14</sup> Gschklit., 58. 8.

<sup>17</sup> Gschklit., 75. 18.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 19. 29.

<sup>23</sup> Gschklit., 118. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 8225 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 375. 29 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 58. 33.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 79. 16

<sup>15</sup> Pod. Trost., 72. 18 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Eulen., 639.

<sup>21</sup> Gschklit., 74. 28 f.

Magendarm von Barrenrindern," auch <sup>1</sup> Kuttelfleck genannt, <sup>2</sup> Schinken, Spintspeck, Füllspeck, Speckriemen, Speckseiten, Schweinsbacken (*vielleicht für Schweinsbachen = Schinken*), Bratferken (= *Ferkel*), Spanferlin (= *Ferkel*) aus Baiern, Rindfleisch von Mastrindern, Weidfleisch, vernonnte Stechkälber (*d. h. verschnittene weibliche Kälber*), Farren, Rindbacken und = rücken, Hammelköpfe, Lammfleisch und ausgesuchtes Schweinefleisch, sondern auch Quallen vom Hundsruock, Hahnenkämme, Hinterviertel vom Schöps (*Hammel*), Hammelbug, Gansmenen (*Fleischmane, musculus carnis, Gr., III, 1761*), Gansschenkel, Castraunenfleisch (*caro verbecina*), Pans in der Sultz (*Pansee, tripa, jedenfalls in Salz eingelegt*), Hammelschlegel, eingemachte Lummel (= *Lendenfleisch*), Wammen (*der häutige Teil am Kinn und an den Seiten*), Spallen (*Schulter, Bug, Gr., x, 1845*), Kalbsbraten, Nierenbraten, Hirschziemer, Rehshenkel, Hinterlauf und Bug, Ochsenzungen aus Ungarn und Hirschleber.

Beliebt sind auch <sup>3</sup> Specksuppe, <sup>4</sup> Pfeffer, d. h. eine mit einer stark gewürzten Brühe zubereitete Speise, <sup>5</sup> Haferbrei, <sup>6</sup> Suppe, <sup>7</sup> Zwiebel, <sup>8</sup> Speck und Kohl, <sup>9</sup> Eier, von den Holländern mit Vorliebe mit Butter und Brunnenkresse gegessen, <sup>10</sup> Zerren, <sup>11</sup> gesalzene Butter aus Holland, Kompote, bittere Mandeln von Speier, Pfirsiche vom Rhein, Rettich und Meerrettich aus dem Elsass, Schweinefüsse in Essig oder gallertartig, <sup>12</sup> Wassernudeln, und Ferkelschwänze.<sup>13</sup>

Damit ist es an den Tafeln der Schlemmer noch nicht zu Ende. Die grössten Feinschmecker dieser Zeit aber sind die Kaufleute. 'Welsches' Essen sowie welsche Tracht wurde durch sie in Deutschland eingeführt.

<sup>14</sup> Denn Kaufleut ihre Magen ändern  
Mit sammt der waar' aus fernen Ländern,  
Welsch Essen muss in ihren Kragen,  
Wie sie denn auch welsch Kleider tragen.

<sup>1</sup> Eulen., 101 28.

<sup>4</sup> Praktik., 20. 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 6833.

<sup>10</sup> Gschklit., 74. 8.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 119. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Gschklit., 76. 11 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Eulen., 710.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 4835.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 77. 20.

<sup>14</sup> Eulen., 8229 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Gschklit., 139. 19.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 818 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 11203 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 313. 22.



Den biedern Deutschen empört diese Herrschaft des Auslands.  
So grollt Fischart:

<sup>1</sup> O, mit den Affenmäulern aus,  
Die für ein Schleck essen ein Laus  
Und haben geile Eselszungen,  
Die Disteln für das Best' verschlungen,  
Weil sie Unfläter sind und Bauern  
Und doch darneben Schälk' und Lauern,  
Den' nichts schmack't, dann es brenn und beiss  
Und kützel sie im Rachen leiss (leise)  
Und achten für ein' Baurenspeis':  
Brot, Mus, Käs', Obs und Adams Schweiss.

Die 'ausgeklaubtesten Pisslein' waren<sup>2</sup> das Fleisch von verheilten, d. h. verschnittenen Stieren, Nierenbraten, Zunge und Leber des Hirsches, junge Hahnenhoden, Taubenköbllein (*Köbllein* = *Schenkel*), Krebseier, -schwänze, Rögen, d. h. rogen-führende Fische, Zeisigmagen, Krammetsvogelmagen, Aalraupen (*eine Sorte Raubfisch*), Hasenhirn und -nieren, Lerchenklauen, Salmenrücken (*Lachsrücken*), Entenfüsse, Gänsemagen, Kongerköpfe (*Konger, eine Art Seeaal*), sonstige Aale, Barbelmäulchen (*Barbel Dim. von Barbe, ein edler Flussfisch*), Hecht-schwänze, Karpfenköpfe, <sup>3</sup> Schnecken, Frösche, Ottern, Dachse, Murmeltiere, Eichhörnchen, Biber, Störche, Schwäne, <sup>4</sup> Karp-fenzungen, Gänsefüsse, <sup>5</sup> Störche, <sup>6</sup> Frösche u. Krebse.

War ein Priester beim Mahl zugegen, so wurde ihm in der Regel der <sup>7</sup> Pfaffenschnitt zu teil, d. h. der beste Schnitt des Bratens.

Von Fischen kennt man viele Sorten. Man fing sie selbst oder liess sie vom Ausland kommen. Man nennt uns: <sup>8</sup> Brat-fische vom Bodensee, Hanselgalreien, Forellen, Stockfisch, diese wurden mürb geschlagen, daher die Redensart <sup>9</sup> 'Einen so weich wie Stockfisch schlagen,' Dörren, Posten, Präsem, Storen (*eine Art Knorpelfische*), Scheiden, rote Fohren (*Forellenart*), weisse Orffen (*cyprinus orfus, ein karpfenartiger Fisch*), Haselnaschen, Pirsching (ein Süßwasserfisch), Latföhren, Milzhäring, geräu-

<sup>1</sup> Eulen., 10134 ff.<sup>2</sup> Pod. Trost., 35. 1 ff.<sup>3</sup> Gschklit., 58. 14 ff.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 78. 24 ff.<sup>5</sup> Gschklit., 58. 15 ff.<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 304. 10.<sup>7</sup> Pod. Trost., 35. 16.<sup>8</sup> Gschklit., 81. 6 ff.<sup>9</sup> Eulen., 7004.

cherte Rencken (*am Bodensee Blaufelchen oder Weissfelchen im vierten Jahr. Gr.*), Felchen, Gangfisch (*am Bodensee der Felche oder Belche im dritten Lebensjahr*), Kelchlin, Lauben (*Weissfisch*), Truschen (*ein aalähnlicher Fisch*), Ropelen, Hechte, Salm oder Lachs, <sup>1</sup>Aale, <sup>2</sup>Äsch (*thymallus piscis*).

<sup>3</sup> Käse, einheimischer sowohl als ausländischer, wird aufgetragen. Er wurde sehr verschiedenartig zubereitet und von den verschiedensten Tieren gewonnen. Man erzählt uns von weissen, blauen, gelben, grünen, aussätzigen, zähen, stinkenden, faulen, mürben, wurmwühlenden (*wurmigen*) Käsen von Kühen, Ziegen, Schafen, Reinigern (*Renntieren, Gr. VIII, 705*), ja auch Eseln. Von verschiedenen Arten nennt man Schabziger, Holeisen, Hobeln aus der Schweiz; Parmesaner aus Italien, Schwarzwälder, Mönsterkäs, Ziger von Glarus, Krenzkäs von Werd, Delsperger aus den freien Bergen, Sahnerkäs aus dem Wiflispurger Gau, Geisskäs aus Hessen, Speisskäs, Hasenkäs u. s. w., u. s. w., a. a. o.

Backwerk backte man entweder selbst, oder was besonders vom feineren gelten mag, man holte es beim Bäcker. <sup>4</sup> Weissbrot gehörte schon gewissermassen zum Luxus. Eulenspiegel kann sich als junger Mann kaum erinnern, jemals solches gegessen <sup>5</sup> zu haben. <sup>6</sup> Wecken, oder Weckbrod, und <sup>7</sup> Nudeln waren beim Bäcker zu haben, gleichfalls <sup>8</sup> Pasteten, denen man nachsagt, dass sie nicht immer frisch gewesen seien. Der früher erwähnte Königskuchen scheint weite Verbreitung erlangt zu haben. Auch ein Gebäck, <sup>9</sup> Pfaffenbarett genannt, kannte man. <sup>10</sup> Krapfen, eine Art Eierkuchen, werden viel genannt und gerühmt. Es schliessen den Reigen <sup>11</sup> Speckkuchen, <sup>12</sup> Käskuchen, <sup>13</sup> Nusz-kuchen, <sup>14</sup> Fladen, Lebkuchen und <sup>15</sup> Eierkuchen, sogar von 99 Kräutern.

Zwischen den einzelnen Gängen benutzen wir die Gelegenheit uns die Ausstattung der Tafel etwas genauer anzusehen. Es ist heute hoher Festtag. Unser Tischtuch ist mit wohlriechendem

<sup>1</sup> Gschklit., 304. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 58. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 79. 6 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Eulen., 713 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 621 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 792.

<sup>7</sup> Gschklit., 313. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Eulen., 10132 f.

<sup>9</sup> Gschklit., 74. 4 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 311. 32.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 314. 7 und 25.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 313. 22.

<sup>13</sup> 313. 5.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 139. 18.

<sup>15</sup> Praktik., 18. 31 f.

Wasser besprengt und mit Blumen bestreut. Vom nebenanliegenden Gemach tönt eine feine <sup>1</sup> Tafelmusik.

Die Hauptgerichte stehen in Platten oder <sup>2</sup> Schüsseln, die Getränke in <sup>3</sup> Flaschen, <sup>4</sup> Schlägeln (*dickbäuchige Gefässe*), <sup>5</sup> Gläsern, Bechern, Kandeln (*Kannen*), Pokalen, Muhelen, Römerchen, Dickelbechern, Angstern (*Trinkgeschirr mit engem Hals oder Mundloch Gr. 1, 360.*), Kelchen, Hofbechern, Tassen, Trinkschalen, Pfaffenmassen, Staufen, Kitten, Kälten, Kanuten, Köpfen, Knartgen, Schläuchen, Pipen, Nussen, Fiolen, Lampeten, Nüsseln, Seideln (*das Seidel hält  $\frac{1}{2}$  Mass*), Bleisäcken, Bäuscheln (*ein bauschiges Trinkgefäss*), Strassmeiern, Muscatnüssen, Meerkrebsschalen, Stübichen, Spitzmassen, Zolcken, Kannen, Schnaulzenmassen, Stotzen.

Andere grössere Gefässe sind Krüge, Potten, Gutruffen, (*Krugart*), Pinten, Näpfen, Gonen (*Art Schöpfgesfäss*), Kellen (*Schöpfgesfäss*), Kufen (*können entweder Trinkgefässe oder Fässer sein*), Kühlkessel, Mälterlein, Melkgelten, Schoppenkännlein, Krausen und <sup>6</sup> Karn.

Dazu kommt allerlei <sup>7</sup> Silbergeschirr, auch <sup>8</sup> Salzfässer, Becken, Fischplatten, Teller, und <sup>9</sup> Löffel. Sollte uns aber unsere Wirtin nach beendetem Mahl Zur Besichtigung ihrer Küche einladen, so können wir da zu sehen bekommen <sup>10</sup> Schaumlöffel, <sup>11</sup> Bratpfannen, <sup>12</sup> Häfen, <sup>13</sup> Bratspiesse, <sup>14</sup> Eimer, <sup>15</sup> Tuchbeutel um das Mehl zu beuteln. (Siebe kannte man nicht). <sup>16</sup> Backtrog, <sup>17</sup> Bütte, und <sup>18</sup> Lögel (*Fässchen*).

Als Nachtisch wird Konfekt aufgetragen. <sup>19</sup> 'Konfekt mit Würz besteckt' gilt als Delikatesse. Andere leckeren Bissen sind <sup>20</sup> Konfektküchlein, <sup>21</sup> Schlehenkonfekt, <sup>22</sup> Cantoniakonfekt.

Nun werden Zahnstöcher, oder wie man sie auch nennt, <sup>23</sup> Zahnsteurer herumgereicht. Schliesslich <sup>24</sup> wusch man sich

<sup>1</sup> Pod. Trost., 31. 12 und Gschklit., 106. 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 9534 f.

<sup>6</sup> Eulen., 732.

<sup>9</sup> Eulen., 1316.

<sup>12</sup> Eulen., 1115.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 2548 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 9527.

<sup>21</sup> Gschklit., 78, 28.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 276. 4 f.

<sup>4</sup> Flöh., 1731.

<sup>7</sup> Gschklit., 109. 25.

<sup>10</sup> Gschklit., 109. 16.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 1321.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 2604.

<sup>19</sup> Eulen., 10130.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 275. 34 f.

<sup>8</sup> Eulen., 10740.

<sup>5</sup> Gschklit., 123, 1 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 109. 21.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 119. 22.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 1404.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 9474.

<sup>20</sup> Pod. Trost., 35. 13.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 258. 10.

in der herumgereichten Schüssel die Hände, und das mahl war beendet. <sup>1</sup>Ausnahmsweise sprach man nach beendetem Mahl ein Tischgebet oder sang religiöse Lieder.

Zu guter Letzt musste nun aber noch getrunken werden. Es ist bemerkenswert, das man nicht nur 'zu guter Lez' trank sondern auch 'zu guter Lez' <sup>2</sup> ass.

Bei unseren Gastgebern heisst est: <sup>3</sup> 'Essen und nit getruncken, ist so vil als gehuncken,' oder auch ungekehrt: <sup>4</sup> 'Getruncken ungegessen, sei zwischen zwei Stühlen nidergegessen.' Derb ausgedrückt, <sup>5</sup> 'Schmiert man sich die Gurgel' oder <sup>6</sup> 'wäscht sich den Schnabel im Wein.'

Wie eng das Trinken mit der deutschen Weltanschauung jener Zeit verknüpft ist, beweisen die vielen Redensarten, die darauf Bezug nehmen. Selbst von der Hölle spricht man als vom Krug, und nennt dieselbe den <sup>7</sup> Nobiskrug. Nach Sankt Urban heisst die Trunkenheit <sup>8</sup> Sankt Urbans Plag.

Von Getränken kannte man viele sorten. <sup>9</sup> Einbecks-  
<sup>10</sup> Pffingst- <sup>11</sup> Bremisch, Embdisch, woldawig und Englisch Bier, und geförnisst Juppenbier aus Gersten von Danzig; augenblendisch Neuburgisch, Thüringisch, Bambergisch, Schwabachisch, Masanisch, Lifländisch, Stettinisch, Hamburgisch- und Lübeckisch Weizenbier, Einbeckisch Hopfenbier, Torgisch gewürzt Bier, Nachbier, jung Bier, dünn Bier, Kufen- und Kleienbier u. s. w., u. s. w., a. a. o.

<sup>12</sup> Wein ist nicht so Alltöglich wie Bier und schon mehr als Luxus erachtet. Die Zahl der sorten Steigt in die Hunderte. Da waren, um bloss eine Anzahl zu nennen: Ehr-Land- Brach-Traber- Fuhr- und Fuderwein; Rappis, Kirschwein, Bastart, Bruder Moroff, Weichseln- Trupff- Nachtruckwein u. s. w., u. s. w., a. a. o. Auch <sup>13</sup> Gänsewein, (*vielleicht für Wasser*) <sup>14</sup> Vin d'Orleans von Montflascon, von Arbois, weisser Wein, taffete Wein u. s. w., a. a. o. Zum auserlesensten aber Gehörte der <sup>15</sup> Malvasier, Rheinfall, Romanier, Muskateller, Hungarischer

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 276. 5 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Gschklit., 75. 24 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 76. 7

<sup>10</sup> Gschklit., 75. 19.

<sup>13</sup> Praktik., 5. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Gl. Schliff, 975.

<sup>5</sup> Eulen., 6073.

<sup>8</sup> Kehrab., 356.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 85. 32 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Gschklit., 153. 8 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Praktik., 29. 1 f.

<sup>6</sup> Gschklit., 142. 30.

<sup>9</sup> Eulen., 8280.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 84. 13 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Pod. Trost., 32. 4 ff.

Kliber und Georges, Wibacher, Rosatzer, Zschernikaler, Lutewergen, Burgundischer Arboiser, Leonischer Muskat, Ringauer, Augstaler u. s. w., u. s. w., a. a. o.

Mit dem Wein wurde auch Fälschung getrieben. Fischart betet deshalb gelegentlich sehr fromm: <sup>1</sup> 'O Gott, behüt den Wein vor Hagelstein, und Treff den, der die Mass' macht klein, und thut Wassermilch, Eyerklar, Saltspeck, Senff, Weydäschen, (*Weidenaschen*), und Tropfwurtz drein.'

Dem heiligen Johannes zu Ehren, der ohne Schaden vergifteten Wein getrunken haben soll, heisst der Abschiedstrunk der <sup>2</sup> Johannesegen. Je älter der Wein, desto edler ist er. Man nennt uns solchen von <sup>3</sup> 140 Jahren.

Auch ein Getränk mit Namen <sup>4</sup> Zith kannte man. Im Herbst trank man neuen <sup>5</sup> Most. <sup>6</sup> Milch und Buttermilch sind für schwache Leute und <sup>7</sup> Molcken ein Getränk für solche die nichts besseres zu erschwingen vermögen. <sup>8</sup> Wasser braucht man mit Vorliebe zum Waschen, doch kommt es auch zuweilen als Trank auf den Tisch.

Dies Geschlecht ist sehr geneigt dem Satz beizupflichten <sup>9</sup> 'Im Trocknen wohnt nimmer kein Seel,' den andern aber: <sup>10</sup> 'Ein Seel die im trockenen sitzt, hat witz' verwirft man. Von einem, der zu tief ins Glas geschaut, und das will was heissen, denn diese Leute können festen Fusses ganz schauderhafte Quantitäten hinunterstürzen, heisst es <sup>11</sup> 'ihn sticht der Rebenhäusel.'

<sup>12</sup> So geht es lustig zu bis tief in die Nacht hinein, denn wie

<sup>1</sup> Gschklit., 149. 18 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Gschklit., 149. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Gl. Schiff, 928 f.

<sup>4</sup> Gschklit., 85. 31.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 75. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Praktik., 23. 19.

<sup>7</sup> Eulen., 732.

<sup>8</sup> Gschklit., 275. 20.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 125. 37.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 126. 1 f.

<sup>11</sup> Ehezucht., 331. 19.

<sup>12</sup> Andere Sprichwörter und Redensarten, die auf die Küche und das Trinken anspielen, sind: 'Zu einem solchen Hafen einen Deckel finden' (Gschklit. 24. 21), d. h. So ein Pott, so ein Deckel; 'Seinen Speck den Hunden geben' (Praktik., 8. 27 f.), will sagen, fortgeben was man selbst brauchen kann; 'Einem viel in die Küche tragen.' (Eulen, 274.), d. i., Einem viel einbringen; 'Gleich gebacken sein' (Eulen., Vorrede, p. 14, l. 17.), so viel als gleich veranlagt sein, verächtlich; 'Da fress der Teufel mit einem Kraut' (Flöh., 275.), angewendet, wenn man mit einer Sache unzufrieden ist und nichts damit zu tun haben will; 'Eine süsse Brüh' über etwas machen' (Amadis., 144. 105.), = Eine Sache überzuckern; 'Das kraut nicht verdienen' (Eulen., 3439.), so viel

die alten Germanen trinken unsere wackeren Helden immer noch eins, bis schliesslich nach vollendetem Schmaus einer nach dem andern 'an den Wänden nach Hause hinkt.'

CHARLES H. HANDSCHIN.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

wie Das Salz nicht verdienen; 'Den Kübel mit der milch umstossen' (Pod. Trost., 50. 5.), hier das ärgste zufügen, sonst wohl auch das Kind mit dem Bad ausgiessen; 'Drein sehen sodass eine milch davon ersauern möchte' (Ehezucht., 258. 26 f.); 'Aus Süßmilch eine Sauermilch machen' (Eulen., 9463 f.), Fischart selbst erklärt dies a. a. o. 'Das ist aus Lied bald Traurigkeit.'

'Wer sich an Schälk und Mehlsäck'reibt, das Mehl gewisslich an ihm bleibt,' (Eulen., 6513 f.) gleich bedeutend mit 'Wer mit Pech umgeht besudelt sich; 'Konfekt auf die Zwiebel schütten' (Eulen., 7147 f.) = ungereimtes tun; 'Wer Brot hat, dem giebt man Brot.' (Eulen., 2403) = Wer da hat dem wird gegeben; 'Das Maul verbrennen' (Eulen., 7160), d. i. sich die Finger verbrennen an etwas; 'Jemand mit seinem Brei den Mund stopfen' (Kehrab., 808), so viel als ihm den Mund stopfen, indem man ihm in einer Fehde tüchtig herausgiebt; 'Ausessen was man sich eingebrockt hat' (Kehrab., 401 f.); Etwas 'täglich auf dem Brot zu essen bekommen' (Ehezucht 262, 25) = täglich zu hören bekommen; 'Die Zeche ohne den Wirt machen' (Gschklit., 199. 25); 'Wer Wildpret essen will, der kenn es und womit man's füll' (Eulen., 4989 f.) Will heissen, ehe man eine Sache angreift, soll man sich in derselben auskennen; 'Um den heissen Brei gehen' (Ehezucht 332. 3); 'Gemach in die Kohlen geblasen, so fährt dir kein Staub in die Nasen.' (Gschklit., 403, 32 f.); 'Dreitägig Fisch taugen auf kein' Tisch! (Praktik., 24. 29); 'Faule Fische' (Eulen., 8842) gleich wie faule Sache; 'Es ist nicht alles Fisch auf dem Grat' (Eulen., 5618), d. h. Es ist nicht alles in Ordnung; 'Wer einen guten Hecht essen will, muss die Galle wegwerfen' (Gschklit., 435. 17 f.) heisst man muss den geringern Vorteil des grösseren halber fahren lassen; 'Der Hunger lehrt beten' (Eulen., 3812).

## THE ARTIFICIAL PALATE.

## ONE WAY OF MAKING IT AND OF KEEPING ITS RECORDS.

THE artificial palate is one of the results of the many efforts to locate, and thus to study, the position of the tongue with reference to the palate and the teeth in the pronunciation of sounds. Something of the history of the palate, and a number of ways of making the same, are given by M. l'abbé Rousselot. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is simply to suggest another method of making the palate, and one which for simplicity and cheapness of manufacture, and for the greater exactitude it offers in final results, seems to have some advantages over anything described in the *Principes*.<sup>1</sup>

The object aimed at in the artificial palate is to obtain some instrument which shall be of such slight bulk, and shall conform so closely to the formation of the hard palate, as to make any position which the tongue may take in regard to this artificial palate a practically correct record of the tongue upon the hard palate itself.

The necessary materials to be provided for work are, an impression cup and modelling compound, such as a dentist uses for taking the impression of the upper portion of the mouth in the manufacture of a plate of teeth, a few cents worth of Plaster of Paris, a small amount of varnish, and, most important of all, a few ounces of gutta percha. The gutta percha as used by dentists in the preparation of the temporary plate is the kind needed, and may be obtained from any store which handles dental supplies. It comes in thin sheets, about three by five and three quarter inches, surface measurements, and for best results should not be over a twentieth of an inch in thickness. If it be impos-

<sup>1</sup> *Principes de Phonétique Expérimentale* par L'abbé Rousselot (H. Welter, Paris and Leipsic), Part I, p. 53 ff.

sible to obtain it satisfactorily thin it may be placed in hot water for a moment to soften and then rolled somewhat thinner. It should not be thinned by stretching.

Any one who really wishes to learn how to manipulate the various articles mentioned above should go to a dentist and see the work done, then try it himself under the dentist's directions. A short description of the method of work may, however, not be out of place. The impression cup may, in a general way, be compared to a spoon. If one imagine a spoon of tin or zinc alloy, with a handle about two inches long and a trifle under an inch wide, projecting straight out from the base of the bowl instead of being curved as in the ordinary spoon, the bowl itself about two inches in length and two and a half inches wide, open and square cut at the end, the sides sloping more abruptly than in an ordinary spoon, the bottom flat towards the rim and arched upward about half an inch in the center—if one can imagine this, he will have a fair picture of an impression cup. The modelling compound, a preparation of wax, comes in small round cakes about a quarter of an inch in thickness and three and a half inches in diameter. There are three grades, hard, soft, and medium. The latter seems to be preferable.

The modelling compound is placed in very hot water till soft, then transferred to the impression cup, filling the whole, but not projecting over the sides. To get a clear impression of the mouth there should be no creases on the surface of the wax. Care should also be taken to have the wax sufficiently cooled to prevent burning the mouth. One should be able to place the wax against the cheek without discomfort. The whole is then introduced into the mouth and pressed firmly against the palate and upper teeth. It should be held here till the modelling compound has had time to harden somewhat, then taken from the mouth and placed for a moment in cold water till the wax becomes cool and perfectly hard.

So far this is the method that would be followed by any dentist, but at this point I found it necessary to make a change in the method of procedure, and that for the following reasons. In working with the palate I had had made of hard rubber I found that it was very difficult, having obtained a record upon this



palate, to transfer the record to paper with sufficient accuracy to let me feel that I could speak with authority as to just what my tongue had done. This was especially the case, when I wished to compare sounds which were much alike in their formation. On the palate one has a record made on a surface with very complex curves. To transfer that record to a flat surface is theoretically impossible, and practically very difficult.

My aim, therefore, was to get a surface, which for practical purposes, was exactly like the one on which the record was made by the tongue. This could be accomplished in a variety of ways, but after a number of unsuccessful attempts I finally adopted the following method which I found thoroughly satisfactory. The impression of the palate in the modelling compound I marked off into small squares, about five millimeters to the side. Then, following the lines of these squares, I covered the surface of the impression with a series of small grooves, being careful not to make my lines too broad.

Next comes the plaster cast from the impression thus completed. It is well not to use any material with the plaster to hasten the hardening process, for this weakens the cast, and it is well to have a cast that will give long service. It is also desirable to have the plaster near the hardening point before making the cast, and in applying it, in order to prevent air bubbles in the cast, to jar the plaster by thumping the bottom of the impression cup against some hard object. Give the model a good generous coating. It can be trimmed down afterwards to proper and more graceful proportions. When the plaster is hardened, a matter of but a few moments, trim away the cast to the outside edges of the wax impression and place the whole in hot water in order to loosen the modelling compound from the cast. The wax will have a tendency to stick, but by pressing the parts already removed against the portions that still hold, the latter will readily be taken up and there will be no trouble in securing a clean cast. This will, of course, show the impression of teeth, gums, and hard palate, and, what is more important still for the final results, the series of small squares, which now, of course, appear on the surface as tiny ridges. The cast should now be

trimmed down to smaller proportions, as it will be much easier to handle if not too bulky.

If it be necessary to have the artificial palates at once there is no objection to immediately proceeding with the work. If there is plenty of time to spare the cast may be allowed to dry out thoroughly and then be given a coat of varnish. Shellac varnish, made by dissolving shellac in alcohol, has the advantage of drying very rapidly. A good clear carriage varnish makes the cast very neat and hard, but this will require a full day for drying. When the varnish is thoroughly dry the whole surface of the cast should be gone over with some substance to keep the gutta percha from sticking to it. Talcum powder or ground soapstone is satisfactory. If the work is taken up at once, without varnishing, the powder should be applied before placing the cast in water as described in the next paragraph.

The first gutta percha palate I made from the plaster cast cost me about forty-five minutes. I can now make five or six an hour, and with a little practice any one else can do the same. The money cost of each palate, once the cast is made, is only about ten cents. With the completed cast before one the next step is to produce the final palates. Take half as many sheets of gutta percha as there are palates to be made, and cut each sheet through the middle, from side to side. The resultant small sheets will be almost square and just the proper size for making the palates. Place also on the table before you two cups and a bowl, the latter sufficiently large to permit working in it with the fingers. The first cup should be filled with boiling water, the second with cold, the bowl should be filled with water not too hot to prevent one's working in it with his fingers. Into the cup of hot water dip a square of gutta percha till it softens, then transfer it to the bowl and over the face of the cast, working it down with the fingers and thumbs till it conforms to the shape of the cast. Care should be taken not to stretch the gutta percha more than is necessary. This accomplished, transfer the cast with the gutta percha to the cup of cold water. The gutta percha will harden in a moment and may then be removed. Continue this process till as many palates are made in the rough as are desired, for it is better to carry one operation through on

all the palates than to bring one palate to completion before taking up another.

When the required number of palates is finished in the rough they should all be trimmed down to more exact proportions with a small pair of scissors. All the material back of the middle of the wisdom teeth must be cut away, for otherwise the artificial palate will be affected by the motions of the soft palate and the results will be unsatisfactory. Then trim away all material outside of a line which may be thought of as extending along the middle of the inside walls of the molars. At the rear bicuspid let the line of cutting rise towards the grinding edge of the tooth, and continue upwards to, or over, the inner cusp of the front bicuspid. From along the front teeth cut away about half way down on the teeth. Each palate should then be placed again upon the cast and worked down upon the same till the details are well brought out and it is a perfect fit. To obtain the necessary malleability the gutta percha and cast may be held over a lamp and worked while hot, the fingers being moistened to prevent their sticking to the gutta percha. If this is not too thick, and if the ridges upon the cast are sufficiently strong, the whole series of lines upon the cast will show through. If they do not, the points of intersection may be brought out upon the face of the palate by pressure from behind with a pin or some other pointed instrument.

It will be found that the palates thus made are a trifle lacking in rigidity. For those to which the records are to be transferred for final keeping this makes no difference. The one palate which is to be used for taking records in the mouth, however, must be more rigid, it is also necessary that this palate should offer a black surface. One process will serve both purposes. Any black varnish will do the work. If no other kind may be had a good black may be obtained by dissolving a small amount of lampblack in the shellac varnish mentioned above. If the formation of the teeth will permit, it will also be well to give the palate some sort of a handle. Three quarters of an inch cut off from the end of a pin and pushed into the palate at some intersection of the teeth, not back of the bicuspids, will furnish this. It should not project beyond the teeth sufficiently to inter-

fere with the free movement of the lips. The dry surface of this black palate is then sprinkled with some white powder, talcum powder is convenient and not unpleasant, and placed in the mouth. The powder will then be removed from any point at which the tongue touches the palate. This is the record of the sound produced. Remove the palate from the mouth, and with a small brush and water colors or India ink reproduce upon one of the unblackened palates the lines of contact as shown upon the recording palate removed from the mouth. The copy can be made with practical exactitude because the surface of the two palates are exact duplicates.

For ordinary purposes a single palate will take four records. By using different colors for recording different sounds there will be no confusion. When any one palate has a finished set of records it may be given a coat of varnish. Thin transparent carriage varnish is excellent. The records can then be kept indefinitely.

It will be well to bear one or two points in mind. One should start his experiments with a comparatively simple sound. A vowel in connection with a single consonant is best. The reason for this is that the average English speaking person cannot, without much practice, pronounce a single clear cut vowel. Our so-called vowels, a, e, i, o, u, are all diphthongs, but if we shut in a vowel before and behind with a consonant we can, as a rule, without a great deal of trouble attain to a clear vowel. There is, for example, a large difference between long English a (ā) as it is pronounced standing alone and ā in bābe. Still more difficult is it to make certain of an English a as in can't unless it be surrounded by consonants.

There are undoubtedly very few language teachers who can take the time to engage in extended phonetic studies, but it is of the utmost importance to every language teacher to know his own mouth, and what is happening therein when he pronounces a given sound. There is scarcely any way to obtain this knowledge more easily and with more practical exactitude than by means of the artificial palate.

GEORGE M. HOWE.

## A SOURCE OF TENNYSON'S 'BUGLE SONG.'

ONE does not care especially to be classed in the category of literary hacks, as one of 'a prosaic set growing up among us, editors of booklets, bookworms, index-hunters, or men of great memories and no imagination, who *impute themselves* to the poet, and so believe that *he*, too, has no imagination, but is for ever poking his nose between the pages of some old volume in order to see what he can appropriate'—these being Tennyson's words in his memorable letter to Mr. S. E. Dawson with regard to the latter's review of *The Princess*. All this, however, must be taken generously, as poetic hyperbole, for few English poets owe more to 'old volumes' than Tennyson.

*The Princess* itself is a case very much in point. Tennyson's adaptations from the classics in that poem have been considerably threshed out, but no one, to my knowledge, has lighted upon so striking and beautiful an instance of poetic metamorphosis as that which resulted in the interpolary lyric, 'The splendor falls on castle walls.'

The original of this is to be found in Disraeli's grotesque novel *Vivian Grey*, in chapter 2 of Book 6.

To put oneself in the place of Tennyson, it would be necessary to start with the opening of the sixth book and follow the adventures of the picaresque hero Vivian and his servant Essper George as they journey through one of the ancient forests of South Germany; to hear the relation of the tale of Hans and the Wild Huntsman; to attend the bacchanalian orgy of the self-appointed Grand Duke of Johannisberger and his eccentric court; to escape from this elfish company, 'sooner than the sun;' to 'hark to the bugle of the hunter.' And now 'The sun is up; the generating sun! and temple, and tower, and tree, the massy wood, and the broad field, and the distant hill burst in sudden

light; quickly upcurled is the dusky mist from the shining river.' It is in this place that 'The splendor falls on castle walls and snowy summits old in story,' and that later the echoes 'die in yon rich sky, they faint on hill or field or river.' A few paragraphs further on we read in Disraeli that toward midday 'their road again entered the forest . . . . The huntsmen were abroad; . . . the inspiriting sounds of the bugle made Vivian feel recovered from his late fatigue.' "That must be a true-hearted huntsman, Essper, by the sound of his bugle. I never heard one played with more spirit. Hark! how fine it dies away in the wood, fainter and fainter, yet how clear!"'

This Tennyson has more than versified, when he exclaims:

O hark, O hear! how thin and clear  
 And thinner, clearer, farther going!  
 O sweet and far from cliff and scar  
 The horns of Elfland faintly blowing!  
 Blow, let us hear the purple glens replying;  
 Blow, bugle; answer, echoes, dying, dying, dying.

LAWRENCE CHAMBERLAIN.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

## REVIEWS.

*King Alfred's Old English Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies.*

Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by Henry Lee Hargrove, Ph. D. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1902. 8vo., lvii + 120 pp. (*Yale Studies in English*. Albert S. Cook, Editor. No. XIII.)

When, in the year 1893, I undertook to reprint<sup>1</sup> the Old English version of St. Augustine's *Soliloquies*, I had no other purpose in view than the making of a 'diplomatic' and easily accessible text, which might be used as the basis for a doctoral dissertation.

The only earlier edition<sup>2</sup> of the piece, that of Cockayne, had long been out of print; and the fact that it had appeared so long ago, when the interest in the exact reproduction of manuscript peculiarities was not so great as it has been in recent years, seemed sufficient justification for a new edition.

My real interest in the *Soliloquies* as a probable composition of Alfred the Great was aroused later by a detailed study<sup>3</sup> of the linguistic and grammatical peculiarities of the work. It was at that time that the thought came of preparing an edition of the *Soliloquies* which should embrace the Old English and a modern translation in parallel columns, with the original Latin and variant readings on the lower half of the page, an introduction, and a vocabulary. With this end in view, considerable materials were gathered during the three or four years after 1894—fresh collations of the text with the manuscript were made, facsimiles of two pages of the manuscript were procured, a large part of the Latin original was copied, etc.

The preparation of the work for publication moved very slowly,

<sup>1</sup> 'Blooms' von König Ælfred, *Englische Studien* 18. 331 ff.

<sup>2</sup> O. Cockayne, *The Shrine, a Collection of Occasional Papers on Dry Subjects*. London, 1864-1869.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Sprache der Altenglischen Bearbeitung der Soliloquien Augustins*. Darmstadt, 1894.

on account of the pressure of college duties and growing interests along other lines of study. When, therefore, I discovered two or three years ago that Mr. Hargrove had become interested in the text, and that he was anxious to undertake the work of editing the same, with vocabulary, etc., I readily resigned whatever prior claims I might have, and turned over all the materials of importance that I possessed into his hands, with, of course, the earnest hope and expectation that the work would be done thoroughly. This expectation has been fully realized. Professor Hargrove has performed a very difficult task with scholarly judgment and acumen. Seldom has a student of Old English had to deal with such a corrupt and obscure text, and seldom has a scholar in the face of such conditions succeeded so admirably in bringing order out of chaos.

While the reprint of 1893 is in many respects superior to Cockayne's text, it is by no means free from errors—many of them typographical, a considerable number due to oversight, and not a few the result of the inexperience of the editor. A casual comparison of this text with that of Professor Hargrove's edition will give only a faint conception of the difficulties he had to contend with. It was necessary for him to resort frequently to excision, alteration, and emendation, but in almost every case the editor has succeeded in making the text better and the sense clearer. It seems to me that Hargrove's edition will be the 'final' one of this interesting and important piece of Old English prose.

There is only one point of the work that I am inclined to find fault with, namely, the rather sweeping normalization of the peculiar manuscript forms. Hargrove has frequently altered manuscript forms where it was not at all necessary, and where the alterations lead to considerable confusion, or at least to inconsistency. If the normalization were followed out carefully according to some phonetic principle, there could of course be no objection, so long as the manuscript readings were given in the margin. But even in that case the text would lose much of its individuality, as well as attractiveness, to the student of Old English dialectal peculiarities. For example, if we alter *geðengst* (4. 2) to *geðencst*, should we not write *bringð* for *brincð* (21. 20)? Why is there any necessity for altering *cg* to *g* in words like *þincgum* (28. 13), *þincg* (40. 2 ; 51. 10), etc.? The gemination is here hardly due to carelessness on the part of the copyist. There would be just as much reason for dropping one *g* in *ðingges* (32. 22). There is even less excuse for altering *gescādwišnes* (28. 6) to *gescēadwišnes*; or at any rate, let us normalize



all similar forms in the text. We find *scel* (28. 9), *seal* (normalized, 35. 18), *scal* (30. 16); *gescafta* (31. 17) etc. In most cases it would appear hardly necessary to change the ms. final *m* into *n*, but it is more undesirable to make the alterations on one page, and omit them on another. There are, for instance, at least five examples of *pam uttram* on pp. 18-19, while we find *pam ylean* (for *yleam*, 20. 16), *eagan* (22. 2), *pam welan* (23. 19), etc.; but *siððam* (45. 10).

Hargrove's book may be divided into four parts: (1) Introduction (I-LVII); (2) Text, with original Latin and variant readings on lower part of page (1-70); (3) Notes (71-74); (4) Glossary (75-120). The Introduction is preceded by the Preface, Table of Contents, and two facsimile reproductions from the manuscript. The Introduction deals succinctly and interestingly with the importance of Alfred's life and work, 'Manuscripts and Reprints,' 'Grammatical Observations,' 'Relation of Alfred to St. Augustine,' 'Relation of Alfred's Version of the *Soliloquies* to his other works,' and 'Discussion of Alfred's Version of the *Soliloquies*.' Hargrove also shows in this part of the book, and in the Notes, that King Alfred was indebted to Jerome for many of his thoughts, especially those of Book III.

Of Hargrove's discussions in the Introduction, that which considers King Alfred's authorship of the *Soliloquies* is of especial importance. He brings forward new evidence in favor of Alfredian authorship, in addition to the convincing array of proof already adduced by Wülker,<sup>4</sup> Hubbard,<sup>5</sup> Wülfig,<sup>6</sup> and others. There would now seem to be no reason for any hesitation on the part of scholars and critics to include the *Soliloquies* among the genuine works of Alfred the Great.

The statement (p. xvii) that the manuscript of the *Soliloquies* is 'in the same hand as the Beowulf' is of course incorrect. Junius' transcript is, to be sure, of little importance for purposes of textual criticism, but his alterations extend to numerous minor features, besides that of *p* to *ð*. I should hardly say that the 'quantity marks [are] in the shape of a circumflex,'<sup>7</sup> for they are, in reality, of two kinds: (1) the usual hook of OE. manuscripts, and (2) simple short strokes resembling the acute accent.

The words *gehēde* (38. 5), *undefēhst* (39. 8) have not 'dropped'<sup>8</sup> an *r*, but the letter has been torn away with a strip of the manu-

<sup>4</sup> Paul u. Braune's *Beiträge* 4. 101 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Mod. Lang. Notes* 9. 161-171.

<sup>6</sup> *Englische Studien* 20. 335 f.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. p. xviii.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. p. xxi.

script. In speaking of the relation of the *Soliloquies* to Boethius, Hargrove fails to mention Wülfing's contribution in *Englische Studien*.<sup>9</sup>

A separate list of the most important books used and quoted might well have found a place in the Introduction.

It would have been worth while to mention the fact in the footnotes, at least, of p. 2, that there is a brief account in Latin of the origin (?) of the manuscript at the bottom of fol. 2<sup>b</sup>. This Latin is written in a 15th or 16th century hand, and I give it here according to a copy made in 1901, because it differs slightly from the versions elsewhere: *Hic liber est Ecclæ beate Marie de Suwika. Quem qui ab eadem abstulerit. Vel Titulum istum sodale (?) deleuerit in eidem ecclæ tandem satisfecerit: Sit Anathema. Marantha. fiat. fiat. Am. Amen.*

The meaning of *for*<sup>10</sup> (=very), 2. 23; 34. 15 seems to have escaped Hargrove, as he does not mention it in the Glossary. It appears also doubtful whether *æmanne* (4. 8, 11) is an adjective or a substantive, although Hargrove gives it only as adjective. Wülfing says of this word,<sup>11</sup> after quoting two passages from Orosius (where *ammenne* is an adjective), as well as the passage from *Soliloquies*: 'Wenn bei dieser zweiten hälfte der stelle nichts verderbt oder umgestellt ist, müsste man darnach *æmenne* für ein hauptwort mit der bedeutung "verlassensein, freisein von" halten; dies könnte dann auch für die erste hälfte gelten, wo alsdann der punkt zwischen *stoge* und ɣ . . . richtig angebracht wäre.' Wülfing also notes that *æmenne* occurs once in *Guthlac* (187), otherwise only in Orosius and the *Soliloquies*, which fact strengthens the evidence in favor of common authorship for the two last-named works. It seems to me quite probable that *æmenne*, as it occurs in the *Soliloquies*, is a noun.

As regards Professor Cook's<sup>12</sup> emendation, *hlāford*, for the manuscript *hō feut* (29. 20), it may be said that the reading makes excellent sense, and the only objection that I see against it (and that not a very serious one) is the impossibility of a copyist making such a bungle of a very familiar word. He writes the word *hlāford* correctly a score of times in the piece. On the other hand, it is easy to

<sup>9</sup> 20. 335 f.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Wülfing, *Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, 2. 2. p. 277.

<sup>11</sup> *Engl. Stud.* 20. 336.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes* for November, 1902, col. 419.

understand how he might have so corrupted such an unfamiliar word as *hāsæta*.<sup>13</sup>

Hargrove's arrangement of the text into a preface and three books, with the parts of the dialogue and the paragraphs clearly indicated after the manner of modern English style, is very advantageous from a pedagogical point of view. It seems, however, rather unfortunate that he summarily disposed of the numerous *þā cweð ic's* and *þā cweð hēo's* of the manuscript, in their many different forms. But they would have taken up a great deal of extra space in the margins.

The Latin on the lower half of the page makes it convenient for every student to compare the Old English at all times with the original. And in the brief, thoroughly compressed notes at the end of the text the editor calls especial attention to unusual forms and constructions, and to those passages wherein King Alfred altered, added to, or eliminated from, St. Augustine's Latin.

The Glossary is remarkably free from misprints and other errors, and it contains all the various forms of the different words (corrupt and otherwise). It is therefore very easy to find any case or tense-form in the text by referring to the radical form in the Glossary.

I have noted the following errors in Hargrove's book, for which, so far as they are the result of oversight and occur in the text, I assume my share of responsibility. They are for the most part of trifling importance. P. xl. 16, read *responsibility*; liv. 22, read *has*; 2. 2, read *wes*; 2. 15, read *ægðeres*; 6. 20, MS. *eal para arist*; 6. foot-note '19 æaldð' del., second part of foot-note 22, read *gecyrd 7 ælc para*; 7. 9, read *Ðu*; 10. 3, MS. *gears* (for *græs*); 14. 9, *þa cweð ic* (before *Nu*) should have been noted; 14. 19, read *wold*;

14. 20, read *wolde*; 15. 15, MS. *cuman*; 15. 19, MS. *swilice*; 16. 8, *forþipe*; 18. 4, MS. *nan* above line; 18. 18, MS. *cūnān*; 18. 13, del. note 'MS. hyrinunge,' also Gloss. p. 97; 18. 18, note read *mīð þam*; 19. 6, read *Ne canst* [ðu] *ðonne* (?); 20. 1, MS. <sup>be</sup> *þorften*; 20. 6, note read *ðorte*; 21. 4, *ge* above line; 21. 19, MS. *is mahte*; 22. 9, read *byð*; 22. 15, read *gescēadwisnes*; *d* in *gestadþines* above line; 22. 19, *h* in *Drihten* above line; 23. 5, MS. *heast*; 23. 17, according to Hargrove's principle of marking, read *cwȳst*, though I do not see why *y* or *i* in this word should be long (cf. Gloss. under *cweðan*); 24. 14,

<sup>13</sup> It is a matter of little moment for the sense of the passage whether we render *hāsæta* 'rower,' 'master,' or 'pilot.'

ie above line in MS.; 25. 9, MS. *freonscepe*; 25. 16, read *ägȳme*; 28. 1, read *gesēonne*; 28. 13, MS. *sȳlon*; 29. 1, insert comma after *sceolde*; 30. 2, MS. *Ðrō*; 31. 19, MS. *hæt*; 32. 3, MS. *brohne*; 32. note 20, read *beo*; note 22, read *siluum*; 34. 19, MS. *c* above line in *hwilene* (both times); 35. 2, *ieð* not given in Gloss.; 35. 19, MS. *hōgið*; 38. 1, read *getyohhod*; 38. 5, *r* in *gehērde* torn away from MS.; 38. 7, part of *g* in *agnum* torn off MS.; 39. 8, *r* in *underfēht* torn from MS.; also first part of *N* in *ne*; 41. 7, MS. *geðolode*; 41. 19, 1st þ and *he* above line; 42. 5, *betweona*? Simple *beo* (prep.) is always normalized; 42. 15, a syllable erased after *on*; 43. 7, MS. *ic* above line; 10. *æter*; 44. 10, MS. originally *lybbam*, last stroke of *m* erased; 44. 23, read *stæreblinde*; 45. 10, read *Siddan* (normalized form); 47. 6, MS. *onsinian*; 47. 17, MS. *ð widóm*; 48. 12, *þe* above line; 49. 18, MS. *folg* erased before *folige*; 50. 1, MS. *ne* in *annes* almost erased; 50. 11, *is* above line; note read 16, 17 and 18 for '14, 15 and 16'; 51. 11, *a* erased before *æcsung*; 52. 5, MS. *forġitan*, not *forhitan* as in note and Gloss.; 52. 6, read *cwæð*; 55. 7, MS. *a* letter erased before þ; 55. 17, MS. final *ð* in *ðincð* altered to *g*; 56. 6, *si* corrected from *se* in MS.; 57. 9, MS. a letter erased between *l* and *d* of first *woldest*; 58. 20, MS. a syllable erased between *is* and *þe*; 59. 8, *se* erased after *læsse*; 59. 9, *ð* all that remains of *þæt* in MS.; 59. 17, a word erased in MS. before *gesceapen*; 60. 12, MS. *andwerde*; 60. 6 (note), read *byd*; 61. 8, MS. *togedere mest*; 61. 34, *crīst* corrected from *crest*; 62. 20, MS. *forġtten*; 62. 21, *n* torn off from *sweetoloran*; 63. 33, MS. *gesceawisnesses*; *creste*; 64. 1, letter erased after *purh*; del. note '1 gescēadwisnesses'; 64. 18, one *hyt* erased after *swa*; 65. 11, a letter erased between *g* and *o* in *godena*; 65. 14, MS. *hēra*; 65. 28, MS. *rihtwisne*; 66. 13, read *hæalgum*; 66. 20, MS. *gehef*:*god*; 66. 30, MS. *swilne*; 67. 19, del. . after *beftan*; 67. 21, MS. *þe habbað*; 67. 31, MS. *forwyr*:*dest*; 67, notes 22 and 23, read 20 and 21; note 26, read *gearnoð*; 68. 16, MS. *g* before *þa*; 68. 23, MS. *freodum*; 69. 27, MS. *hwilcees*; 70. 3, MS. *nan wit*; 73. (38. 5) read *tōgeefnan*; 76. read *ägȳman* for *agȳmian*? 80. under *byre* read 62, 12; 86. under *forġytan* del. 'MS. *forhitan*;' *forlȳtel* does not occur in Boethius or anywhere else except *Soliloquies* (?); read *fremman* here or *gefremian* p. 89; 87. under *furðum* read 66. 29 for 66. 26; under *ge* read *both*;

88. read *gebridlan*; 92. del. *gestyhtan*, etc.; under *gesund* del. MS. *gefunde*; 96. under *heah* del. 'MS. *hearam*;' 97. under *hrining* del. MS. *hyrinunge*; read *ic* for *c*; 98. del. (?) after *cudgel*; 106. under *sceacen* read MS. *seoc*; 110. under *swæðer* del. 'MS. *swæder*;' under *swincan* read *strive*; under *sylf* read MS. *siluum*; 111. under *twa* read *twegera*; as to the word *tōsēcan* Hargrove's emendation seems to me to be unnecessary; *tōsēðan* (for MS. *tosedan*) = 'discriminate' is a better word; *tōsēcan* = 'seek' hardly makes sense here<sup>14</sup>; 114. under *ungemetlic(e)*, 'excessive' and 'immoderately' should be in italics; 116. under *wanian* read *wanede* for *wanide*, and for *wamde*.

Some of the definitions in the Glossary might well have been made more complete, as, for example that of *æt*. With the exception of 1. 8, does the word in the *Soliloquies* usually have the meaning 'at, near?'

WM. H. HULME.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY.

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*Beowulf*. Translated out of the Old English by Chauncey Brewster Tinker, M. A. New York, Newson & Company. 1902. Pp. 158.

Mr. Tinker has had the courage to add to the *Bēowulf* bibliography by bringing out a new translation of the poem. He has not been bold enough, however, to try his hand at another metrical version, since no verse-form seems to have proved a really satisfactory medium. He has also deemed it expedient to take some well considered stylistic liberties, for example, in the arrangement of words and clauses, in the interpretation of 'pregnant words and phrases,' in the treatment of certain compounds that should be considered as 'conventional phrases in which the original metaphorical sense is dead.' Archaisms of diction, which had been affected by most of his predecessors, have been studiously eschewed. The sentences are, as a rule, enclosed in a small compass. Having thus kept clear of some of the chief obstacles in the way of an idiomatic rendering, Mr. Tinker has succeeded in giving us a very acceptable *Bēowulf*—simple, sensible, and pleasing; maybe a little

<sup>14</sup> Wülfing (*Syntax* 2. 1. p. xii) translates 'wahr machen.'

too smooth and tame at times, but certainly distinguished by an absence of bad taste. While lacking the picturesque, if sometimes grotesque, effect of Earle's reproduction, it is equally removed from the sober, prosy tone of J. R. C. Hall's close rendering. How well it will bear continuous reading is a question to be answered by those who try the experiment.

The accuracy of the translation, within the limits drawn by Mr. Tinker, is in general to be commended. Still, a number of interpretations have been noticed which we hoped had been sufficiently discouraged by this time. Thus, 'The ocean-streams dashed the waves upon the sand' (J. R. C. Hall: 'The currents churned the sea against the sand') is a time-honored, but impossible explanation of *strēamas wundon*, / *sund wið sande* (l. 212 f.). Cf. *Hēliand* 2944: *wundun ina ūðeon umbi*, / *hōh strōm umbi hring*. It is true, Wyatt's text, which has been taken as the standard, leaves out the comma after *wundon*. That *geslōh þīn fæder fæhðe mæste* (l. 459) does not mean 'Thy father fought the greatest of feuds' (J. R. C. Hall: 'Thy father fought a mighty battle'), nor *wēan āhsode* (*āhsodon*), ll. 1206, 423, 'suffered woe', has been demonstrated in *Modern Language Notes* 16. 29 ff. Likewise, 'despite his wound' has been shown to be an erroneous interpretation of *ofer benne* (*spræc*), l. 2724 (*Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 104. 287 ff.). A wrong punctuation (adhered to by Wyatt as well as Grein, Wülker, Arnold, Heyne, Socin, Harrison-Sharp, Holder) has resulted in a perversion of the context in ll. 898 ff. Not a period, but a comma, belongs before *siððan*, l. 901: *Sē wæs wreccena wide mærost . . .*, *siððan Heremōdes hild sweðrode*. Ll. 2773 ff., *Ðā ic on hlāwe gefrægn hord rēafian*, / *eald enta geweorc ānne mannan . . .*: 'Thus I have heard how one man alone [at his own free will] plundered the hoard within the cave, the old work of the giants.' But *ān* has certainly no emphatic numeral sense here. See Socin's Glossary; *Hēliand* 113: *hē gisah thār aftar thiū ēnan engil godes / an them wiha innan*; etc.

It is interesting to note that, with all his effort to do justice to the conventional element of the poetical style, the translator occasionally lapses into the error of overestimating the semasiological value of a phrase. For example, he charges with a specific, accessory meaning ('meet for a prince') an expression (*æþelinges fæder*, l. 33), which is nothing but a variation of a preceding term (*þēr æt hýðe stōd hringedstefna*). But to follow up the line of interpretational discussions would lead us far beyond the limits of a review.

The quality of this new translation fully proves its right to existence. Those students who are unable to read the Old English poem with a fair degree of ease and intelligence will find Mr. Tinker's work an especially pleasing and helpful substitute for the original.

FR. KLAEBER.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.

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*An Introduction to the Scientific Study of English Poetry, being Prolegomena to a Science of Prosody.* By Mark H. Liddell. New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1902.

Several years ago, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Mr. Liddell advanced the thesis that 'Language and Literature presented a field for scientific study much like that of Economics or Ethics,' and entered a plea for the investigation of their phenomena and governing laws. Inasmuch as 'these suggestions of a scientific method of culture bore no fruit,' the present work is a further and more detailed attempt to set them forth; but 'the book is rather a statement of prolegomena to a science of poetry than a science of poetry itself.'

So much for the author's expressed purpose. The first chapter deals with 'the inadequacy of our notions of poetry,' and the air grows thick with the fragments of exploded theories which fall about the ears until one questions if indeed there be such a thing as either verse or poetry; and the doubt grows as one reads. Having divested 'the subject of all these uncertain and misleading conceptions as to the nature of its phenomena,' the author advances to a scientific examination of the problem, subjecting five familiar lines of *Macbeth* to a protracted analysis that inclines the reader to envy Duncan the sleep in which 'nothing can touch him further.' The conclusion reached is the convenient and elucidating definition, 'Poetry is literature, usually of a high degree of Human Interest, which in addition to its Human Interest has in it an added *Æsthetic* Interest due to the arrangement of some easily recognizable and constantly present concomitant of thought-formulation into a form of *æsthetic* appeal for which an appreciative *Æsthetic* Sentiment has been gradually developed in the minds of those who habitually think by means of the language in which the poetry is written.'

To adapt this to common use it is further reduced to symbols;

and instead of the vague old formulas, 'poetry is a thing of God,' 'the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge,' is substituted ' $x + HI^n + VF$ ,' in which terms he who pleases may hereafter think of poetry. Other inadequate expressions must be removed before the ground is really cleared for action; for 'phrase' is substituted 'moments of the thought,' for 'feet' 'waves of impulse,' differentiated as 'single rising wave,' 'double falling wave,' etc. These and sundry other new terms are brought together in the chapter on 'Nomenclature and Notation,' with the assurance that 'the whole system of nomenclature for a rational English prosody presents no new difficulties, puts no new strain upon language;' but the wear and tear of the student's mind might be considered a not inconsiderable factor in the problem.

Coming to the ubiquitous question of the punctuating system of English verse after a brief and interesting consideration of the classic system, Mr. Liddell reaches the conclusion that the English system is neither quantitative nor accentual, and proceeds to elaborate the theory of stress-punctuation, differentiating word-stress, sense-stress, and emotion-stress. These three forms grouped under the general term attention-stress he finds in a rhythmical arrangement producing accent and emphasis; but the rhythm is 'wrought into the very fabric of the thought itself.' The poet (whose work Mr. Liddell persistently minimizes) 'when he makes his verse does not take a given series of notions and clothe them one by one with rhythmic speech-sounds in regular succession, but forces his ideas themselves to flow in rhythmic series, whose waves are the waves of his thought rising and falling with the intensity of his ideation.' These rhythm-waves are then analyzed and depicted by a series of curves illustrative of their duration and direction. In application of the preceding principles, a passage from *Lear* is dissected with such enlightening addenda as

A poor, infirm, weak, and despised old man  
la—lá la—lá lá—la—la—láa—láa—lá.

The conclusion is, 'we see, then, that these major rhythm series are not mere accidents of form independent of the thought, but are the bright woof of its emotional appeal;' which from one so scornful of figurative generalities on the third page seems dangerous doctrine on the three hundredth.

A satisfactory theory of English verse is still far to seek, and as offsetting the mass of ignorance and prejudice any honest and



intelligible attempt to give a rational explanation of its facts ought to receive a respectful hearing. Moreover it may be that a desirable result will be best attained by 'considering literature as material for science;' but unless analogies err the body will still be more than raiment. An investigation which *a priori* concludes that everything in poetry is analyzable, that 'all the wonder and marvel are in our own brains,' that the poet's "'inspiration" and his "message" are alike of no importance to us as students,' seems little calculated to bring to many people that 'full and complete understanding of English poetry' to which Mr. Liddell bids us look forward. He expects this end to be attained by 'scientific effort;' but if his work is to be considered a fair example of such effort, the strongest charge to be brought against his book can be made against his theory also, and that is the charge of inadequacy.

ELIZABETH DEERING HANSCOM.

SMITH COLLEGE.

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*The Italian Renaissance in England.* Studies by Lewis Einstein.  
New York: The Columbia University Press. 1902. Pp.  
xvii + 420.

The Italian Renaissance in England is a large subject, lasting in time a little more than two centuries, from Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, brother to Henry V, to the closing of the theatres; Duke Humphrey died in 1447, and the London theatres were closed by Act of Parliament, September 2, 1642. There is no adequate treatment of the movement, either in English history or letters, perhaps because the successful historian of it, when he comes, will combine in a high degree two qualifications that are rarely found in union—the historical sense and the literary faculty.

One phase of the subject is discussed in *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*. This work, which appeared in four parts in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 1895–1899, brings together for the first time, for comprehensive survey, all translations from Italian into English during the years 1550–1660. There are more than four hundred of these translations, on a great variety of subjects. The translators number some two hundred and fifty, and include nearly every writer, both famous and obscure, of the

reigns of Elizabeth and James. The Italian authors represented are quite as many, and go back to Petrarch and Boccaccio, so that the Italian part of the subject covers three centuries in time. The number of facts to be ascertained, studied, weighed, and set in order, is very great.

Mr. Einstein has drawn largely on this mass of material for the *Italian Renaissance in England*, but his treatment of the subject can hardly be said to be satisfactory. In some instances, Mr. Einstein falls into errors of a kind that knowledge of the facts at first hand would have led him to avoid; in others, he has not taken the time or the trouble to verify and correlate his statements. Morally, Mr. Einstein's acknowledgment of his indebtedness to the earlier work is most unsatisfactory. More than one-half of the Printed Sources of information contained in Mr. Einstein's Bibliography are to be found in the *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*. Sixty-four of these works, titles from the *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, are cited in Mr. Einstein's foot-notes, without reference to the source of authority. Seventy-two of these titles are mentioned in Mr. Einstein's text, some of them repeatedly. Nor do considerably more than one hundred direct allusions exhaust the indebtedness of the *Italian Renaissance in England* to the *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* for matter and for ideas. But Mr. Einstein quotes the *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* as his authority *twice* only throughout his book. The discrepancy between debt and acknowledgment is great, so great that it has not escaped the notice of the reviewer of the London *Athenæum*, who first called attention to it.

In general criticism, bibliography is a science. It deals with facts which it is perfectly possible to know accurately, to sift thoroughly, and to reason from logically. One of these facts is that the English language of any particular period should be spelled according to the spelling of that period. And a comparatively slight knowledge of historical spelling is sufficient to show that a mere misspelling is not an old spelling. Mr. Einstein, in borrowing from the *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, has undertaken to respell the old spellings, but he frequently breaks his rule, and the result is a mongrel English, neither Elizabethan nor modern. Florio's 'Second Fruites' (p. 106), for instance, records neither Florio's spelling of 1591, 'Frutes,' nor the modern 'Fruits.' On page 92 Thomas Hoby's English (1561) is respelled, except for the word "villany," which is not Elizabethan English—'vilany,' nor yet 'villainy.'

Mr. Einstein is extremely careless, also, in the wording of titles. Thomas Bedingfield's *The Florentine Historie written in the Italian tongue by Niccolo Macchiavelli*, etc., is cited (p. 298) as the 'Florentine History of Machiavelli,' and Stephen Gosson's *Playes Confuted in Five Actions* is called (p. 368) 'Plays confuted in five actions.' This inaccuracy might be attributed to careless proof-reading, if it were not repeated (p. 398). The 'Novelle of Arnalt and Lucenda' (p. 102) should read the 'novella of Arnalt and Lucenda;' but Holbyband's title is, *And a fine Tuscan historie called Arnalt & Lucenda*. 'Perimides and Philomela' (p. 362) is a made-up title. Given *Perimides the Blacke-Smith*, a novel dated 1588, and *Philomela, the Lady Fitzwaters Nightingale*, dated 1592, you eliminate the blacksmith, the nightingale, and Lady Fitzwaters, and get a new equation, 'Perimides and Philomela,' a novel which exists only in Mr. Einstein's account of the literary output of Robert Greene.

Another made-up title is even more curious. Girolamo Cataneo's *Tavole brevissime*, etc., translated by H. G., as *Most briefe Tables*, etc., is cited (p. 96) as Cataneo's 'Military Tactics!' The book is briefly described in *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* (*Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 1898, p. 224) as a treatise on 'military tactics.' Mr. Einstein does not refer to the *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* as a source of information about Cataneo, but if his made-up title is not the phrase of that work, put to new and strange uses, where did it come from? By no stretch of the imagination can 'military tactics' be said to translate *Tavole brevissime*. The *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* must have been before Mr. Einstein at this point, for in the very next sentence but one of the same paragraph he goes on to say (p. 97) that Tartaglia wrote 'a great work on gunnery,' which was 'followed by another work compiled by Cyprian Lucar from the best authorities on the subject.' The very next title after Cataneo's *Most briefe Tables*, etc., in *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, is:

*Three Bookes of Colloquies concerning the Arte of Shooting in great and small peeces of Artillerie: . . . Written in Italian . . . by N. T. [Niccolò Tartaglia] . . . translated into English by C.[yprian] Lucar . . . also . . . a Treatise named Lucar Appendix . . . to shew the office and dutie of a Gunner*, etc. London, 1588.

It will be seen that Lucar's book is not 'another work' 'following' Tartaglia's, as Mr. Einstein says, but is, in fact, a translation of Tartaglia, with an appendix of his own.

An error of the same sort, in which one work is split into two,

occurs a few pages farther on, where it is said (p. 106), 'Close after the *Second Frutes* (sic), followed the *Garden of Recreation*,' etc. Florio's title reads, *Florios Second Frutes . . . To which is annexed his Gardine of Recreation*, etc. London, 1591. The *Second Frutes* is a collection of Italian and English dialogues, with a reprint of Florio's *Giardino di Riecreatione*, of the same year.

Of inaccurate names Mr. Einstein furnishes forth a plenty. H. G., translator of Cataneo's *Tavole brevissime*, etc., just mentioned, is conjectured (p. 395) to be Henry Grantham, who translated Scipio Lentulo's *La Grammatica*, and Grantham becomes 'Grantham' (as also on page 399). Henry Grantham was tutor to Lord Berkeley's daughters, to whom he dedicated his *Italian Grammar*. He might of course have translated a work on military science, but no ground for the conjecture is assigned. Leonardo Bruni (Aretino) is everywhere 'Leonardo Bruno' (pp. 5, 7, 15, 20, 412); Alberico Gentili is uniformly 'Alberico Gentile' (pp. 303, 304, 414); 'Gerard Canigiani' (p. 247) is 'Gherardo Canigiani' (p. 256); Peter Whitehorne, who becomes 'Peter Withorne' (p. 400), suffers further indignity in the index (p. 420) by losing his Christian name; Jacopo Aconzio figures as 'Accontio' (p. 191), 'Jacopo Acontio' (p. 212), and 'Acontio' only in the index (p. 411).

'Petrus Martyr' (p. 209) is indexed, under M, as 'Peter Martyr' (p. 416); the full name, 'Pietro Martire Vermigli,' occurs only in the Bibliography (p. 404), where two titles, both to be found in Part III., page 179, of the *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, are cited. *The History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies* is cited in a footnote (p. 114) as 'Anglerius, *History of Travel*, 1577;' on page 411 the author is indexed under A, as 'd'Anghiera, P. M.' The correct name, 'Pietro Martire d'Anghiera,' is given on page 279 only, where *The History of Trauayle* and *The Decades of the newe Worlde*, are cited in the foot-notes (but without reference to the source of authority) from the *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*.

The Italian painter of Queen Elizabeth wrote his name 'Federigo Zucharo.' He is catalogued in Vasari's *Lives*, etc. (ed. Blashfield and Hopkins) as Federigo Zuccherro; in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as Federigo Zuccaro, Zucharo, Zuccherro (this last spelling 'is only found in England, or derived therefrom'). 'Frederick Zuccaro' (p. 204) is neither Italian nor English. Apropos of bilingualism, the form '*lese majesty*' (p. 232) is neither French nor English.

Pietro Bizzari's name is everywhere incorrectly spelled 'Bizari' (pp. 98, 111, 213, 308, 394, 412). Bizzari's history, referred to twice

vaguely (pp. 98, 394) as *Historia* only, is incorrectly dated (p. 394) '1568.' The work evidently is Bizzari's *Historia della guerra fatta in Ungheria dall'imperatore de' Christiani contra de' Turchi* (Lyon, 1569). On page 111 it is said that Bizzari dedicated his *History* to the Earl of Bedford. There is apparently a confusion here between Bizzari's *Historia*, etc., and his *Varia Opuscula ac Poemata* (Venice, 1565), of which the First Tract is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, the Second Tract to Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Third Tract to the Earl of Bedford.

It is inaccurate to say (p. 81) that the first English translation of *Galateo* appeared in 1596, after both the French and Spanish translations. Robert Peterson's translation of *Galateo* came out in London in 1576, nine years before the Spanish translation of Bezerra (Venecia, 1585).

Again, the first edition of Ochino's sermons in English was not that of 1548, dedicated to the Duke of Somerset, as stated on page 208, but *Five Sermons, translated out of Italian into English Anno Do MDXLVII*, printed in London by R. C. [probably Robert Crowley] for William Beddell. Further, there is nothing to indicate that the 'enlarged edition' of Ochino's sermons, mentioned on page 209, contains the fourteen sermons translated by Ann Cooke (afterwards Lady Bacon), and referred to in the very next sentence as 'another and more interesting translation.' The enlargement was precisely the inclusion of Ann Cooke's translations. *Certaine Sermons of the ryghte famous and excellent clerk Master B. Ochine*, etc. J. Day [1550?], is a collection of twenty sermons, the first six translated by Richard Argentine, and the last fourteen by Ann Cooke. These last came out separately about the same time, under the title, *Fouretene Sermons, concerning the Predestinacion and Eleccion of God*, etc. By A. C. [Ann Cooke]. J. Day and W. Seres [1550?].

Turning to matters of opinion, one notes a certain tendency to overstatement, which might have been avoided by sounder knowledge. For example, Mr. Einstein says (p. 60), 'great numbers of manuals of courtesy' were written in Italy. William Michael Rossetti, writing on Italian courtesy-books for the Early English Text Society (1869), enumerates ten such books, from about 1265, the year of Dante's birth, to Giovanni della Casa's *Galateo*, of about 1550. Again (p. 61), we read 'scores of allusions can be found to these books in the English literature of the age, and especially to the *Cortegiano*,' etc. Professor Walter Raleigh (Intro-

duction to the *Book of the Courtier*, pp. lxxviii, lxxix) brings together the largest number of allusions to the *Cortegiano*, and they amount to ten in all. And again (p. 70): 'The popularity of similar books [on riding] was very great. Bedingfield was only one of their numerous translators.' Just three books on riding were translated from the Italian during the reign of Elizabeth, one about 1560, and two in 1584.

The history of the development of the novel as a literary form will not bear out the statement (pp. 155-6) that 'The growth of Puritanism encouraged novelists to attack the "Circean Charms" of Italy.' From a paragraph a few pages further on it would appear that Ascham's *Scholemaster* suggested this misapprehension of things. *The Scholemaster* does speak of 'the enchantments of Circe brought out of Italia to mar men's manners' (p. 162, but Ascham wrote 'Italie,' not 'Italia,' as here quoted). The Italianization of England was attacked by Puritan pamphleteers and by some of the dramatists, but the Elizabethan novelists did not 'attack' anything. They were story-tellers pure and simple.

Mr. Einstein exhibits a similar ignorance of the general facts of literary history on page 317, when he says, 'the Scotch Chaucerians, although familiar with a few of the Italian writers, failed to appreciate their true spirit.' The Scottish Chaucerians failed to appreciate the Italian poets for the same reason that they failed to appreciate the Pyramids of Egypt, because they were out of their ken. Mr. T. F. Henderson, editor of the *Centenary Burns* and of the new edition of the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, has managed to write his admirable history of *Scottish Vernacular Literature* without reckoning with the influence of a single Italian poet or writer in any kind, and for the excellent reason that the Scottish Chaucerians, in so far as they are not original, are French, not in the least degree Italian, in spirit, form, or subject-matter.

It would help to clear up the mystery of Shakespeare if it could be said, as Mr. Einstein has not hesitated to say (p. 370), 'His interest in the North [of Italy] can be accounted for by his fondness for Bandello and certain of the *novellieri*.' As a matter of fact, Sidney Lee (*Life of William Shakspeare*) and A. W. Ward (*History of English Dramatic Literature*) index under Bandello three Shakespearean plays only, and the stories of all three were accessible to Shakespeare in contemporary translations. Mr. Lee refers *Romeo and Juliet* immediately to Arthur Broke's poem, *The Tragical Historie of Romeus and Juliet* (1562); *Much Ado About Nothing*

(the plot) either to an earlier play on the same theme, *A Historie of Ariodante and Genevora* (1583), or to Sir John Harington's *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse* (1591); and *Twelfth Night* to the *Historie of Apolonius and Silla*, in *Riche his Farewell to Militarie Profession* (1581).

There remain still fourteen Shakespearean plays whose plots or scenes or color are Italian in some sort, but the sources are so varied and so widely scattered in Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish literature that it is not possible to say of Shakespeare that he cared particularly for any one Italian novelist, or for the *novellieri* as a class.

The treatment of a large subject under a few heads is admirable in the hands of a good writer. On the other hand, no method is more to be avoided by the writer who has not thoroughly mastered his subject, for it is sure to betray him into repetition and a distressing tenuity of matter in spots. The seams show in the *Italian Renaissance in England* at page 186, on the Italians in England, which repeats in effect page 90 on the Courtier; so also page 249, on the Italian merchant in England, repeats page 156 on the Italian danger; page 346, on Italian influence in English poetry, repeats page 182, on the Italians in England; page 382, on Ruberto Ridolfi, repeats page 273, on the same person. A statement about Richard Atkins, page 159, is repeated in almost the same language on page 384. The same quotation from Gosson does duty at pages 167-8 and 365. The fact that Sir Horatio Pallavicino equipped a ship against the Armada is mentioned three times (pp. 95, 268, 274). A sentence on this worthy (p. 276) reads: 'His own family, by a rather remarkable series of alliances, married Cromwells, and broke away entirely from their Italian ties.' The wording suggests the Frenchman's inquiry in Philadelphia, 'What ees a Biddle?'

The numerous inaccuracies of this book crop out in the foot-notes and index. The name, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, is one of the few that get indexed out of the foot-notes, but let no one look for it under S, for it will be found, oddly enough, under M (the surname incorrectly spelled, 'Saint-Gelays'). So Giovanni della Casa is indexed under D. There is no such madrigalist as 'Nannio' (pp. 349, 417). J. A. Froude's edition of William Thomas' *The Pilgrim* is dated in the Bibliography (p. 404), '1561,' for '1861.' Under 'Ubal dini, P,' in the index, '180' should be '190.' Very few titles are indexed, and most names of persons appear without Christian names or initials.

MARY AUGUSTA SCOTT.

*Selections from De Quincey.* Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Milton Haight Turk, Ph. D., Professor of English at Hobart College. Boston, U. S. A., and London : Ginn and Company, the Athenaeum Press, 1902. Pp. lxxi, 501.

In this attractive volume, the largest body of selections from De Quincey recently published, there are 67 pages of introduction, some 4 of bibliography, 400 of text proper, and 101 of notes. There is no index.

As an interpretation of De Quincey's individuality, Dr. Turk's introduction is excellent. Sane, well-proportioned, just, sympathetic, it avoids many a pitfall that besets the De Quincey student. The editor is not baffled by the inconsistencies of his subject. He duly minimizes the agency of opium in the development of De Quincey's imagination. He realizes that the Opium-Eater's claim to the rank of philosopher is doubtful. And he scarcely credits even this master of style with the creation of a new literary category, such as De Quincey at times conceived his 'impassioned prose' to be. Upon the man's essentially artistic temperament, however, Dr. Turk lays proper emphasis, rightly discerning his 'most persistent quality' in a certain 'skill in narration'; a skill, not indeed in the formation of plot, but in the poetical elaboration and embellishment of a given autobiographical or semi-historical material.

Perhaps the limits of the edition, perhaps the very intensity and success with which the interpreter has penetrated the spirit of a seemingly isolated literary phenomenon, have denied us here that broader, in a sense external, treatment of De Quincey which we yet desire. Although Dr. Turk has not, it is true, yielded far to the Opium-Eater's wish to be considered a sort of anomaly in literature, yet in a positive way he hardly presents his subject in any broad perspective. We should like to know more than is here told us about the individual's part in the literary movements of his time, more about his intellectual indebtedness to contemporaries and predecessors. The very solitude, and the love of it, which were such potent influences in De Quincey's life and ways of thinking, were they not something for which Wordsworth, Lamb, and Coleridge also had a romantic enthusiasm? Were they not, indirectly perhaps, related to the lonely contemplations of Rousseau? Or if they were, after all, largely native to De Quincey's spirit, did not the poetry of Wordsworth, which so early entranced that spirit, intensify its ideal love of solitude? We should be glad to learn how the poetry of



infancy, in the *Dream Fugue* and *Suspira* and elsewhere, was connected with something very similar in both Coleridge and Wordsworth,<sup>1</sup> indeed with a characteristic strain in the whole romantic school, and, finally, with the New Testament glorification of childhood. There is not an aspect of De Quincey's literary product, one may say deliberately, that is not paralleled in his contemporaries at home or abroad, or does not correspond to some definite vein in his forerunners. Accordingly, I must dissent from Dr. Turk's opinion that De Quincey 'alone—at least among adult Englishmen—was able to preserve in advanced years that glorious faculty of dreaming which is the peculiar privilege of childhood.'<sup>2</sup> Need Addison be instanced to the contrary? De Quincey's famous visions were modeled pretty directly after the prose rhapsodies of Richter, although probably not without reminiscences of Addison's manner; in their own period they may be very rationally classed with the dreams of Coleridge and Landor.<sup>3</sup> Lastly, we wish to be reminded, in estimating De Quincey, that his famous *Confessions* are by no means of a kind by themselves. I pass over instances of the same sort of literature at the time, such as Lamb's short *Confessions of a Drunkard*, and Coleridge's *Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit*, to remark that I have never seen any notice taken of De Quincey's significant citing, in 1853, of Rousseau's and Augustine's *Confessions* as, in a sense, his models.<sup>4</sup> It is evidently from such comparison as the Opium-Eater himself there suggested that the study of his *Confessions* must start out.● De Quincey seems to have been acquainted with Rousseau's work as early as 1821;<sup>5</sup> it is possible that he knew Augustine also as early as that.<sup>6</sup>

The failure to judge De Quincey in any large environment distinguishes almost all that has been written about him. To Dr. Turk's fairly inclusive bibliography may be added the following: 1. Dunn, W. A., *Thomas De Quincey's Relation to German Literature and Philosophy*, Strassburg diss. 1900; an attempt to broaden, in one direction at least, the usual narrow treatment; 2. Anton, P., *English Essayists*, etc., Edinburgh, 1882; containing a valuable,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for example, Coleridge, *Poet. Wks.*, Globe ed., 125, 126, 127, 145, 170, 175, 467, 470.

<sup>2</sup> Introd. 63.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sidney Colvin, *Selections from Landor*, G. T. S. Introd. 25, 26.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. De Quincey's *Works*, ed., Masson, 1. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Wks.* 3. 210 (*Selections* 151. 19); *Wks.* 3. 75.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Wks.* 5. 147.

seemingly little known, appreciation. The present writer's dissertation, *The Prose Poetry of Thomas De Quincey*, Leipzig, 1902, offers a more extended bibliography, which would in minor ways supplement Dr. Turk's.

The editor has chosen his selections on the whole judiciously, arranging them, especially the biographical material, in such sequence as to make them throw light on one another. So far as my comparisons enable me to speak, the text is scrupulously well cared for, and the typography unimpeachable. The selections are: *The Affliction of Childhood*; *Introduction to the World of Strife*; *A Meeting with Lamb*; *A Meeting with Coleridge*; *Recollections of Wordsworth*; *Confessions*; a portion of *Suspiria*; *The English Mail-Coach*; *Murder as One of the Fine Arts, Second Paper*; *Joan of Arc*; and *On the Knocking at the Gate in 'Macbeth.'*

His preference of the earlier version of the *Confessions* Dr. Turk justifies in part by showing De Quincey's uncertainty whether the enlarged edition were really better.<sup>1</sup> The editor's evidence on this point is his most important single contribution to the knowledge of his subject.<sup>2</sup>

In compiling his notes Dr. Turk has exercised no little industry; although he does not in all cases acknowledge information that is second-hand. He has borrowed from Masson, Garnett, and Hart, adding, however, much valuable material, part of it easy, part of it difficult, of access for the unaided reader. I shall throw into compressed form some comment on the notes and some further information, with queries, about the text, observing page and line in the *Selections*; references to De Quincey's *Works*, ed. Masson, are indicated by *Wks.*; those to poems of Wordsworth and Coleridge follow the Globe Edition.

1. 16, 17, 'Two . . . eldest of three': cf. 468. 30, *Wks.* 3. 232, 'of two evils by very much the least'. 2. 20, 'whisper': cf. 82. 11; 295. 11; 323. 11; 333. 30; etc. Dr. Turk pays too little attention to the details of De Quincey's style. 4. 8: cf. Exodus 13. 21. 6. foot-note: cf. Coleridge's *Osorio* 4. 3. 75, *Poet. Wks.* 392. 8. 9, 10, 'Bible illustrated': cf. Lamb, *Elia*, 'Witches', etc. Dr. Turk might add with advantage many Biblical references, in order to show how profoundly De Quincey's style is influenced by the vision-literature, for example, of the Bible; cf. below, note on 337. 20. 8. 30: cf. Mark 2. 23. 15. 2: cf. 7. 30; 43. 25; 149. 12; etc; a mannerism. 17.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, *Wks.* 3. 220.

<sup>2</sup> *Selections*, Introd. 47, 48.

16, 'purples' etc.: cf. *The Use of Color in the . . . English Romantic Poets*, A. E. Pratt, Chicago diss. 1898. 56. 7: cf. note on 368. 34. 74. 27: A longer note needed? cf. 103. 4; etc. 77. 28. Daniel 5. 25. 119. 21: cf. Dorothy Wordsworth's description, Coleridge, *Poet Wks.*, Introd. 34. 141. 8: De Quincey seems in error. Wordsworth is represented in devout contemplation, not, however, as a disciple; cf. *Wordsworth Soc. Transactions* 3. 59. Haydon's painting is in the Cincinnati Art Museum. 146. 10: This passage, which Dr. Turk does not notice, is from Wordsworth's *Lament of Mary Queen of Scots*, stanza 6, *Poet. Wks.* 568; for De Quincey's 'to' read 'can.' 150. 5: cf. Exodus 7. 12. 150. 9: cf. Wordsworth, *The Excursion*, Bk. 6, *Poet. Wks.*, 482. 151. 19: reference to Rousseau's *Confessions*? 151. 20: reference to first 3 parts of *Dichtung u. Wahrheit*? 156. 11: Dr. Turk's far-fetched parallel from Chaucer does not explain De Quincey's direct quotation from some other source;<sup>1</sup> cf. *Wks.* 13. 334. 116. 11: observe use of 'the.' 225. 24, 25: who were these surgeons? 227. 25: cf. 150. 12; 210. 2. 228. 9. Note needed on Jonas Hanway. 236. 11: 'Prolegomena'; cf. Kant's *Prolegomena*, etc., Riga, 1783. 249. 12: cf. 336. 3. 251. 5. cf. *Macbeth* 2. 2. 25. 262. foot-note, *reculer*, etc.: from Leibnitz, *Théodicée*? 265. 1, 'Levana': Dr. Turk, like previous annotators, fails to notice Jean Paul's work on education, *Levana*, etc., 1807, the title of which seems to have captivated De Quincey's ear. The notes on the text at this point, as indeed on other portions of the strictly 'impassioned prose' in the *Selections*, are scanty—an occasion of surprise when one considers the prominence usually given to De Quincey's dreams; cf. Introd. 49, 50, and notes to pages 265–276, 329–339. Having in view the future publication of material on the 'prose poetry,' I shall restrict my comment here. 266, foot-note: the reference to Wordsworth's metaphor is unnoticed by Dr. Turk; I have been unable to identify it. 273. 'Savannah-la-Mar': Cannot some Romance scholar point out a source for the first part of this bit of 'impassioned prose?' 290. 20: cf. Luke 24. 32. 291. 1: How can Dr. Turk suppose a reminiscence here from Wordsworth? De Quincey distinctly says (290. 32, 33) that his story is 'from one of our elder dramatists.' The monarch with his omrahs at Agra

<sup>1</sup>The quotation is of course adapted from Eccclus. 38. 25 (I quote from the Authorized Version): 'How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plow and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen and is occupied in their labors, and whose talk is of bullocks?—ED.

sounds somewhat like Dryden's *Aurengzebe*, in which, however, there is no such tale of hawk and eagle. I am indebted to Prof. W. Strunk, Jr., of Cornell, for reference to *Of English Dogs*, 1576, Joh. Caius, tr. A. Fleming, in Arber's *English Garner* 3. 253, where the story is told, not of an oriental sultan, but of Henry VII of England; Caius' source is simply said to be 'an history.' 317, footnote: De Quincey, in order to make his diagram clear, should say that his Y is inverted, with the basal arm northward; cf. 363. 19. 319. 2: cf. Dr. Turk's note on 164. 15; observe the influence of alliteration on De Quincey. 328. 19, 'cany': cf. 18. 4, 'lawny'; *Wks.* 5. 141, 'ferny'; note adj. termination common in the English romantic school.<sup>1</sup> 333. 28: cf. Wordsworth's 'she shall lean her ear,' etc., *Poet. Wks.* 115.<sup>2</sup> 334. 25: cf. Crashaw's 'conscious water.'<sup>3</sup> 334. 27: cf. 334. 21; John 1. 5. 335. 15, 'were': note De Quincey's faulty syntax. Is he quoting? 336. 3: cf. 249. 11; cross-references throw much light on De Quincey's style. 337. 20; 337. 28; 338. 5: cf. Revelation 8. 10; 12. 5; 9. 13. In this *Dream Fugue* there are many reminiscences of Biblical vision-literature. 368. 34, 'stag': to Prof. J. M. Manly, through Prof. J. M. Hart, I am indebted for reference to *Englische Studien* 5. 160, where this elusive creature has been run down. Dr. Turk avoids the difficulty by silence. 371. 28: cf. *Johnsoniana*, Piozzi 30 (*Bartlett's Quotations* 375).

Several of these references, for example the last, should not have escaped the editor. His notes, however, are full enough, and, above all, the introduction is of a quality high enough, entirely to warrant the existence of this book. Let us not quarrel with the demand of the day for short cuts, through annotated selections, to an acquaintance with standard authors.

L. COOPER.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

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<sup>1</sup> The allusion in 'cany' is probably to *Par. Lost* 3. 439; 'lawny' is as old as Bishop Hall (1598); and 'ferny' is found in the eighteenth century, and earlier; cf. *NED.* under these words.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> De Quincey's phrase is rather a Hebraism: cf. Ps. 17. 6; 31. 2, etc., and, in Milton's version of Ps. 88: 'Thine ear with favour bend.' By De Quincey the verb is of course used more literally.—ED.

<sup>3</sup> But Crashaw, like De Quincey, was employing a Latinism; thus, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, night is conscious (6. 588; 13. 15), the fields (7. 385), the forest (2. 438), and the rocks (6. 547).—ED.

*American Literature.* By Alphonse G. Newcomer, Associate Professor of English in the Leland Stanford Junior University. Chicago: Scott, Foresman, and Company, 1902. 8vo. Pp. 364.

Each year brings its new crop of 'handbooks' of American literature—some good, some indifferent, some worthless. Many of these books, like many of the editions of plays, poems, and essays for the 'College Readings' series, seem to be booksellers' makeshifts. During the last few years the efforts of publishers to be the first on the market with editions of the 'required readings' for College entrance examinations has caused them to overlook or neglect many of the qualities which make these or any other books worth the paper they are printed on. They are doubtless in most cases unable or unwilling to pay for good, scholarly work on the part of their editors. They therefore employ cheap and careless editors, and in many instances grind out books that are disgraceful to American scholarship. I have recently had occasion to examine with some care about all the American school and college editions of certain of Macaulay's Essays. In many cases the glaring mistakes due to ignorance, carelessness, lack of broad reading, or immaturity of mind and scholarship are enough to make every American who is interested in thorough training and sound learning blush with shame.

But none of these things are true of the delightful little book which now lies before me. As a text-book for High School and College classes, Newcomer's *American Literature* is one of the best that has been published. It is comprehensively succinct in treatment, logical and orderly in arrangement, careful and scholarly without being tedious in the narration of facts, sound and entertaining in its critical judgments, and, above all, is written in a racy, original, charming style.

It will not have escaped the attention of any one who has read the Introduction to Newcomer's *Selections from Landor*<sup>1</sup> that the author is the master of an unusually attractive English style. And in this day of rapid and rash text-book making, a man with a good style is not to be passed by with indifference. The man who writes well can make very *uninteresting* subjects fresh and attractive, while the man with no style is always *tiresome*. But the man who combines both style and scholarship is a boon to humanity.

<sup>1</sup> *English Readings.* Holt & Company, 1899.

Newcomer's critical estimates of several of the great American writers, for example, Poe and Hawthorne, are among the most finished and most inspiring literary essays that have been written on these men. His book is, however, not a collection of essays about the famous names in American or New England literature, such as those of Brander Matthews and William Cranston Lawton. It is a careful, methodical treatment of English literature in America from its beginning to the present day. The smallest poet who has contributed anything of value to our literature receives due notice and characterization as well as the greatest. The poets are not given undue prominence over the prose writers, and *vice versa*. The interest is remarkably well kept up for a book of such size and character. The author very correctly avoids the pitfalls of some recent writers on American literature who have unduly emphasized the importance of such insignificant writers as Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards. He likewise does ample justice to certain other names, like those of Franklin and Brockden Brown, whose qualities as men of letters are frequently either treated with scanty acknowledgment, or are entirely neglected.

Newcomer arranges the materials of the first few chapters of the book in such a manner that the student easily grasps the importance of the earliest attempts in various kinds of literature—history, theology, poetry, and fiction. Cavalier and Puritan, Quaker and Catholic—all receive attention in so far as they were concerned with the beginnings of American literature. Franklin's *Poor Richard* and his *Autobiography* are justly estimated, but I was a little disappointed to discover that the richest vein of Franklin's character in its influence upon American literary development namely, the humorous, has been entirely overlooked by Newcomer. Brander Matthews says, in his interesting essay on Franklin:<sup>1</sup> 'Humor, indeed, he had so abundantly that it was almost a failing. Like Abraham Lincoln another typical American, he never shrank from a jest.' Even in the throes of death the great philosopher was cheerful and humorous. In writing to a friend about death, he says: 'I have seen a good deal of this world, and I feel a growing curiosity to be acquainted with some other.' Of his extreme old age and his sufferings he once said: 'I seem to have intruded myself into the company of posterity, when I ought to have been abed and asleep;' and, 'when I consider how many more terrible maladies the human

<sup>1</sup> *Introduction to American Literature*. New York, 1896, p. 36.

body is liable to, I think myself well off that I have only three incurable ones: the gout, the stone, and old age.<sup>1</sup>

It is really remarkably that the writers of short histories of American literature continue to neglect this important element of all Franklin's writings. Even Barrett Wendell in his more extensive *Literary History of America* shows little appreciation of the humorous side of Franklin's character and work. In fact, the chapter on Benjamin Franklin is the most unappreciative and incomplete in Wendell's book. The so-called 'histories of American humor' are likewise deficient in that their authors have failed to see in Benjamin Franklin the first great American humorist. Franklin, the humorist, has been portrayed, however, in a most brilliant and lively manner by the late Paul Leicester Ford in his *Many-Sided Franklin*. The rich and sparkling humor for which American literature has long been famous virtually made its advent with the early writings of Benjamin Franklin, and it may be traced in unbroken line from him through the writings of the graceful Irving, and those of Holmes and Lowell, down to Bret Harte, Mark Twain, and others of our own day.

It is in the second part of the book, which Newcomer entitles 'The Creative Impulse,' and which covers the years from 1800 to 1860, that we find the author's best work. It is in the chapters of this part that all the really noteworthy American writers are passed in careful, critical review, and it is here that the strong and the weak points in their several contributions to literature are brought out in a truly attractive and artistic manner.

Nothing could be much finer than Newcomer's discussion of Irving; and how admirably he characterizes Cooper and his work! And yet he appreciates the defects of Cooper's writings and the weakness of his character, which he sets forth clearly, but not unjustly. He holds that in spite of Cooper's defects 'as a literary artist,' they are not of sufficient importance to 'condemn him utterly.'

It would be difficult to find a better characterization of Poe's work as poet and writer of tales than that given by Newcomer. He is neither a blind eulogist, nor a half-hearted apologist, nor a scornful defamer of Poe's character and writings. He seems to have grasped the salient features of the good as well as of the bad in Poe, and he places them before the reader in an interesting

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matthews, p. 33.

manner, with the graces of style, the artist's sympathy, and the confidence of the true critic.

After Poe, Newcomer's best work as a literary critic and appreciative biographer is to be found in his study of Hawthorne. He writes of Hawthorne as an apparent admirer of his work, and his own enthusiasm, and power of characterization, and delicate discrimination carry the reader with him. For here, as also in the case of Poe, he cannot be charged with indiscriminate, fulsome praise. He sees the good in Hawthorne's writings, and points it out with all the power of deep admiration. He is, on the other hand, not oblivious to the defects of the great romancer's work, and he does not hesitate to hold them up before the student—but always with a touch of sympathy.

Hawthorne, like Poe, occupies a unique place in the history of American literature; and there is a certain similarity between the two men in their 'attitude toward romance,' as well as an intimate kinship in other respects. 'Poe was fully Hawthorne's equal in art,' but he did not import enough 'of the human element into his eerie fancies.' Hawthorne 'is careful not to lose the way' in 'the excursion of his fancy,' and for this reason he 'never loses even the most prosaic reader's confidence.' Herein lies 'his immense advantage over Poe.'

What Newcomer says in the two or three pages devoted to Harriet Beecher Stowe and her work seems to me to be about the sanest, most impartial criticism of this famous woman and her once popular book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. He neither unduly lauds nor unjustly belittles the literary importance of the work, and he is possibly correct in the assertion that 'Mrs. Stowe aimed to set forth life as it really was'—which is different from saying she describes conditions which were typical of the South before the war. Such a statement (which, by the way, one sometimes hears from educated men and women in the Northern part of the country) would not receive the assent of a large body of intelligent men and women who are probably more capable of passing judgment on the question than any critic or historian who has not spent some years of his life in the South. Whatever opinion one may hold of the book as a piece of literary workmanship, and of its influence upon the anti-slavery movement, one who knows the South and its sentiment, as well as the North, cannot but lament the persistent effort that is made in many cities north of 'Mason and Dixon's line' to keep the harrowing scenes of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* constantly before the minds



of the immature boys and girls of our schools. There is, it seems to me, no one thing at the present day that is so powerful an agent in keeping alive an erroneous conception of the Southern people on the part of the North, as well as in fostering the spirit of sectionalism, as the story of Uncle Tom. Instead of being made required reading in High School courses, as is the case in a number of cities, the book should be relegated to the highest shelves of our libraries, there to lie undisturbed until our boys and girls have become men and woman of judgment and discernment.

In the chapter on 'The Transcendental Movement,' the author lays especial stress upon the part which Emerson, Thoreau, and the Brook Farm Society played in the intellectual and religious life of New England. The work of New England orators like Webster, and that of the great historians, Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman, is concisely, but sufficiently described.

Space will not permit me to give an extended account of Newcomer's discussion of the great New England poets. Suffice it to say that he is as felicitous in his critical estimate of Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, and Lowell, as in that of Poe and Hawthorne. The characteristic elements in the productions of these writers are placed before the student with sound judgment and in good style. Praise is usually given where it is due, and blame is never withheld where it is clearly deserved. Lowell's wit, scholarship, and critical ability are brought out distinctly, while the evident defects of his poetry and prose alike are sufficiently stressed. The touching pathos of Holmes' verse and the rich humor of 'The Breakfast Table Series' are not passed over, and the famous Autocrat's romances are briefly characterized. On such popular, not to say, hackneyed, subjects as these: the poetry of Longfellow, the critical powers of Lowell, the humor of Holmes, it is of course difficult to say anything new and original. We hardly expect it in such a book. But Newcomer's estimates are always entertaining, and not seldom inspiring.

More space is devoted to Walt Whitman and his poetical mission than we are accustomed to find in books of similar aims and compass. Although he defies classification, and although 'the public has not yet made up its mind whether he was a poet or a prose writer, a philosopher or an ignoramus, a genius or a charlatan,' Whitman was nevertheless too strong and vigorous a personality to omit from any complete account of American literary development. In spite of all eccentricities of character and irregularities

of composition, Whitman has had not a few ardent admirers from the time when *Leaves of Grass* first made its appearance. Most readers of English poetry will, like Newcomer, find nuggets of refined gold in the midst of much dross, but it is not easy to understand the extreme praise that Whitman's poetry has from time to time received. When we are informed by critics like Edmund Gosse that Whitman is the most typical of American poets, we are inclined to think that Mr. Gosse's conceptions of American life were derived from Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* or Bret Harte's *Luck of Roaring Camp*.

Newcomer's treatment of the later minor writers of American literature is more complete than that of other monograph histories with which I am acquainted. Southern poets like Hayne, Timrod, and Lanier receive brief but adequate notice, and a short chapter is devoted to the 'Prose and Poetry of the West,' in which especial attention is given to Mark Twain, Bret Harte, Joaquin Miller, E. R. Sill, and Helen Hunt Jackson. In the chapter on 'Poetry and Criticism in the East' the author brings his history up to date. Aldrich, Howells, Stedman, Emily Dickinson, John Burroughs, and others are briefly and clearly characterized.

It might be objected that several comparatively important writers of the later period who are barely mentioned, or not noticed at all, really deserve consideration in such a resume. But teachers of American literature will be thankful that so much has been included that is not usually found in books of a similar character, and which is nevertheless very valuable for a teacher's handbook.

The appendices contain copious lists of late and contemporary writers from all parts of the United States and Canada, a 'Chronological Outline,' 'Preferences,' 'Suggestions for Reading and Study,' and an 'Index.'

WM. H. HULME.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY.

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*The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love.* William Allan Neilson. Boston, 1899. (*Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* VI.) Pp. 284.

The title of Dr. Neilson's book hardly indicates the profusion of matter which it presents. A sentence from the preface will show its real scope. 'The investigation was begun as an inquiry into the

pseudo-Chaucerian *Court of Love*; and in the first chapter a rearrangement of the text of that poem, and in the seventh certain conclusions as to its sources, represent the main results of this inquiry. But the search for sources led naturally to a wider and wider extension of the field, until the dissertation finally included a general account of the rise and development of the leading features of the mediæval love-allegory.' It will be convenient to consider the book first in its narrower, and later in its wider import.

The proposed rearrangement of the text consists in removing twelve stanzas (ll. 1093–1176) from their present position, and inserting them earlier in the poem after line 266. By such a shifting it is possible to avoid awkwardly abrupt transitions at line 1093 and line 1177, and to secure a more logical and effective arrangement of the subject-matter of the poem. The narrative will now proceed consistently, save for the 'hopeless lacuna' at line 1316. To explain the displacement of these twelve stanzas, Dr. Neilson supposes that two leaves, containing six stanzas each, became detached, and were copied in at the wrong place by a later scribe. One cannot dispute for a moment that the proposed arrangement greatly improves the poem; and the displacement of two leaves in the MS. seems likely enough. The author does not seem to have noticed, however, that in assuming two whole leaves to have dropped out after line 266 (that is to say after stanza 38), we must also assume that stanzas 1–38 occupied a whole number of leaves in the original MS. But on Skeat's hypothesis (*Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. lxxiv, note 2) that there were originally six stanzas to a leaf—and in this Dr. Neilson seems to agree—the first leaf of the MS. must have contained only two stanzas, where allowing for an ornamental head-piece, we should expect at least four. It is the more remarkable that Dr. Neilson should have overlooked this simple calculation, inasmuch as he employs an exactly similar argument on page 6, note, to refute an explanation offered by Skeat.

In Chapter VII (pp. 228–240), the author discusses the immediate sources of the *Court of Love*. The positive results of this discussion are so scanty that they may be summarized in a few words: 'The author of the *Court of Love* was most influenced by Chaucer and Lydgate . . . With fair assurance we may say that he had read Ovid and Maximian, and that he knew *La Messe des Oisiaus* of Jean de Condé. The evidence with regard to Charles d'Orleans and James I of Scots is inconclusive. In addition to all this we may feel sure that he knew other poems of the *Court of Love* type, and doubt-

less received from them hints for his main allegory and the development of his list of statutes, as well as for minute details.' Of these statements, the fact of Chaucer's influence needs no demonstration; the poet's acquaintance with Ovid and Maximian has already been pointed out by Skeat; that the poet 'knew other poems of the *Court of Love* type' is a commonplace. What is significant is the fact, clearly demonstrated, that Lydgate's *Temple of Glas* rather than the *Kingis Quair* of James I of Scots served the poet as immediate model, and, in a less degree, the tracing of the birds' matins at the end of the *Court of Love* to Jean de Condé.

With so small a showing in positive results, it may be asked how the author has been able to fill 284 octavo pages. But before applying the proverb of the mountain and the mouse, it will be well to pay some heed to the parturient mountain. Even a hasty glance will convince one that the real value of the book lies not in its contribution to our knowledge of a particular poem—the sixteenth century *Court of Love*—but in its contribution to our knowledge of the mediæval love-allegory in general. In Chapter III, which occupies 145 pages, or half the entire work, the author traces the development of the central idea of a court of love through European literature from the end of the twelfth century to the beginning of the sixteenth. With admirable care and thoroughness he has examined the works of some seventy-five authors in Latin, Provençal, Old French, Italian, Middle High German, and English, giving concise summaries of whatever of love-allegory he has discovered in each. In Chapter IV a similar method of treatment is applied to the 'statutes of love' enumerated in lines 302–503 of the *Court of Love*, the development of which is traced from the *Ars Amatoria* of Ovid to William Dunbar's *Advice to Lovers*. We have, then, in these two chapters a rich collection of authors and passages which cannot but be of the greatest use to future students of mediæval literature and mediæval ideas. A somewhat careful testing of the matter here collected establishes the accuracy and reliability of the information presented.

When one goes a step further, however, and asks what use Dr. Neilson has made of this accumulation of material, one is impressed by the lack of any great synthetic grasp. The individual authors considered are treated as individuals, each in a section by himself, without sufficient reference to what precedes and follows, or to any central genetic idea. In reading these chapters one feels that he is reading a classified note-book rather than a finished essay. One is sorry, too, that Dr. Neilson has not thought it worth while to phil-

osophize his matter a little more; to explain, for example, why the love-allegory should have exerted so great an influence in France, and so slight an influence south of the Alps; to relate the tendency toward organization and minute classification, which manifests itself in the love-allegorists whom he considers, to that mediæval passion for unity and order which received its highest literary expression in Dante, and its noblest realization in the power of the papacy and the ideal of the Holy Roman Empire.

A very interesting chapter deals with the origins of the parody of Matins and Lauds sung by the birds in honor of the god of love. The author traces this idea to two ideas originally independent: the association of birds with the divinities of love which is to be found already developed in Ovid, and a tendency to parody the divine service, discoverable as early as Andreas Capellanus. These two ideas were first combined, Dr. Neilson believes, by Jean de Condé, who probably served as immediate source for the elaborate parody which concludes the *Court of Love*. The author overlooks, I think, a third idea which contributed to this developed conception—which may, indeed, be the idea which served to unite the other two—the familiar notion that the birds of the air are choristers, not of Venus or Cupid, but of the One God. The idea is common enough in modern literature. (Cf. *Paradise Lost* 5. 197–199; Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 29. 12). The earliest mediæval example I can give is from the first half of the thirteenth century<sup>1</sup> in *Li Tornoiemenz Antecrit* of Huon de Mery (ed. Wimmer ll. 106–109):

pour ce qu' il voloit  
Oïr le chant des oiseillons.  
Li services fu beax et lons,  
Qu' il firent a lour criatour.

It would doubtless be easy to multiply citations from the century that follows.

Two concluding chapters, which might well have been labeled appendices, deal respectively with the supposed historical institution of a court of love in which actual love cases were tried before

<sup>1</sup>The idea is much earlier. Thus we find it in Dracontius (fifth century), *Carmen de Deo* 1. 240–243:

Exsilit inde volans gens plumea læta per auras,  
Aera concutiens pennis crepitante volatu;  
Ac varias fundunt voces modulamine blando,  
Et, puto, collaudant Dominum meruisse creari.—Ed.

actual judges, and with the development of the court of love allegory after 1520. Toward the much vexed question of the reality of these love-courts, the author assumes a position commendable for its reasonableness and sanity. 'The question, that is, as it appears to me, is not whether or not Courts of Love ever existed, but whether the practices on which some have based the belief in the existence of such an institution were serious or playful. That they were playful, but yet socially important and influential, is the conclusion to which the evidence here collected seems to point.' If Dr. Neilson's short chapter has not spoken the final word on the matter, it has at least made an important contribution to the discussion, and has suggested, one may believe, the form which the final answer must take.

To return for a moment to the book as a whole, one may say that Dr. Neilson has treated his original question of the sources of the Chaucerian *Court of Love* with extraordinary completeness, and has arrived at conclusions which, if scanty, are at any rate sound, and as positive, probably, as the nature of the problem will permit; that to his larger question of the mediæval love-allegory in general he has contributed much valuable and trustworthy information, but has failed to organize his matter into a vital and synthetic whole.

ROBERT K. ROOT.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

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*The Translations of Beowulf: A Critical Bibliography.* By Chauncey B. Tinker, Associate in English at Bryn Mawr College. (*Yale Studies in English*, edited by Albert S. Cook, XVI.) New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1903. Pp. 149.

With the ever increasing number of contributions to the study of *Beowulf*, the need of bibliographical guides begins to make itself felt. For the prosperous province of translations Mr. Tinker has undertaken to act as Baedeker. When, on the appearance of Lumsden's version in 1881, Wülker gave his brief, but useful account of the translations of *Beowulf* (*Anglia* 4, *Anz.* 69-78), there were sixteen titles coming up for consideration. In the meantime, eleven complete translations have been added to the list, several of them

being of distinct value, and considerable attention has been given to the question of the proper method of translating. Hence there was room for a renewed, up-to-date, comprehensive review, both historical and critical.

Mr. Tinker has been generous in including, in an Appendix, incomplete translations and paraphrases (Leo, Sandras, E. H. Jones, Zinsser, Gibb, Wagner-MacDowall, Therese Dahn, Stopford Brooke, Miss Ragozin, A. J. Church, Miss Thomson). The translations proper, arranged as to languages, line up as follows. English: Kemble 1837, Wackerbarth 1849, Thorpe 1855, Arnold 1876, Lumsden 1881, Garnett 1882, Earle 1892, J. L. Hall 1892, Morris-Wyatt 1895, J. R. Clark Hall 1901, Tinker 1902 (besides the older extracts by Sharon Turner and Conybeare); German: Ettmuller 1840, Grein 1857, Simrock 1859, Heyne 1863, von Wolzogen 1872, Hoffmann 1893, Steineck 1898; Danish: Grundtvig 1820, Schallemose 1847; Swedish: Wickberg 1889; Dutch: Simons 1896; French: Botkine 1877; Italian: Grion 1883; Latin: Thorkelin 1815.

Grouping them according to the media chosen for the reproduction, the most popular verse-form has been 'imitative measures' (Ettmuller, Grein, Simrock, von Wolzogen; Garnett, J. L. Hall, Morris-Wyatt, Stopford Brooke; Wickberg); next follow iambic pentameters (Heyne, Simons, Zinsser; Conybeare); then three experiments in ballad measures (Grundtvig; Wackerbarth, Lumsden); one in Nibelungen strophes (Hoffmann); the remaining versions are in prose, and are most of them intended merely as a help in interpreting the text.

Mr. Tinker has followed the chronological order, and in this way has been able to throw light on the progress of *Beowulf* studies, that is, primarily on the history of the text. For the treatment of the individual works he has adopted the following plan, which is uniformly adhered to, with occasional slight modifications: Bibliographical Description, Circumstances of Publication, Qualifications of the Translator, Edition used, Nature (aim) of the Translation, Illustrative Specimens, Criticism. In general we find it easy to agree with his critical observations. The merits and shortcomings of the different versions are pointed out in a clear and impartial manner. We would call attention, for example, to his comments on Earle's 'archaic style . . . [which] mixes the diction of various ages' (p. 94), and the four different groups of archaisms in Morris' translation (p. 106); to his condemnation of the ballad-measure,

which is 'reminiscent of a mediævalism wholly different from that of *Beowulf*' (p. 82); and to the characterization of Zinsser's work as 'readable, but readable at the expense of accuracy' (p. 128). The main difference between Garnett's and J. L. Hall's translation is held to be 'that Hall makes an attempt to preserve the poetic value of the Old English words' (p. 98). Morris' verse is considered 'the best of all the imitative measures,' but his strange, obscure diction is strongly objected to (pp. 108-9). Of the German translations, that by Heyne receives high praise as 'the most enjoyable,' and is defended against unwarranted charges of excessive freedom (pp. 66-7). Possibly the more recent German renderings have been taken a little too seriously.

The severe censure of Thorkelin's work was not absolutely necessary. When we remember that the Scandinavian scholar spent nearly thirty years of his life in preparing the edition, and was not even discouraged by the exasperating destruction of his first text, and that he did this work at a time when no Englishman was sufficiently interested in the ancient poem to undergo the same drudgery, we are certainly prepared for a lenient judgment. No matter how faulty his edition and translation may be, the author of the *editio princeps* is deserving of our sincere gratitude.

To the 'Paraphrases' another title could be added. Ferdinand Bässler, *Beowulf, Wieland der Schmied, und die Ravennaschlacht. Für die Jugend und das Volk bearbeitet*. Second edition, Berlin, 1875. This is a free, condensed paraphrase remarkable for its felicitous diction. The author († 1879), who was Professor at the *Königliche Landesschule Pforta*, edited several series of *Heldengeschichten des Mittelalters ihren Sängern nacherzählt*.

In the course of his review Mr. Tinker does not commit himself explicitly to any principle of translation, but to judge from incidental remarks, and more especially from his own work as a translator, his preference is for 'as simple and readable a [prose] version of the poem as is consistent with the character of the original.' If we mistake not, the general drift in these latter days is toward faithful, literary prose.

FR. KLAEBER.



*The Poems of Anne Countess of Winchilsea.* Edited by Myra Reynolds. The University of Chicago Press, 1903.

Lady Winchilsea owes her literary resurrection to the oft-quoted passage in praise of her *Nocturnal Reverie* in one of Wordsworth's prefaces to the *Lyrical Ballads*. Mr. Gosse, it seems, and Mr. Saintsbury have been calling for a complete collection of her poems; and, heartened by these instigations, Miss Reynolds has reprinted the contents of the solitary edition of 1713, supplementing them with abundant manuscript material and with scattered pieces from the miscellanies.

Lowell said that it was perhaps worth while to reprint Lovelace entire, in order to show what dull verses could be written by a man who had made a single lucky hit. But a volume of 570 pages (cxxxiv + 436) was scarcely needed to make the demonstration in Lady Winchilsea's case. The *Nocturnal Reverie* is, indeed, in view of its date, a remarkable piece of work, evincing a delicate and sincere observation of nature. With the two or three other selections of like quality, *The Nightingale*, *The Tree*, etc., inserted in Ward's *English Poets*, it was quite deserving of a place in the anthologies. But the most cursory examination of the fair Ardelia's complete poems is enough to prove the 'Nocturnal Reverie' an exception—almost an accident—like Christopher Smart's *Song for David*, or Hamilton of Bangour's *Braes of Yarrow*. The remainder of her work is the minor poetry of a period whose best was not very good. She essayed most of the forms practised by her generation: the verse-epistle, the Pindaric, the fable and *conte* in the manner of Lafontaine; and reached no more than mediocrity in any of them. As to the two dramatic pieces which the editor has disinterred from manuscript, they are stark naught.

We beg the Countess of Winchilsea's pardon. One of her moral tales, *The Atheist and the Acorn*, has lived a sort of life in school readers and similar collections. We remember to have encountered it in early youth, as well as a kind of travesty in which the argument is turned against the author by a moralist who lies under a cocoa-palm and lauds the wisdom of Providence in hanging cocoanuts on tall trees and hazel nuts on low bushes, until a cocoanut falls upon his skull (the pumpkin was the fruit which pointed Lady Winchilsea's moral).

Lady Winchilsea was of blameless life and pen. As maid of honor to Mary of Modena, she lived without shadow of scandal in

a very corrupt court. She was a Jacobite, and after 1688 retired to a country residence at Eastwell, with her husband, a nobleman devoted to 'Antiquities' and other mild virtuositities, who figures in her poetry as Dafnis, Flavio, and by other pastoral names. She was the object of half-ironical compliments from Pope and Swift.

Miss Reynolds has done her editorial work with commendable thoroughness; though the elaborate analyses, in her introduction, of Lady Winchilsea's literary qualities and attitudes, are out of proportion to the importance of the subject.

HENRY A. BEERS.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

*Essays on the Study and Use of Poetry, by Plutarch and Basil the Great.* Translated from the Greek, with an Introduction, by Frederic Morgan Padelford, Ph. D., Professor of the English Language and Literature in the University of Washington. (*Yale Studies in English* XV. Albert S. Cook, Editor.) New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1902. Pp. 136.

This is a useful and timely addition to existing apparatus for the study of literary criticism and poetics, more especially for the study of these subjects from the evolutionary point of view. It should be followed by other translations, until the whole body of ancient critical literature becomes available for those who have not the time or the preparation for reading the originals. One particularly feels the need of such a series in reading Saintsbury's *History of Criticism*. Few students have the courage, or the wind, to follow this omnilegent author in his headlong career through the classical remains—

Tramp! tramp! along the land . . .  
 Splash! splash! along the sea.

But with the aid of a critical prose anthology, in translation, one might hope at least to cling panting to his skirts.

Professor Padelford's translation appears upon scrutiny to be worthy of inclusion in such a critical anthology. I will not pretend that I have compared it sentence for sentence with the original throughout, but wherever I have made comparison I have generally found the English a fairly close and critical rendering of the Greek. Nor is it a labored rendering; it reflects, as the translator in his pre-

face modestly hopes it may, the style and spirit of the original. Two departures from the original may however be noted at this point. Referring to page 53, line 3, where the text reads, 'A probable fiction is more impressive and acceptable than a fixed truth, which is without plot, and simple in metre and diction,' I venture to doubt whether 'fixed truth' is the most plausible rendering of *κατασκευῆς*. The sense of the passage seems rather to be, 'A probable falsehood is more impressive and acceptable than a bit of discourse which is without plot,' etc. Notice also that by inserting the comma before the relative pronoun the translator seems to make Plutarch say that all fixed truths are without plot and simple in metre and diction, whereas the force of the relative clause is obviously restrictive. Is the punctuation a survival from one of the older translations?

In the same paragraph occurs the following sentence: 'For neither metre, nor tropes, nor harmony of construction, is so winsome and engaging as a well-woven fabric of fiction.' As a free translation of *Οὔτε γὰρ μέτρον, οὔτε τρόπος, οὔτε λέξεως ὄγκος, οὔτ' εὐκαιρία μεταφορᾶς, οὔτε ἁρμονία καὶ σύνθεσις ἔχει τοσούτον αἰμυλίας καὶ χάριτος, ὅσον εὖ πεποιμένη διάθεσις μυθολογίας*, this may pass muster for the general reader; but as a critical translation for the student of poetics it is hardly satisfactory. It is at any rate open to the charge that it fails to suggest in any way the presence of the technical term *ὄγκος*, which has played a rather important part in the history of criticism.

The introductions impress me as less valuable than the translations. Like the translations, they are faithful and scholarly, and show an intimate acquaintance with the literature of the subject, but they exhibit less insight in their special field. That field, I take it, is the history of poetics. What does the student of poetics expect to learn about Plutarch and Basil from such a commentary as this? Not merely what they said—that he can discover for himself in their essays; nor when they lived and what their characters were—these things are in every encyclopædia. What he has a right to expect is something quite different: it is a definite placing of each author in the development of ancient literary theory. Aristotle made some advance upon Plato, Longinus on Aristotle, Plutarch on Longinus, and so on down the ages. That is the assumption, surely, which underlies all modern study of the subject. Now what place does Plutarch hold in this chain of theorizings? What painful inch has he gained? What do we know about poetics now which we should never have known (in all probability) if Plutarch had not revealed it to us? These are the questions that interest me as a student of the

history of poetics. In this field they seem to me by far the most important questions that can be asked. More than that, the answers to other important questions depend upon them. But they seem not to have interested Professor Padelford very much. He does indeed compare the ideas of Plutarch with those of Aristotle and of Plato, but he sets them side by side as a man might compare the plans of three houses: this house has five closets, that has ten; the second house has the dining-room where the third has the study; and so on. This sort of thing, however useful it may be to the person who does it, is after all of very little value to others. It is too much like bookkeeping. It lacks the germinating idea, the causal nexus, the sense of onward movement, which alone can give life and value to such studies.

I have spoken of Professor's Saintsbury's work. The great defect of his big book, in my estimation, is just this, that it gets nowhere. We are for ever climbing up the climbing wave and coming down again into the hollow, without catching a glimpse, or at any rate more than a glimpse, of the Happy Isles. Not for this was the science of literary criticism brought into being.

I regret that I cannot supply what seems to me to be lacking in Professor Padelford's otherwise excellent expositions. I regret this particularly in the case of Plutarch, for the real nature of Plutarch's contribution to literary criticism has always been a puzzle to me. His attitude toward poetry seems at first view to be simply stupid and perverse and pigheaded. He sees in poetry only a trick of certain men, avid of applause, for drawing attention to themselves. Mr. Bosanquet (*History of Æsthetic*, page 106) and Eduard Müller (*Geschichte der Theorie der Kunst bei den Alten* 2. 208) agree that Plutarch's one advance upon Aristotle is his somewhat plainer statement of the question, Can what is really ugly become beautiful in art? This may be true, and yet I seem to see in the essay before me the germ of another idea, unperceived by Aristotle, and it may be not yet fully appreciated. It occurs in what appears at first contact to be the most barren and fatuous part of the essay (Section IV). Plutarch is showing how the immoral and disgusting passages in any author's poetry may be rendered innocuous by setting over against them contradictory passages. 'But,' he goes on, 'if any of the poets do not themselves offer an escape from these things which they have said amiss, it is well to employ the contrary sentiments of other famous men so that the better may outbalance the worse.' Is it to reason too curiously to see in this advice a conception of the

organic character, the solidarity, of literature? Crude, negative, and perverse as the idea is in the form in which Plutarch presents it, still it anticipates in a way the modern notion that each element and type of the whole body of literature has its peculiar part to play in fashioning the soul of man. I do not know of any preceding statement of this thought. Plato comes very near to saying it in the *Gorgias*, and clearly recognizes the principle in his treatment of music in the *Republic* (3. 399), but he does not apply the thought to literature, so far as I recall. Perhaps some reader of this journal may be able to set me right in this matter.

Of minor errors the list is brief. (1) On p. 39 the date of Basil's death should be 379 instead of 279. (2) Several of the references to Aristotle's *Poetics* on pp. 52 and 53 are incorrect. (3) The practice of quoting, in the foot-notes, as on pp. 76 and 94, from dictionaries and encyclopædias, without giving the authorities for the quotations, is an editorial vice in which no scholar can safely indulge. (4) Now and then the foot-notes are inapt. Thus to illustrate Plutarch's observation (p. 53) that 'color in painting is more effective than line because more lifelike and illusive,' the editor quotes without comment the sentence from Aristotle's *Poetics*: 'The most beautiful colors, laid on confusedly, will not give as much pleasure as the chalk outline of a portrait.' The implication is that the thoughts of the two writers here run parallel, whereas in point of fact the two passages present a curious and complicated antithesis, the exposition of which would require an extended commentary.

FRED NEWTON SCOTT.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

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*Shakspeare and his Forerunners: Studies in Elizabethan Poetry and its Development from Early English.* By Sidney Lanier. Illustrated. Two Volumes. New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1902. Pp. xxiv, 324, and xix, 329.

The purpose of the following notice is to call attention to the value of this work for the literary study of Old English. The chapters which have to do with our earliest literature are these: II. The Supernatural in Early English and in Shakspeare. *Address of the Soul to the Dead Body* Compared with *Hamlet*. III. Nature in

Early English and in Shakspeare: *Beowulf* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*. IV. Some Birds of English Poetry: *The Phoenix* of Cynewulf and of Shakspeare. V. Women of English Poetry down to Shakspeare, *St. Juliana* and *Love's Labour's Lost*.

Here, too, it may be convenient to mention the numerous plates which add greatly to the interest of the volume. Among these are: Beginning of the 'Laws of Alfred,' Facsimile from a Saxon Chronicle, Facsimile of a Page of the Vercelli MS., Fall of the Bad Angel (from the 'Cædmon' MS.), Facsimile from the Anglo-Saxon MS. first mentioning the Story of King Alfred and the Cakes, A Page from the 'Bestiary Book,' From 'The Wonders of the East,' God Brings Light (from the 'Cædmon' MS.), Facsimile from the Codex Exoniensis with the Runic Alphabet, Adam and Eve Driven out of Paradise (from the 'Cædmon' MS.)

*Shakspeare and his Forerunners* consists of two sets of lectures delivered in Baltimore in 1879-80, one at the Johns Hopkins University and one at the Peabody Institute. The work has, with the exception of a few chapters recently published in magazines, remained in manuscript. It is now printed under the supervision of Mr. Henry Wysham Lanier, who professes to have confined his editorial labors entirely to 'selection and arrangement.' In view of this want of editing and of modernization, the 'scholarship' of the volume is such as would disgrace a recent work. Indeed, one who is acquainted with the author's *Science of English Verse* and its thousand errors of statement and of fact with respect to Old English will be surprised at nothing that he may encounter in a work obviously never prepared for the press; yet he may be permitted to wonder at the temerity of an editor who allows such verses as these to go into print:

Swilse on naeshleaðum nicras liegan—*Beo.* 1427; Vol. 1, p. 66.

Ides ogloeceviſ, irmðe gemunde—*Beo.* 1259; Vol. 1, p. 55.

On ðram holmclife—*Beo.* 1421; Vol. 1, p. 50.

This list might be continued. The work is also disfigured by vague or erroneous statements. Even in 1879 one was hardly justified in implying that the entire *Exeter Book* was the work of Cynewulf. i. 76-77), or that the events of the *Beowulf* might possibly have taken place before the fifth century (i. 43-44).

But it would be a thankless task to list the errors in a book never intended by its author as a contribution to scholarship; it is far more profitable to turn one's attention to other features of the

volume. Noticeably good are the translations from Old English poetry (though they are often spoiled by inaccurate renderings). The principal piece of translation is from *The Phoenix*, nearly a third of that poem being translated into English prose and verse. There are also bits from the *Beowulf*, the *Elene*, the *Juliana*, and the *Soul to the Body*. The author's favorite verse—medium is the one illustrated by the following passage from the *Beowulf*—a medium unique in translations of Old English poetry, so far as the present writer's knowledge extends :

Weird is the land  
Of their dwelling, and drear and dark ;  
Wind-swept peaks and wolf-hills wild,  
And perilous tarns where the arrowy torrents  
Shoot sheerly down from the cliffs  
And cleave through the earth.—1. 47.

Without being imitative of the original metres, these verses—and those from *The Phoenix*—have the variety, the life, and the color that are wanting in many of our translations from Old English. It is a pity that they contain so much inaccuracy.

But, after all, the principal feature of the chapters under discussion is their literary study of Old English—a study based on a comparison of the early poems with some Elizabethan—or even more modern work. From these comparisons the author is enabled to draw certain large distinctions between mediæval and modern literature. For example, on page 74 of vol. 1, we read : ‘ Since the poem of *Beowulf* was written the relations between man and Nature have changed in a wonderful and beautiful manner, so that whereas Nature was once a rigorous monster, a mother of Grendel, rending and devouring the sons of men, it has softened down into a Puck, in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, who plays amazing, but not tragic, tricks in the domestic life.’

The merits and defects of this system of literary criticism are obvious : at its best it will bring home to us the continuity—the essential unity of our literature ; at its worst it will seem—as the passage cited seems to the present writer—far-fetched and fanciful. What is to prevent us, we may ask, from setting such a sentence as this from the *Beowulf* : ‘ A new year came into the dwellings of earth—as still it doth—and the days, gloriously bright, which ever observe the season due . . . Fair was the bosom of earth ’ (1133 ff.) over against Shakspeare's Caliban, or the ‘ rigorous monster ’ witches

in *Macbeth*, and deducing a conclusion precisely the opposite of Lanier's?

At their best, on the other hand, the comparisons are well worth making. It may seem somewhat startling at first to be asked to compare St. Juliana with Miss Gwendolen Harleth; but the device enables the author to enforce some very real likenesses between mediæval life and the life of the nineteenth century portrayed in *Daniel Deronda*: 'May it not be that they [people in 2879] will think Mrs. Lewes's story as foolish as you think Cynewulf's? . . . . The truth is, when all's said and done, the devil who appeared to Juliana and urged her to worship the false gods was not one whit more superstitious or ridiculous than the arguments by which Gwendolen Harleth persuaded herself to marry Grandcourt. The one belongs as much to an age of darkness as the other' (1. 108-09). After all, before the worth of Old English literature can be said to have been duly tested, it must have been subjected to a searching comparison with other literatures; in so far as the chapters here discussed succeed in showing us a practicable method of relating our mediæval literature to our modern, they are not without a real value.

CHAUNCEY B. TINKER.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

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*Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers, Second Series.*

Edited with the Latin Originals, Index of Biblical Passages, and Index of Principal Words, by Albert S. Cook, Ph. D., L. H. D., Professor of the English Language and Literature in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; London: Edward Arnold, 1903. Pp. x, 396.

Students of Old English will be gratified to note the completion of Professor Cook's great collection of *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers*, the first part of which appeared in 1898. In its scope and method the second series follows the same lines as the first, so as to dispense us from a description of its general arrangement. The texts included in the present volume are (1) the remaining works of the Alfred cycle, namely the *Boethius*, Augustine's *Soliloquies* (quoted from Hargrove's edition of 1902), Gregory's *Dialogues* (made accessible through the Johnson-Hecht edition of



1900); (2) the chief works of Ælfric outside the *Homilies* (and the *Heptateuch*, of course), namely the *Lives of Saints*, *Interrogationes Sigewulfi*, *Hexameron* and *Admonitio*, the *Colloquy*, and the extensive supplements to Thorpe's edition of the *Homilies* which have been published by Napier; (3) various books of homilies, the Blickling collection, the Wulfstan series, the *Homilies and Saints' Lives* of Assmann's edition; further, the *Benedictine Rule*, *Benedictine Office*, *Martyrology* (edited by Herzfeld), *Harrowing of Hell* (Bright's text), *Solomon and Saturn*, and the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*. Some of these works have been laid under heavy contribution, for example Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, with thirty-eight pages; the *Blickling Homilies* and Wulfstan's *Homilies*, with upwards of twenty pages each; and Napier's 'Supplement to Ælfric's *Homilies*' consists in fact of unmixed Gospel extracts. On the other hand, the material gathered from texts like the *Colloquy* or *Boethius* is naturally very scanty, though of a decidedly interesting character. To the four Biblical allusions in *Boethius* we might, by the way, add: *þā bēoð þēre heofencundan Ierusalem burgware* 11. 17 (Hebr. 12. 22, Rev. 21. 2, 10),—an insertion based on a Latin commentary, to which also the mention of the 'divisio linguarum' 99. 16 f. has been referred (Schepss, *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 94. 150, 152; cf. Sedgefield's edition, p. xxxi ff.).<sup>1</sup>

Also a couple of quotations from the Chronicle are perhaps worth mentioning in this place: *swā hē sylf on his godspelle sæið, þæt furðon ān spearwa on gryn ne mæg befeallan forūtan his forescēawunge* A. D. 1067 D. (rather free, compared with Matth. 10. 29 (cf. Ps. 124. 7. ?); see Cook, p. 204). *Be þām se apostol Paulus, ealra þēoda lārēow, cwæð: Salvabitur* (Vulg.: sanctificatus est enim) *vir infidelis per mulierem fidelem; sic et* (Vulg.: et sanctificata est) *mulier infidelis per virum fidelem, et rel. þæt is on ūran geþēode: ful oft se ungelēaffulla wer bið gehālgad and gehēled þurh þæt rihtwīse (lēaffule ab. l.) wīf, and swā geþice þæt wīf þurh gelēaffulne wer. ib. (1. Cor. 7. 14).*

Great care has been exercised by the editor in tracing the sources of the Scriptural passages. Those of the Latin originals which differ from the Vulgate text have been marked as such, even very slight deviations being considered. In a number of instances the variants have apparently been furnished by the Latin quotations scattered through the Old English texts themselves, as in the

<sup>1</sup> A convenient list of Biblical and Christian additions has been printed in the Introduction to Sedgefield's translation, p. xxxi.

*Blickling Homilies*, Ælfric's *Saints*, Wulfstan's *Homilies*, the *Soliloquies*, and Assmann's miscellaneous collection. Whether an investigation of the sources of Ælfric's *Saints* and the *Blickling Homilies* along the lines opened up by Ott (*Über die Quellen der Heiligenleben in Ælfrics Lives of Saints*. I. Halle, 1892) and Förster (*Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen* 91. 179–206) would have yielded fruitful results, we have no means here of ascertaining.<sup>1</sup> Certainly the difficulty of finding out the exact forms of the originals is very considerable. It is an encouraging event to chronicle that recently a study of the West Saxon Gospels has been undertaken with especial reference to the form of the Latin text (L. M. Harris, *Studies in the Anglo-Saxon Version of the Gospels*. Part I. Baltimore, 1901).

To the body of the book three Appendices have been added: the Cambridge Fragment of Genesis discovered by Professor Frank H. Chase; an Index of Biblical references in the Durham Ritual; and full tables of Parallel Passages from the Gospels, arranged in the manner of a Harmony (pp. 219–304). Comparative studies, to which the latter naturally invite, are moreover facilitated by the exhaustive Index of Biblical Passages. By the use of this Index, together with the corresponding one in the first volume, we are enabled in the most convenient manner to set side by side different renderings of the same verse or verses. For example, we find Matth. 11. 29 represented in four texts: Bede 100. 26 f., *Blickl. Hom.* 13. 18 f., Ælfr. *Hom.* I. 210. 17 f., Ælfr. *L. S.* I 344. 124 f.; Luke 21. 34 in: *Cur. P.* 128. 19 f., Ælfr. *Hom.* II 22. 17 ff., *Ben. R.* 64. 1 f., Assm. *Hom.* 141. 78 f., *WS. Gosp.*; Is. 58. 1 in: *Cur. P.* 90. 18 f., Ælfr. *Hom.* I 6. 31 ff., Wulfst. 6. 8 f., 283. 1 f., *Inst.* 434, Assm. *Hom.* 138. 9 f.; Is. 58. 7 in: *Cur. P.* 314. 13 ff., Ælfr. *Hom.* I 180. 4 ff., *Blickl. Hom.* 37. 20 ff., Assm. *Hom.* 141. 93 ff.; Ps. 96. 5 (*omnes dii gentium daemonia; Dominus autem caelos fecit*) twice in Ælfr. *LS.*, I 26. 39 f., I 308. 18 f. (with which places may be compared the erroneous interpretation in *Gnom. Exon.* 133: *Wöden worhte wēos, wuldor Alwalda, / rūme roderas*, cf. *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum* 31. 59); and, to instance a connected passage, Luke 10. 38–42 is found in two renderings by Ælfric, *Hom.* II

<sup>1</sup>*Blickl. Hom.* 91. 23, *ond sēo rōd ūres Drihtnes bið āræred on þæt gewrizle pāra tungla*, is rather far removed from Matth. 24. 30: *et tunc parebit signum Filii hominis in caelo*. Morris's translation: 'and the Rood of our Lord . . . shall be raised in the course of the stars' is ambiguous. We can hardly go wrong in regarding *on þæt gewrizle* as a gloss of an 'in vicem.'

438. 30 ff. and Suppl. (*Archiv* 102. 39), and in *Blickl. Hom.* 67. 25 ff. (with some interesting variations).

A very valuable part of the volume is the excellent Glossary (pp. 347-392), which records all occurrences of most of the Old English words, only some very common vocables being omitted. A few inadvertencies, some of them affecting also the texts, may be noted.

*āwegan* should be changed to *āwēgan* = *āwāgan*; it occurs in *Ælfr. Hom.* (Suppl., Cook, p. 154): *noðe, þēah, for his āðe . . . his word āwegan*. Cf. *Ælfric*, Judges 15. 19: *ān stef ne bið nē ān strica āwēged of þære ealdan gesetnisse*; *Andreas* 1439: *ær āwēged sīe worda tēnig*.

Under *bodian*, the reference to 95. 6 is to be stricken out; (*nē wundorlice mid getote ne*) *bōde*, *Ben. R.* 22. 17, belongs to *\*bōian* (*\*bōgan*).

*brædan*, 58. 20, is distinct from *brædan*, 173. 1 (*gebrædne fise*); with the latter belongs *brædan* 19. 16 (Glossary s. v. *gebrædan*).

*gēara* 56. 2. Rather *geara*, as the context shows: *ēow sōna wyrð heofona rīces duru geara untyned* Wulfst. 71. 15.

From *hýra*, 175. 19 ff. (= *mercenarius*), is to be separated *hýra* 'hearer, one who obeys,' 102. 11: *þæne glædan hýran God lufað*, *Ben. R.* 20. 24 = *hilarem datorem diligit Deus*. The peculiar rendering *hýran*, which would almost seem to point to an 'auditem' in place of 'datorem' (*Benet* 25. 6 *syllan*, Winteneý version 29. 11 *gefestre*), could nevertheless be accounted for by the context.

*weg* in *rihtwīsnysse weg wuldorbēah* (p. 216, *Ælfr. L. S.* II 352. 290) should be canceled, as Skeat suggests.

A few gleanings from the quotations of the Latin originals may be subjoined. P. 59. Matth. 24. 24: *et prodigia* is to be left out. P. 84. Matth. 22. 39 (Mark 12. 31, Rom. 13. 9, cf. Luke 10. 27) is nearer to *Solil.* 19. 8 f.: *þæt man sceole lufian hys nēhstan swā swā hyne sylfne* than Lev. 19. 18. P. 111. Is. 9. 6: The proper reading is no doubt: *et filius datus est nobis*. It seems that 'filius' is abbreviated in the MS. P. 199. Ps. 91. 7: Read *tibi*, instead of *ad te*. P. 207. John 5. 25: *Ælfric's* Latin text has (*Filii*) *hominis*, not *Dei*; and omits *et nunc est*. P. 215. Gal. 5. 19: Read *impudicitia* (rendered, in a somewhat remarkable fashion, by *ēstfulnyss*).

The two stately volumes of Professor Cook's *Biblical Quotations* are a splendid monument of persevering enthusiasm and scholarship. They cover nearly the entire prose of the period, and will thus prove of the highest value to the student of the Old English language and

literature. It is also hoped that they will act as a stimulant in promoting further special studies. The new volume is one of the series issued in connection with the Yale Bicentennial Anniversary, and its magnificent typographical make-up testifies to the festival occasion of its publication.

FR. KLAEBER.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.

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CHARLES G. OSGOOD.

YALE UNIVERSITY.



ON THE OLD ENGLISH GLOSSES PRINTED IN  
KLUGE'S *ANGELSÄCHSISCHES LESEBUCH*.<sup>3</sup>

I. THE EPINAL GLOSSES.

**A**LREADY the first print of the Epinal glosses by Kluge in his 2d edition of the *Lesebuch* had been a decided improvement on that of Sweet in his *Old English Texts*, in so far as it had eliminated as purely Latin four of Sweet's entries (*fellitat*: *suggit*, No. 455, *perstromata*, *ornamenta*: *stefad brū*, No. 837; *tipo droco*, No. 1048; *yryseon*: *hereseorum*, No. 2175) on the one hand, and, on the other, had admitted five of those omitted by Sweet (*ansa*<sup>1</sup> *fibulae*, No. 3<sup>a</sup>; *cyprinus ornaetici*, No. 178<sup>a</sup>; *iota soetha*, No. 516<sup>a</sup>; *lanx heolor*,<sup>2</sup> No. 573<sup>a</sup>; *merx merze*, 657<sup>a</sup>), not counting *bothoma*: *embrin*, No. 308<sup>a</sup>, which had been added by Sweet himself in the appendix. In the 3d edition of the *Lesebuch*, now before us, the number of glosses dropped has been augmented by one, *omentum*: *maffa*, No. 719; of new entries there is an increase by two, *genisculas muscellas*, No. 469<sup>a</sup>, and *tubulo fala*, No. 1009<sup>a</sup>. The withdrawal of *omentum maffa* from the text of the glosses as well as from the glossary, I am in hearty agreement with; in fact, it affords me no little satisfaction to see that Kluge at last has heeded my

<sup>1</sup>So Kluge; ms. *ansa*. Does Kluge assume a strong masculine *fibul*?

<sup>2</sup>The credit for having first given publicity to this important instance of *u*-umlaut of *e* in the *Epinal* is assigned to Kluge by Pogatscher in *Engl. Studien*, but it belongs to me, though Hessels may claim priority in so far as, in a note to *Corpus Glossary* 416, *laxhe. holor* (a gloss omitted by Sweet; it should appear after his No. 1169), he drew attention to the corresponding gloss in the *Epinal-Erfurt*. But he explained *laxhe* merely as a corruption of *lanx*, evidently not being aware of the fact, brought out by me, that the first syllable of *he(h)olor* had been wrongly united with *lax* = *lāx* = *lanx* in the *Epinal-Erfurt* as well as in the *Corpus*. The reading of the *Erfurt*, *laxe olor* (so, not *laxe clor*, Goetz *C. G. L.* 5. 368. 37 prints) differs by omitting the initial *h* of the interpretation, probably through inadvertence of the scribe.

pleadings for the purely Latin character of the gloss, and Bülbring will do well to follow suit, for there is no such word in Old English as the *maffa*, 'Fetthaut um die Därme,' which he quotes in § 127<sup>b</sup> of his *Elementarbuch* in support of a certain rule. The *maffa* of *Epinal*, *naffa* of *Erfurt*, is just as surely misreading or corruption of Latin *mappa*, with its by-form *nappa* (preserved in French *nappe*, English *nap-kin*), as *fannosū* (*lacinosū*) in the *Epinal* (Sweet's facsimile, p. 14, A 18), *fannossum* (*lacinossum*) in the *Erfurt* (Goetz, *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* 5. 370. 12) stands for *pannosum*, miswritten *panhosum* in the *Corpus*, which Sweet, *OET.*, p. 73, marks as OE., and peculiar to Cp. 1186, though as early as 1876 Zupitza, in his notice of Sweet's *History of English Sounds* (*AfdA* 2. 14, Anm.) had taken Wright to task for this ludicrous mistake. While I am convinced of the necessity of removing *maffa*, I am not so very sure about the propriety of admitting *muscellas* as Old English, especially as Kluge has entirely failed to make clear his position in regard to this alleged Old English form, and there is a Latin *muscella*. Is Kluge ready, on the strength of this gloss and of *Erf.* 1117 *genesco musscel*, to assume a strong masculine *muscel*, pl. *muscelas*? If so, why did he not say so in the glossary? There he puts *muscel* by the side of *muscl* with the designation *f.* (= *feminine*). And as a weak feminine the word is certainly testified to by all the other instances on record. How, then, can *muscellas* be considered the plural form of this weak feminine? But as there are instances of solitary strong forms (for example, of the weak feminine *mæltange* there is on record the strong gen. sing. *mæltanges*, *WW.* 150. 39), we might assume that *muscellas* is such a solitary strong plural form, were there nothing to combat the theory of such an assumption. Observe, in the first place, that the spelling is not favorable to the theory of an Old English form; it is not *muscelas* we read, but *muscellas*; in the second place, the reading of the *Erfurt* (*C. G. L.* 5. 363. 19), *genisculae muscellae*, is not favorable to the theory, either. If the lemma were *geniscula*, instead of *genisculae*, the English character of the interpretation, *muscellae*, might be easily admitted as established. As it is, the reading of the *Erfurt* looks as genuinely Latin as that of the *Epinal* does, and one

confirms the Latin character of the other. Doubtful, then, as the claim of admittance to the Old English list must appear to be in regard to *muscellas*, and vexatious as Kluge's silence is, it is still more so with respect to *fala* (gl. *tubulo*, as Kluge will have it). Here, again, we are left entirely in the dark as to the reasons which determined the author to admit the word. He does not even refer to Hessels' edition of the *Corpus Glossary*, Introd., pp. 43-44, where—as far as I can see—the only valid reason that is adduced for considering *fala* Old English is because it appears WW. 279. 10 as *fealo* (gl. *tubulo*), and that might mean, as Hessels says, either 'fallow' or 'many.' What Kluge's idea in regard to the meaning of the word is, or what he thinks about the relationship of the reading *fala* (*Epinal-Erfurt-Corpus-Leiden*) to this *fealo*—of that he does not give us the slightest indication either in a note or in the glossary. This obligation to do so would seem to be all the more pressing, as in 'normalizing' the lemma he changed the reading of the *Epinal*—which is *tabula*, and has the support of the *Erfurt's tubulo*—to the *tubulo* of WW. 279. 10 quoted above. *Corpus* (Hessels, T 321) and *Leiden* 191 read *tubulo*. From this it would appear that the weight of evidence is actually in favor of *tubulo*, and we might easily reach the decision that this is the true form of the lemma, if it were borne out by the interpretation. But this is far from being the case, and I do not see how we can ever arrive at a satisfactory solution of the riddle presented by *fala* that would be in accord with a lemma *tubulo* 'small tube (pipe),' even if we make use of the help afforded by *fealo* (*tubulo*), pointed out by Hessels, and follow up either of his suggestions as to the meaning. If *tubulo* is the original form of the lemma, then we require for the interpretation something like what we read in the Werden gloss,<sup>1</sup> (Kluge, p. 9, l. 48) *theuta* (= *theuta* i. e. *theutan peotan*?) and we might suppose that *tubulo* stands for *tubulo*<sup>rum</sup>, a gloss to (*voce*) *cataractarum* Ps. 41. 8,<sup>2</sup> and the fact that the *Vesp. Psalter* explains this

<sup>1</sup> Kluge prints *tubuli stemne theuta*, giving no hint that *stemne* is Gallée's conjecture for . . . *emne* of the MS.

<sup>2</sup> The Werden gloss, certainly, would seem to refer to this passage, if Gallée is right.

*cataractarum* by *peotena* might lend some probability to the supposition. But then Kluge must be ready to say that the *fala* (*fealo*) on record is a corruption of *ġuta* (*peato*) = *peutā* (*peotā*). Unless he can make this corruption of the interpretation probable, I do not see how *tubulo* as lemma can stand. At any rate, the meaning of *fala* (*fealo*) being as yet a riddle, it is unsafe to assert that *tubolo* (*tubulo*), rather than *tabula* (*tabulo*), is to be accepted as the proper reading of the lemma. With just as great a chance for being right, somebody might say that the reading of *Epinal-Erfurt* comes nearer the truth, standing for *stabulo*, and *fala* (*fealo*) he might take as originating from *fala ed* (*fealo*) = *falaed* (*feald*). *Fala ed* certainly is on record in the *Erfurt* 129 = *C. G. L.* 5. 347. 12, *bobellum fala ed*, and written thus in the archetypus could have easily given rise to the puzzling *fala* we have now to wrestle with. On *stabulum*, explained by *falaed*, see *Ep. Erf.* 959. As to *fealo* = *feald* (= *faled*?), examples like *WW.* 543. 10, *scearnbudoa* = *scearnbudoa* = *scearnbudda*, or Goetz's misreading *dma* for *oma*, *C. G. L.* 5. 419. 10 = *Ld.* 88, or Wright-Wülker's *pundergeð*, for what Zupitze clearly read *punderngeð* = *punderngend*, *WW.* 70. 35, show plainly that there is a form of the *d* closely resembling *o*. On *tabulo* for *stabulo* cf. my remarks on *tignum tin* for *stagnum tin* (*Anglia* 14. 297).

We come now to the glosses omitted by Kluge, although containing Old English interpretations. Of course, I do not count among them either *anconos uncenos*, Sweet's 50\*, added in the appendix, or *cripta ascussum*, which Sweet in the appendix bids us add after No. 599 of the *Corpus* glosses, but which is on record also in the *Epinal-Erfurt* (see *C. G. L.* 5. 358. 8). However, the following are surely entitled to a place among the Old English glosses of the *Epinal*:

1) *mulcet friat* (Sweet's facsimile, p. 15, C 39), on record also in *Corpus* M 350, *mulcet. lenit. friat*, and in the *Erfurt*, *C. G. L.* 5. 373. 8 *mulcet friad*. I was the first to point out in this *Journal* the Old English character of the interpretation, and have subsequently explained it in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, connecting it with the *frēon*, 'caress,' occurring in the Old English *Martyrology*.



2) *nauat frangat* i. e. *nauāt framgat* = *nauant framgath*, Sweet's facsimile, p. 16, A 39 = *Erfurt, C. G. L. 5. 374. 32* = *Corpus Glossary N 34*—also pointed out by me in this *Journal*.

3) *parabsides gabutan*, Sweet's facsimile, p. 18, F 25, added by Sweet in the appendix as No. 764<sup>a</sup>. He ought to have remarked that it is on record also in the *Erfurt, C. G. L. 5. 379. 51*, with *parapsidam* as lemma; in the *Corpus*, P 27, the lemma is the same as in the *Epinal*, but the Old English interpretation appears in a different spelling, *gauutan*. What made Kluge disregard Sweet's *addendum* in this instance, I fail to see. The interpretation betrays its Old English character sufficiently by its ending, and had not Hessels, *Introd.* p. 43, top, drawn attention to the singular (nominative) *gabote WW. 280. 23*? For of course *parabsides gabote* stands for *parabsis, parabsidis gabote*. Sweet was therefore perfectly justified in giving *gabote* f. a place in his *Dictionary*. He might have added the older form *gabute (gauute)* from the *Epinal-Erfurt-Corpus* glosses just quoted.

4) *scurra leuis*, Sweet's facsimile, p. 25, A 36 = *Erfurt, C. G. L. 5. 393. 7*, = *Corpus Glossary S 146* = *Ld. 142, histrio scurra lees*. The word is further testified to by *WW. 202. 32, leta cantatio lewisplega* (the gloss reads in full *cereuma uel celeuma idem et toma i. leta cantatio*, etc.). Cf. Padelford, *Old English Musical Terms*, p. 83.

5) *tractata tangi*, Sweet's facsimile, p. 27, C 19 = *Corpus Glossary T 300*. The *Erfurt, C. G. L. 5. 397, 33*, reads *zangi*, and this Old High German form, cropping up here, is clear evidence that in *tangi* we have an Old English word before us. I connect *tangi* with *-tang* in *gædertang (continuus Lib. Scint.)* and the well-known *getenge*. The lemma *tractata* will be corruption of *tracta*, *ɔ* = *con-* being inadvertently omitted, and *-ta* repeated by dittography.

## II. THE ERFURT<sup>2</sup> GLOSSES.

If we compare the print of these glosses in the third edition of the *Lesebuch* with that in the second, we find three differences: (1) the normalizing of the Latin lemmata is carried a

good deal further, (2) the reading of the Old English interpretation is changed in one instance, (3) two more of Sweet's entries are eliminated. With the normalized lemmata we shall not occupy ourselves for the present. As to the change of *giindi* (*conductium*) to *gimedi* (*conducticium*), let it suffice here to say that the change is made without informing the reader whether he has to do with a better reading of the ms. or the result of Kluge's conjectural activity. But of that later. What we are now concerned with are the glosses exhibited by Sweet, but excluded by Kluge. While in the second edition he had debarred only Sweet's No. 1102, *auehit bernit*, he has in the third omitted also Sweet's No. 1101, *acidus acacsore*, and No. 1122, *omentum maffa*. About the propriety of excluding the two last-named there cannot be any doubt, as I have shown them to be purely Latin. Sweet could not have printed them as containing anything Old English, had he given due weight to the parallel glosses in the other glossaries. For *maffa* compare what I have previously adduced. In regard to *acidus acacsore*, the *acidus ab acrore* of *Corpus A* 124 = *abdus. ab hacrore A* 68 = *abdus ab acrore* of *Erfurt (C. G. L. 5. 343. 43)* and *Epinal* (Sweet's Facsimile, p. 4, A 2) might have shown him that *acacsore* could not be corruption of *geacaessure*, which Kluge, however, once was quite ready to believe. As we see, he has now given up this belief, and one might wish he had done so also in regard to Sweet's No. 1105, *argata*<sup>1</sup> *ualtae*, which Kluge prints in the second, as well as in the third edition, as *argatae ualtae*. If the lemma is indeed *argatae*, then there is all the more reason to disbelieve in the English character of *ualtae*. Kluge makes no attempt to explain *ualtae*, nor has Sweet ever tried to explain it. My own effort in that respect I now consider futile. I am inclined to think that the gloss is a purely Latin one, and stands for *argute ualde* [*clare*], or something like that. I am less skeptical than Kluge about *bernit* glossing *auehit*. The English character of the interpretation seems to me more pronounced than in the case of *ualtae*. *Bernit* can certainly be easily reduced to Old English *berit(h)*, if we assume that *n* is corruption of original *h*, as we

<sup>1</sup> So also Goetz.

know it to be in *nefern* for *hefern* (cancer), Sweet No. 1106. *Beril* would stand for an original Latin *portat*, and this is borne out by such a gloss as *auexere portauerunt*, *C. G. L.* 4. 486. 50. Curious is Kluge's attitude towards Sweet's No. 1108, *cunabula cynna* (= *C. G. L.* 5. 277. 17). This he has barred out, but in exchange has admitted what would appear as only a slight variation of it, *cunabula cyna*, which is Kluge's shortening of the *cunabula nutrimenta uel cyna infantium* of *C. G. L.* 5. 283. 9 (Götz). It would seem that, of the two, *cynna* has a more English look than *cyna*. But if we compare such glosses as *C. G. L.* 5. 60. 10, *cunabula infantiae cunae sunt panni in quibus infantes obuuluntur*, and remember what Servius says, *ad Aen.* 3. 105, *cunabula gentis nutrimenta; nam ubi iacent infantes cunae uocantur*, we come to doubt the English character of *cyna* as well as *cynna*; Goetz in fact changes both to *cunae* (*Thes. Gloss. Emend.*, p. 295<sup>a</sup>). Certainly the gloss in favor of whose reception Kluge has decided, shows plain traces of originating from the Servius passage just quoted. Then *cyna* must stand for *cunae*. For the gloss selected by Sweet so much may be said, that there is a chance that *cynna* is really OE.; it may be the genitive plural representing an original Latin *gentium*, and we may assume that the fuller gloss read something like *cunabula initia gentium cynna*. About as fair is the chance of the following glosses *not included* either in Sweet's or Kluge's list of Old English glosses from *Erfurt*<sup>2</sup>:

*C. G. L.* 5. 275. 23 *caraxatus autem*, where *autem* may be corrupted from <sup>ri</sup>*auten* = *auriten*.

276. 5 *cera (cela?) uria*.

293. 11 *fax facula uel licentia*. The *i* super-scribed over *u* of *facula* by the first may be an indication that the scribe meant to make the Latin interpretation an Old English one = *faecilae*.

295. 4 *filistrus fimbria* may stand for *filis fimbria*.<sup>4[h]a[e]s</sup>

420. 60 *phalanox per exercitus uel legio*; *phalanox* of course is *phalanx* and the following

- per* may be misreading by the continental scribe of OE. *Per*<sup>od</sup> = *werod*.
308. 26 *libidū . . . . micta* may stand for original *liuidū liquorē micta*. I am more confident of
331. 3 *scola mos*, which may go back to original *scola. i. hos*. I consider the lemma a Latinization of the Germanic *scolu* (*scealu*, *sceolu*), from which we have modern English *shoal* (see Kluge's *Etym. Wtb.* s. v. *Schar*.)

Another of Kluge's omissions is *hiatus fura*, *C. G. L.* 5. 300. 34; *fura* may well represent an original Latin *sulcorum*, and the gloss would be on a par with *cunabula cynna*, concerning which I give now the additional reference, *conabuli gepeode*, *WW.* 214. 33. That *hiatus* could well be applied to the opening of a furrow may be seen from *αὐλαξ sulcus hiatura*, *C. G. L.* 2. 250. 53 (reading of *a*).

Of undoubted English character is the interpretation of *C. G. L.* 5. 307. 30. Of the lemma only the first and last letters are readable now, but the *l . . . . . nisi* cannot very well represent an original *leuitonarium*, as Landgraf in Wölfflin's *Archiv. f. Lat. Lexicographie* 9. 390 proposed, since *leuitonarium* is the name of the sleeveless shirtlike garment of the Egyptian monks, according to Isidore's *Etym.* 19. 22. 24, while the OE. interpretation of our gloss, *uagrypt*, is a 'wall-covering,' usually explaining Latin *cortina*, *velum tentorium*. If we may venture a guess in so uncertain a case, *tentorium* is also, in the gloss at issue, the lemma, and we may read it, filling up the gap about this way: *tentorium uelum papilionis .i. uagrypt*. The *t* of *tentorium* could easily enough have been misread for *l*, and the gloss in the alphabetical arrangement had, of course, then to take its place under *L*, just as *sartago*, perverted to *cartago*, was put among the *C* glosses in the *Corpus Glossary*, *C* 199 (Hessels). *Tentorium* is explained by *papilio*, *C. G. L.* 5. 395. 22. That it means the hangings of a tent we learn from *Esther* 1. 6, *et pendebant ex omni parte tentoria aerii coloris*, etc.

The Old English glossator, explaining this passage, puts *uagryft* (MS. *uagryst*) as equivalent to *tentoria* in the Cod. St. Gall. 299 (*Ahd. Gl.* 1. 488. 2).

### III. THE ERFURT<sup>3</sup> GLOSSES.

The print of these glosses in Kluge's third edition hardly differs from that in the second, except that the lemmata are still more normalized then they were there. Of differences between Sweet's and Kluge's prints I have noticed the following: (1) Kluge has *fit* as interpretation of *ampusatio*, *una lectio*; Sweet, concurrently with Goetz, prints *fiit*, and remarks that the second *i* is under the line; (2) Kluge makes it appear that the gloss *cervix posteriora colli hnecca* is absent from E<sup>3</sup>, and on record only in the Werden fragment; but Goetz's print, *C. G. L.* 2. 572. 32, 33, shows that the gloss is extant also in E<sup>3</sup>, only the interpretation has been put on the previous line, probably for lack of space. Sweet's No. 1165, *cervix, posteriora colli: [hnecca]*, is therefore all right; (3) the interpretation of *caesius glaucus* is printed by Kluge as *ualdenegi*; Sweet has *ualdennegi*, and that coincides with Goetz's (2. 572. 34) *ualdē egi*. In regard to the interpretation of *laxitas*, Goetz concurs with Kluge in printing *placunis*, but he may have overlooked the stroke over the *u* which Sweet exhibits in *placūnis*; (4) Sweet prints the interpretation of *ilium* as *neisn' naensood*, Kluge exhibits no apostrophe mark affixed to *neisn*, Goetz (2. 582. 15) has *neisñ naensōod*. As Sweet nowhere exhibits the waved lines over the interpretations which usually mark them off as Old English, it would seem that he has read something different from the line over *n* in *neisn* which Goetz's print shows. In a case like this I believe it is of importance to know exactly what is on record in the MS., and it is to be regretted that, owing to the discrepancies between Sweet-Kluge-Goetz, we are left in doubt on that point; (5) Sweet's Nos. 1178, *iactus: boltio*, and 1179, *sagitta: sciutil*, appear as one gloss in Kluge-Goetz; moreover, Kluge has accepted Löwe's conjecture *bolus* for *boltio*, taking the word to be Latin, while Goetz retains *boltio*, explaining it as Middle Latin for 'Bolzen.' For the matter of that, so does Kluge in

his *Etym. Wtb.*<sup>6</sup> s. v. *Bolzen*, and it is strange that here he should take a different position, and by his action wish to destroy an early testimony to ML. *boltio* which he appreciates so much in his *Etym. Wtb.*

A distinguishing feature of Kluge's print from that of Sweet are the supplementary glosses Kluge gives from the Werden fragment and the Münster leaves. That Sweet failed to incorporate the Werden glosses is—as Steinmeyer *AfdA.* 15. 243 points out—all the more remarkable since they had been printed in *Germania* (13. 479–80), and Loewe in his edition of *Erfurt*<sup>3</sup> (*Glossae Nominum*) had made use of them to fill up the gap in the Erfurt. It may be well to mention here that the *prinfir*, appearing in Loewe's print (No. 329) as OE. interpretation of *bustuarium cauterium incisio membri*, has turned out to be abbreviation of Latin *pro infirmitate* of the Cantabrigensis (see *C. G. L.* 2. 570. 31, note). Also *constuc*, italicized under No. 365 as OE. interpretation of *carbonarius locus carbonum*, though on record both in *Erfurt*<sup>3</sup> as well as in the Werden fragment, is claimed by Goetz (*C. G. L.* 2. 571. 25) as abbreviation of Latin *constructus*, as is evidenced by the reading of the Cantabrigensis, *carbonarius locus carboni constructus*. Here, however, there is a bare chance that the *Erfurt*<sup>3</sup>–*Werden* reading (*constuc*–*constūc*) may point to an OE. interpretation, after all. Notice, in the first place, that *Erfurt*<sup>3</sup>–*Werden* exhibit *constuc*, not *construc*. Secondly, *Erfurt*<sup>3</sup> has, according to Goetz, *carbonarius locus carbonum*: *constuc*, which would seem to indicate the scribe's intention to mark *constuc* off as Old English. Still, there is the ; which may be meant for the ending *us*. Uncertain as the case is, I cannot help thinking that in the archetype of *Erfurt*<sup>3</sup>–*Werden* there may have been an Old English interpretation (*colstūc*) of *carbonarius*, which became mixed up with the abbreviated *constructus* of the original Latin gloss, and so gave rise to the *constuc* (*constūc*) we now read. In regard to *-stūc*, compare English dialectic *stook*. Of still more doubtful Old English character is the *kii*, apparently explaining *blanæ moratus* in the Werden fragment, printed by Goetz, *C. G. L.* 2. 570. 15, note (Loewe, *Glossae Nominum*, No. 313, note). Attention to it should at least be drawn here. To my doubts

concerning the Old English character of *fiit*, or rather *fiit*, as interpretation of *amputatio una lectio*, I have repeatedly given expression in *Anglia*, and I still see reason to adhere to the position taken there. Goetz (*Thes. Gloss. Emend.*, p. 64<sup>b</sup>), prints the gloss as *amputatio una lectio fiit*, and remarks (on the authority of Sievers?) that *fiit* stands for *fitt*, which is = OHG. *fizza*. I readily admit that the idea of an Old English *fitt* is favored by the *una lectio* of *Erfurt*<sup>3</sup> and the waved line over *fiit*, and certainly such an interpretation would fit in well enough with the meaning of *amputatio* in the sense of Jerome's *pericope* (Hieron. *In Joel* 2), concerning which cf. the Cyrillus gloss quoted by Loewe, *περικοπή amputatio*. On the other hand, the *uuaelectio fiit*<sup>1</sup> *sive uineae* of the Werden fragment forbids an unreserved belief in the English character of *fiit*, and rather suggests a Latin *fit*. The original reading of the gloss may have been something like *amputatio est si uuae lectio fit sive sectio ramusculorum uineae*.

In printing the supplementary glosses from the Münster leaves, Kluge has again indulged in a large 'normalizing' of the lemmata, and this is the chief difference between his and Steinmeyer's print in *AfdA.* 15. 243 ff. Of other differences I have noticed the following: While Steinmeyer prints *cupellulus*, and takes the interpretation *bula* to be corrupted from *ampulla*, Kluge has *cupellulas*, and exhibits *bula* as Old English, making, however, no attempt at explaining it. Kluge also gives two glosses more than Steinmeyer: (1) *dudum ungeora* and (2) *pedules strapulas*. Kluge has taken no note whatever of the following supplementary glosses from the Cantabrigensis:

*bartulus stamen* = *battulus stamer* (C. G. L. 2. 569. 28);

*EW* have *stam* for *stamer*.

*fuligo que anglice dicitur sot.* (C. G. L. 2. 581. 4).

*milba. glida* (*milba* = *milwū*?) (C. G. L. 2. 587. 28).

*strigula scafa* (C. G. L. 2. 593. 64).

<sup>1</sup> It is not perfectly clear from Goetz's point whether the Werden fragment concurs with *Erfurt*<sup>3</sup> in reading *fiit* or *fiit*. As to the *Erfurt*<sup>3</sup>, Loewe (No. 140, note) seems to suggest that it was two glosses together, and that *fit* is in the MS.; he prints: 140 / 141 *amputatio: una lectio fit, amputator: prae cisor ramusculorum uinae*.

The last two glosses I had pointed out to Goetz, but somehow he has failed to give me credit in the *Thesaurus*.

#### IV. ADDITIONAL GLOSSES SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE EVIDENCE OF ERFURT<sup>3</sup> AND EPINAL.

Steinmeyer, in the fourth volume of his *Althochdeutsche Glossen*, p. 179, note 5, draws attention to the fact that three of the glosses he prints on that page, ll. 8–10 from the *Admontensis* 508, are identical with *Erfurt*<sup>3</sup> 1140–42, only that in the *Erfurt* they appear in an inverted order, as will be seen from the following:

<i>Admont. 508 :</i>	<i>Erfurt</i> <sup>3</sup> :
<i>alea tafle</i>	<i>albeus genus uasis trog</i>
<i>aleator tafleri</i>	<i>aleator tebleri aleae</i>
<i>albeus trog</i>	<i>alia tefil</i>

Query, does *tafle* in the *Admontensis* point to *aled*? Then there would be a point of contact with *Epinal*'s (No. 6) *aled teblae*, as Kluge prints it. With *alba spina hagindorn* of the *Admontensis* (*Ahd. Gl.* 4. 179. 11) we certainly may compare the *alba spina haguthorn* of *Epinal* 19. Here I should like to draw attention to the points of contact between the *Epinal* and the *Oxoniensis* (Auct. F. 1. 16.<sup>1</sup>) glosses printed *Ahd. Gl.* 4. 245–46, and commented upon by Steinmeyer. I shall deal first with Column B of page 245, as there is an evident alphabetical arrangement, *f* and *v* apparently being considered as equivalents of *b*. Hence we have<sup>1</sup>:

<i>Oxoniensis :</i>	<i>Epinal :</i>
<i>andela brandereda</i> (p. 245. 26) :	<i>andeda brandrad</i> (Sweet No. 4)
<i>arula fiurpanne t herd</i> (245. 27) :	<i>arula fyrpannae t herth</i> (No. 5)
<i>apiastrum biniuurt</i> (245. 28) :	<i>apiastrum biouuyrt</i> (No. 20)
<i>aesculus boke t ec</i> (245. 29) :	<i>aesculus boecae</i> (No. 22)
<i>aestuaria flod t bitalassum.</i>	<i>aestuaria fleotas</i> (No. 107) ; cp. <i>Corpus</i> (ed. Hessels) A 330 <i>aestuaria.</i>

<sup>1</sup> The corresponding numbers of the *Epinal* are exhibited in brackets by Steinmeyer.



<i>ubi duo maria conueniunt</i> (245. 30-31 :	<i>ubi duo maria conueniunt</i> , B 231 <i>bythlasma ubi duo maria conueniunt.</i>
<i>acinum hindbiri</i> (245. 32) :	<i>acinum hindberig</i> (No. 69)
<i>villosa ruge</i> (245. 37) :	<i>villosa ryhae</i> (No. 1080)
<i>villa lininhruge</i> (245. 38) :	<i>villa linnin ryhae</i> (No. 1081)
<i>vadimonium borg</i> (245. 39) :	<i>vadimonium borg</i> (No. 1090)
<i>bacinia beri</i> (245. 40) :	<i>bucina</i> (= <i>bacinia</i> ) <i>begir</i> (No. 143)
<i>botholicula stoppo</i> (245. 41) :	<i>bothonicula stappa</i> (No. 122)
<i>bracium malt</i> (245. 42) :	<i>bratium malt</i> (No. 130)
<i>bouellium faled</i> (245. 44) :	<i>bobellum falaed</i> (No. 129)
<i>bradigabo feldhoppo</i> (245. 45) :	<i>bradigabo felduuop</i> (No. 131)
<i>balista stafslengrie</i> (245. 46) :	<i>ballista staeblidrae</i> (No. 136)
<i>brancia kian</i> (245. 47) :	<i>branciae cian</i> (No. 158)
<i>clauatum giburdid</i> (246. 3) :	<i>clabatum gybyrdid</i> (No. 228)

Column A of page 245 lacks the alphabetical arrangement except in so far as small groups seem to follow a certain alphabetical order :

<i>culcites bedd</i> (245. 5) :	<i>culcites bedd</i> (No. 243)
<i>maialis barug</i> (245. 10) :	<i>maialis bearug</i> (No. 652)
<i>murica snegil</i> (245. 11) :	<i>maruca snegl</i> (No. 651) <sup>1</sup>
<i>muscus grimo</i> (245. 12) :	<i>mascus grima</i> (No. 646) <sup>1</sup>
<i>migale harmo</i> (245. 13) :	<i>megale hearma</i> (No. 666)
<i>esox lahs</i> (245. 15) :	<i>isic leax</i> (No. 555) <sup>1</sup>
<i>lucius hacth</i> (245. 16) :	<i>lucius haecid</i> (No. 587) <sup>1</sup>
<i>sardina hering</i> (245. 20) :	<i>sardinas heringas</i> (No. 910)
<i>axedones id est humeruli lunisas</i> (245. 21) :	<i>axedones lynisas</i> (No. 8)
<i>scorellus amer</i> (245. 22) :	<i>scorelus emer</i> (No. 909)
<i>terebra et teretrum nauuger</i> (245. 23) :	<i>terrebellus nabfogar</i> (No. 1010)
<i>crabro hornut</i> (245. 24) :	<i>crabro hirnit</i> (No. 275)
<i>cerasius kirsicbom</i> (246. 1) :	<i>cerasius cisirbeam</i> (No. 237)

<sup>1</sup> This number St. failed to point out. In regard to *murica* of *Admont*, as against *maruca* of *Epinal*, cf. *musica muscula animata Ahd. Gl.* 3. 476. 9. I believe *murica* to be correct, and a by-form of *murex*.

*arnoglossa uuegbrede* (246. 4): *arniglosa uuegbradae* (No. 65).

A small alphabetical group we have again on page 246<sup>b</sup>:

*petulans uurenisc* (246. 25): *petulans t spurcus uuraeni* (No. 835)

*pastellus hunegapl* (246. 26): *pastellas hunaegaepl* (No. 830)

*pustula angseta* (246. 27): *pustula angseta* (No. 770).

There is no gloss in *Epinal* corresponding to *fasciola winning* (245. 35). Steinmeyer proposes to read *winning* as *uuinding*. But compare *fascia wyning* (*WW.* 125. 14) and *fascellas weonings* (*WW.* 234. 22). Hence it would seem that *winning* is rather a misreading of *uining* than a by-form of *uuinding*. Kluge, in the glossary to his *Lesebuch*<sup>3</sup>, certainly recognizes *wining* (*weoning*) as authentic. As to *winding*, compare *Ahd. Gl.* 3. 150, note 19: *fascia windinc. Jtē fasciat t fasciola*. Finally, let me draw attention to 245. 49, *cicindila uuocco*, and 245. 3, *floci sunt quos nos in uestimentis thiudisce uuuloo dicimus*. Steinmeyer compares with the former *WW.* 204. 22 = 498. 12, *cicindilibus weocum*; *ibid.* 267. 1, *cicindilia weocan*. I refer to *iugum wocc* and *tenticulam wocige, catenarum wociga*, quoted in my article *Anglo-Saxonica*, soon to appear in this journal. For *uuuloo* see Sweet No. 1066, *uillis uulohū*, in addition to *wlōh* (*fimbria*), quoted by Steinmeyer (note 2, p. 245).

OTTO B. SCHLUTTER.

WOLFENBÜTTEL, GERMANY.

## NOTES ON JUDITH.

THE following notes, which prove unavailable for the college edition for which they were designed, are printed here in the hope that they may be useful to one or another student of the poem.

1. *twēode*. The repetition of this word in 346 is against the theory that much of the poem is lost; compare the significant echo of 6<sup>b</sup>–7<sup>a</sup> in 345<sup>b</sup>–6<sup>a</sup>. Other repetitions, partial or complete, may be found in 3<sup>b</sup>: 6<sup>b</sup>; 4<sup>a</sup>: 94<sup>b</sup>; 9<sup>b</sup>: 32<sup>b</sup>; 10<sup>b</sup>–11<sup>a</sup>: 19<sup>b</sup>–20<sup>a</sup>; 18<sup>b</sup> (*swylce ēac*): 338<sup>b</sup>, 344<sup>b</sup>, 349<sup>b</sup>; 19<sup>a</sup>: 33<sup>a</sup>; 30<sup>a</sup>: 340<sup>a</sup>; 30<sup>b</sup>: 106<sup>b</sup>; 41<sup>b</sup>: 220<sup>b</sup>, 302<sup>a</sup>; 58<sup>b</sup>: 341<sup>b</sup>; 66<sup>a</sup>: 91<sup>a</sup>; 75<sup>b</sup>: 102<sup>b</sup>; 77<sup>b</sup> (*genam ȝā*): 98<sup>b</sup>; 82<sup>b</sup>: 151<sup>b</sup>, 283<sup>a</sup>; 83<sup>a</sup> (*frymȝa God*): 189<sup>b</sup>; 84<sup>b</sup>: 187<sup>b</sup>; 88<sup>b</sup> (*swegles Ealdor*): 124<sup>a</sup>; 92<sup>b</sup> (*mihtig Dryhten*): 198<sup>a</sup>; 103<sup>b</sup> (*slōh þā*): 108<sup>a</sup>; 108<sup>b</sup>: 231<sup>b</sup>; 109<sup>a</sup>: 146<sup>a</sup>; 126: 173; 140<sup>b</sup> (*gegān hæfdon*): 219<sup>b</sup>; 150<sup>b</sup>: 170<sup>b</sup>; 159–160<sup>a</sup>: 166<sup>b</sup>–8<sup>a</sup>; 171<sup>b</sup>: 329<sup>b</sup>; 178<sup>a</sup> (*sēo æðele*): 256<sup>a</sup>; 180<sup>b</sup>; 316<sup>b</sup>; 189<sup>a</sup>; 202<sup>a</sup>; 194<sup>a</sup>: 264<sup>b</sup>, 302<sup>b</sup>; 200<sup>b</sup>: 212<sup>b</sup>, 227<sup>a</sup>; 234<sup>a</sup>: 239<sup>a</sup>; 289<sup>b</sup>: 295<sup>b</sup>; 293<sup>b</sup>; 309<sup>a</sup>.

17<sup>b</sup>–19<sup>a</sup>. Compare *Beow.* 494–6, where ‘a thane did service, who bore a chased ale-flagon in his hand, and poured out the bright mead’; 615–624, where Hrothgar’s queen bore the cup first to her lord, and then to the warriors in turn; 1161<sup>b</sup>–2<sup>a</sup>, where ‘the cup-bearers poured out wine from wondrous vessels’; 2020–21, where it is Hrothgar’s daughter who ‘bore the ale cup before the nobles, unto the warriors in order.’

18<sup>a</sup>. *būnan and orcas*. The phrase is taken from *Beow.* 3047, when the ‘bowls and flagons’ stand by the slain dragon. Similar borrowings from the *Beowulf* are 15<sup>b</sup>: *Beow.* 493; 19, 33 (*fletsittendum, e*): *Beow.* 1788, 2022; 84<sup>b</sup>, 187<sup>b</sup>: *Beow.* 427; 112 (*ellor hwearf*): *Beow.* 55; 194, 264, 302 (*fāgum sweordum*): *Beow.* 586; 140, 219 (*gegān hæfdon*): *Beow.* 2630; 274 (*him*

*wiht ne spēow*): *Beow.* 2654; 322 (*sweordum āswefede*): *Beow.* 567 (*swēotum āswefede*).

19<sup>b</sup> *fæge*. Scotch 'fey'; so in Burns, Scott, and Andrew Lang.

23 ff. This is the most graphic picture of hilarious inebriety in the whole range of Old English poetry. The merriment in Hrothgar's hall (*Beow.* 88–100), with its song of creation, is decorous by contrast. Compare *Beow.* 480–483, 489–498, 611–644<sup>a</sup>, 1008<sup>b</sup>–1029, 1159<sup>b</sup>–1174, 1214<sup>b</sup>–1233<sup>a</sup>, 1782–9<sup>a</sup>, 2009–2021, 2100–2117<sup>a</sup>, for accounts of joyous feasting, often graced by the presence of noble women. The passages may conveniently be read in Tinker's translation (New York, 1902). For a drunkenness that entangles and entrips see *Riddle 28* (translation in Cook and Tinker's *Select Translations*, p. 74).

23<sup>b</sup> *hlynedē and dýnedē*. The author may have had in mind Cynewulf's fine uproar (*El.* 50–51):

bonne rand dýnedē,  
campwudu clynedē.

In the *Riming Song* it is said of the harp:

hlūde hlynedē; hlēoþor dýnedē.

Other instances of rime are found in 2, 29, (36), 63, 115, 123, (231), (272), 305, 349–50.

27. *gebærdon*. This word is found as late as 1550, in *Christis Kirke on the Green*: 'Quhyn thay had *berit* lyk baitit bullis.'

46. *eallgylden*. It is more natural to think of the image of a swine (*Beow.* 1111), or of a banner, all of gold (*Beow.* 2767), than of such a canopy; yet Jud. 10 20, 21 assures us that Holofernes' canopy was woven with purple, *and gold*, and emeralds, and precious stones.'

56. *hālge*. Juliana is designated as *sēo hālge* in *Jul.* 315, 345, 567, 589, 696, 716. On the contrary, it is significant that Helena, the other character of Old English poetry with whom it is natural to compare Judith, is never once described by this adjective.

61–3 *Gewāt ðā . . . gumena ðrēate . . . his beddes nēosan*. Imitated from *El.* 150–152: *Cōm pā . . . þegna prēate . . . burga nēosan*.

61<sup>a</sup>. This suggests adaptation from *An.* 248 :

þæt was Drihten sylf, dugeða Wealdend.

Various equivalents for 'Lord of hosts' are common in OE. poetry.

62. *gumena* ðrēate. In *El.* 254, Helena is accompanied over the 'eastern ways' *gumena* prēate, and so is Cyriacus in *El.* 1096. In the *Apollonius of Tyre*, Arcestrate, in her character of chief priestess, goes forth to meet her husband, Apollonius, *mid miclum fæmnena hēape ymbtrymmed* (= *virginum constipata eutervis*); and in *Beowulf* (923-5), Hrothgar

tryddode tīrfæst *ge/rume micle*  
cystum gecyðed, and his cwen mid him  
medostig gemæt mægða hōse.

This is an epic trait. Thus in the *Æneid* (4. 136), Dido goes forth, *magna stipante caterva*; and in the *Odyssey* (16. 413), Penelope 'went on her way to the hall, with the women her handmaids.'

83-4. *Ic ðē . . . biddan wylle*. Perhaps imitated from *An.* 81-4.

84<sup>b</sup>. *biddan wille*. So in *El.* 790, 814; cf. note on 18<sup>b</sup>.

85. *miltse þīne mē þearfendre*. Adapted from *Jul.* 449 :

þæt þū miltsige mē þearfendum.

88<sup>a</sup>. *mid sorgum gedrēfed*. From *Rood* 20 (*Ruthw. Cross Inscr.* 11).

90. *morðres brytta*. Perhaps from *An.* 1172, where the same phrase occurs.

93. *tires Brytta*. From *Chr.* 462.

97-8. *þā wearð . . . hāligre hyht genīwod*. Adapted from *Jul.* 607 :

þā wearð þære hālgan hyht genīwad.

99<sup>b</sup>. *wið hyre weard*. Cf. *to us-ward*, Ps. 40. 7; Eph. 1. 19; 2 Pet. 3. 9 (all A. V.).

110<sup>a</sup>. *hund*. See 1 Sam. 17. 43; 2 Kings 8. 13, for similar contemptuous uses of *dog*; we thus use *cur*, *puppy*, *bitch*, and (Elizabethan) *brach*. Throughout the whole East 'dog' is a

term of reproach for impure and profane persons; cf. *Matt.* 7. 6; *Phil.* 3. 2; *Rev.* 22. 15. Homer, too, uses it in this way.

112<sup>a</sup>. *gēsne*. The word occurs as late as the seventeenth century, and later dialectically; cf. *N.E.D.* and *Eng. Dial. Dict.* s. v. *geason*.

114–5. *sūsle gesēled*, . . . *wyrmum bewunden*, *witum gebunden*. Adapted from *El.* 1244–5: *synnum āsēled*, . . . *bitrum gebunden*, *bysgum beprungun*.

115. *witum gebunden*. Perhaps from *An.* 580: *witum gebundene*.

118<sup>a</sup>. *pȳstrum forpȳlmed*. From *El.* 767.

126<sup>b</sup>. *swā*. Thus used in 130<sup>a</sup>.

128. *blāchlēor ides*. So *Gen.* 1970.

136–7. Thus the seafarers in *Beowulf* behold from afar the gleaming cliffs (*Beow.* 221–2).

138<sup>b</sup>. *bēahhrodene*. Hrothgar's queen is *bēaghroden* in *Beow.* 623 (cf. 1163), and so is a maiden in *Rid.* 15<sup>9</sup>. See also *Chr.* 292, *brȳd bēaga hroden*. In *Jud.* 36 Judith is *bēagum gehlæste*.

142. *wæccende wearde hēoldon*. Perhaps adapted from *Jul.* 662–4: *wæccende* . . . *wearde healden*.

147<sup>a</sup>. *lēof tō lēodum*. Perhaps adapted from the *lēodum lēofne* of *Beow.* 618.

163<sup>a</sup>. *weras wīf somod*. Probably adapted from *An.* 1668: *wīf weras samod*.

176<sup>a</sup>. *sēo æðele*. Perhaps from *El.* 1131; cf. *El.* 275, 545, 662.

178<sup>a</sup>. *lēoda rāswan*. So *Gen.* 1156, 2075.

181<sup>a</sup>. *mēcst*. To be construed both with *monna* and *morðra*.

182<sup>a</sup>. *sārra sorga*. Probably from *Rood* 80<sup>a</sup>.

185<sup>b</sup>. Perhaps adapted from *Jul.* 500<sup>b</sup>:

þām ic ealdor oðþrong.

189<sup>a</sup>. *fȳsan tō gefeohte*. Perhaps adapted from *An.* 1189–90:

and þu here fȳsest  
fēðan tō gefeohte.

197<sup>a</sup>. *tīr æt tohtan*. This seems to be imitated in *By.* 104<sup>a</sup>:  
*tīr æt getohte*.

198. Identical with *Exod.* 262.

198<sup>b</sup>. *parh mīne hand.* So *Beow.* 558.

201<sup>a</sup>. *seegas and gesiðas.* So *Gen.* 2067<sup>a</sup>.

205 ff. This passage should be compared with *Exod.* 161–8; *Gen.* 1982–2006.

206<sup>a</sup>. *wulf in walde.* From *El.* 28<sup>a</sup>: *wulf on walde.* Imitated in *By.* 65<sup>a</sup>.

206<sup>b</sup>–7<sup>a</sup>. *and se wanna hrefn, wælgīfre fugel.* Cf. *An.* 371–2:

and se grāga mæw  
wælgīfre wand.

Cf. *Jud.* 296–7: *wælgīfrum fuglum.*

206<sup>b</sup>. *se wanna hrefn.* Cf. *Gen.* 1983<sup>b</sup>: *se wanna fugel; By.* 61<sup>b</sup>: *ðone sweartan hrefn.*

210<sup>a</sup>. *earn ātes georn.* Imitated in *By.* 107: *earn āses georn.*

210<sup>b</sup>. *ūrigfeðera.* From *El.* 29; cf. *Gen.* 1984<sup>b</sup>: *dēawigfeðere; Exod.* 163<sup>a</sup>: *dēawigfeðere.*

211<sup>a</sup>. *salowigpāda.* Imitated in *By.* 61<sup>a</sup>: *salowigpādan.*

211<sup>b</sup>. *hildelēoð.* Adapted from *El.* 27<sup>b</sup>: *fyrðlēoð.*

212. *hyrnednebbā.* Imitated in *By.* 62: *hyrnednebban.*

221<sup>a</sup>. *lēton forð flēogan.* Cf. *El.* 120<sup>b</sup>: *forð onsendan.*

221<sup>b</sup>. *flāna scūras.* From *El.* 117<sup>b</sup>.

222<sup>a</sup>. *hildenædran.* From *El.* 119<sup>b</sup>.

225<sup>a</sup>. *in heardra gemany.* Adapted from *El.* 118<sup>b</sup>: *on gramra gemang.*

227<sup>a</sup>. *stōpon styrmōde.* Adapted from *El.* 221<sup>a</sup>: *stōpon stīðhȳdige.*

229<sup>b</sup>–231<sup>a</sup>. This resembles *Gen.* 1991<sup>b</sup>–3<sup>a</sup>:

Haudum brugdon  
hæleð of scæðum hringmæled sweord  
ecgum dihtig.

237<sup>a</sup>. *ēhton elðēoda.* From *El.* 139.

265<sup>a</sup>. *ealde æfðoncan.* From *Jul.* 485<sup>a</sup>.

267<sup>a</sup>. *bælc forbīged.* Cf. *Gen.* 54<sup>a</sup>: *bælc forbīge.*

281<sup>b</sup>. *ongan his feax teran.* Perhaps adapted from *Jul.* 595<sup>b</sup>: *ongan his hrægl teran.*

286<sup>b</sup>–7. *þære tīde ys . . . nēah geprungen.* So *Gen.* 2508<sup>b</sup>–9<sup>a</sup>: *þære tīde is nēah geprungen.*

290<sup>b</sup> ff. For the flight cf. *El.* 127<sup>b</sup> ff.; *Gen.* 1999<sup>b</sup> ff.; also *By.* 185 ff.; *Gen.* 2073 ff.; *Exod.* 451 ff. For the pursuit, *Brun.* 20<sup>b</sup>-24<sup>a</sup>.

292<sup>a</sup>. *on flēam sceacan.* From *Jul.* 630<sup>b</sup>.

298<sup>b</sup>. *him on lāste fōr.* Cf. *Gen.* 2075: *him on lāste stōd.*

304<sup>b</sup>-5<sup>a</sup>. *linde hēowon, scildburh scēaron.* Imitated in *Brun.* 5<sup>b</sup>-6:

bordweall clufon,  
hēowon heaðolinde hamera lāfum;

in *By.* 283: *clufon celled bord*; and in *By.* 241-2:

forþan wearð hēr on felda folc tōtwæmed,  
scyldburh tōbrocen.

A note on *scildburh* will be found in my edition of *Judith*, in the Belles-Lettres Series (D. C. Heath & Co.).

306<sup>a</sup>. *gūðe gegremede.* Imitated in *By.* 296<sup>a</sup>.

311<sup>b</sup>-312<sup>a</sup>. *lǣthwōn becōm cwicera tō cýððe.* Imitated from *El.* 142<sup>b</sup>-3:

Lǣthwōn becwōm  
Hūna herges hām eft þanon.

312-3. *becōm . . . tō cýððe.* Imitated in *Brun.* 37-8: *cōm on his cýððe.*

322<sup>b</sup>-3<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Gen.* 2077:

on swaðe sæton þā þe . . . .

318<sup>a</sup>. *bord and brād swyrd.* Copied in *By.* 15<sup>a</sup>.

322. *swyrdum āswefede.* Copied in *Brun.* 30; cf. note on 18<sup>b</sup>.

328. The line resembles *Gifts of Men* 64:

helm oððe hupseax oððe heaðubyrnan.

333<sup>a</sup>. *cēne under cumblum.* Probably from *An.* 1206<sup>a</sup>.

343. *swegles Wuldor.* From *Chr.* 110.

345<sup>a</sup>. Perhaps adapted from *El.* 623: *sigorlēan in swegle.*

350<sup>a</sup>. *swegles drēamas.* Probably from *An.* 641<sup>b</sup>, 810<sup>a</sup> (but cf. *Fates of the Apostles* 32). The whole line seems adapted from *An.* 641-2:

swegles drēamas  
. . . . . burh þā æðelan miht.

ALBERT S. COOK.



## A PLAGIARIST OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

GROSART, in his edition of Sir John Davies' poems in the Fuller Worthies' Library, prints in an appendix (pp. 163-170) the Remarks prefixed to Nahum Tate's edition (1697) of Davies' *Nosce Teipsum*. In his Memorial-Introduction (p. 11), Grosart says of it: 'Appended to *Nosce Teipsum* will be found the "Preface" by a clerical friend of Nahum Tate's, prefixed to the edition of 1697. Somewhat labored and stilted, it nevertheless merits preservation.'

I mention this preface because it contains passages plagiarized from Sidney's *Defense of Poetry*. These passages I here transcribe in the order of their occurrence in the preface, referring them to the corresponding places in my edition of Sidney's *Defense*:

'Tis not rhyming that makes a poet, but the true and impartial representing of virtue and vice, so as to instruct mankind in matters of greatest importance' (cf. *Defense* 11. 18-25).

'With what delight are we touched in hearing the stories of Hercules, Achilles, Cyrus, and Æneas? Because in their characters we have wisdom, honor, fortitude, and justice set before our eyes. It was Plato's opinion that if a man could see virtue, he would be strangely enamored on her person. Which is the reason why Horace and Virgil have continued so long in reputation, because they have drawn her in all the charms of poetry. No man is so senseless of rational impressions as not to be wonderfully affected with the pastorals of the ancients, when, under the stories of wolves and sheep, they describe the misery of people under hard masters, and their happiness under good. So the bitter and wholesome iambic was wont to make villainy blush; the satire invited men to laugh at folly; the comedian chastised the common errors of life; and the tragedian made

kings afraid to be tyrants, and tyrants to be their own tormentors' (cf. *Defense* 24. 2 ff. ; 26. 31 ff. ; 27. 19 ff. ; 28. 28 ff. ; 30. 15 ff.).

'Wherefore, as Sir Philip Sidney ſaid of Chaucer, that he knew not which he ſhould not wonder at, either that he in his dark time ſhould ſee ſo diſtinctly, or that we in this clear age ſhould go ſo ſtumblingly after him ; ſo may we marvel at and bewail the low condition of poetry now, when in our plays ſcarce any one rule of decorum is obſerved, but in the ſpace of two hours and a half we paſs through all the fits of Bedlam ; in one ſcene we are all in mirth, in the next we are all in ſadneſs ; whiſt even the moſt labored parts are ſtarved for want of thought ; a confuſed heap of words, and empty ſound of rhyme' (cf. *Defense* 47. 7 ff., 25-6 ; 48. 30).

ALBERT S. COOK.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

## ZUR ELISABETHEN-LEGENDE.

NACH EINER MAIHINGER HANDSCHRIFT AUS DEM 15.  
JAHRHUNDERT.

IN einem Aufsatz über deutsche Handschriften in Maihingen, der in *Alemannia* 24. 51–86 erschienen ist, habe ich auch auf diese Handschrift aufmerksam gemacht. Sie enthält Leben und Wunder der Klausnerin Elisabeth, und ist verfasst von dem Probst Conrad Koegelin im Augustinerkloster Walse im Bistum Augsburg. Ich fand die Handschrift in einem Codex in quarto aus dem<sup>1</sup> 15. Jahrhundert, Bl. 254–301<sup>c</sup>, überschrieben: ‘Von ainer sälligen Iunckfrawen genannt elspethn.’ Die unserer Legende vorhergehenden Kapitel enthalten: ‘Betrachtungen einer Karthäusers,’ eine Reihe von einzelnen, teilweise ganz zusammenhangslosen Abschnitten, die gewöhnlich mit grossen, aber wenig zierlich entworfenen Initialen—eine Eidechse, Blume, Jungfrau usw. darstellend—versehen sind. In den *Beiträgen zur Quellenkunde der altheutschen Litteratur* (Strassburg, Verlag von Karl J. Trübner 1886) machte Karl Bartsch auf die von Birlinger herausgegebene Legende aufmerksam, die einer Strassburger Sammelhandschrift entnommen ist.

Im neunten Band der *Alemannia* (9. 275 ff.) befindet sich unter dem Titel: ‘Leben heiliger alemannischer Frauen des xiv. und xv. Jahrhunderts’ nachstehender Abdruck:

‘Dit erst büchlyn ist von der seligen Klusneryn von Rüthy, die genannt waz Elizabeth’ veröffentlicht von Dr. Anton Birlinger.

Als Schlussbemerkung zu dem blossen Abdruck dieser Heiligengeschichte auf Seite 292 fügt Birlinger an: ‘Dieser Vita folgen weitere der Klosterfrauen von Katharinental bei Diessenhofen, und der von Töss. Da die alemannische Fassung unserer

<sup>1</sup> Cat. III. Deutsch I. 4° 8 (1).

Legende nicht gefunden werden konnte, musste die hessische hier gegeben werden und zwar aus einer Strassburger Handschrift, die Barack aufgefunden und erworben hat. Heft 1 Bd. x bringt die nötigen literar-historischen biographischen Nachrichten, nebst ausführlicher Beschreibung der Handschrift. Mone will in Innsbruck eine alemannische Handschrift gesehen haben, sie scheint verschollen zu sein.'

Auf Seite 81 ff. Band x folgen 'Anmerkungen zu der Klausnerin von Reute.' Die Strassburger Handschrift aus dem Jahre 1428 wird zuerst besprochen. Nach der Ansicht Birlingers hat der Schreiber dieser Handschrift 'offenbar durch der grossen düringischen Elisabetha Leben veranlasst unsrer Klausnerin Vita abgeschrieben.' Dieser Bemerkung schliesst sich daun eine Besprechung der Spracheigentümlichkeiten an. Die Sprache nennt er 'beinahe hochdeutsch'; doch gibt er zu, dass sich die mitteldeutsche, hessische Heimat auf den ersten Blick erkennen lässt.

Der Wortschatz ist halb alemannisch, indem der Schreiber alemannischer Vorlage folgt, die Wörter daraus ohne weiteres aufnimmt.

Auf Seite 88 ff. und 93 ff. Bd. 10 sind literarhistorische biographische Notizen über die deutsche Handschrift aus dem Jahre 1624 und über die lateinische aus dem 15. Jahrhundert. Am Schlusse des Abdrucks der Innsbrucker Handschrift S. 157 (Bd. 10) bemerkt Birlinger: 'Die Abschrift verdanke ich Herrn Dr. Oswald Fingerle in Innsbruck, sie bestätigt meine Angabe, dass die Sprache schwäbisch-augsburgisch ist. Damit sei die Vita der Klausnerin geschlossen; ihr folgen die Vitae der Dominicanerinnen von Kirchberg bei Haigerloch . . . und die der Nonnen von Töss und Katharinental. Erwähnt fand ich noch die Beta Bona in einer Festpredigt Jakob Steheles in Wangen im Allgäu a. 1625; *Violae Sanctorum* Ravensburg bei Jos. Schrötern 1624 4° S. 9. Ferner in einer Handschrift: Chronik des dreissig jährigen Krieges im Breisgau, wahrscheinlich (c. 1660) von einem höheren Geistlichen Mallinger von Basel-Freiburg verfasst; es wird Merck, Pfarrer von Sigmaringen zitirt, der mit seinem Herrn nach Reute ging. Beide Ausgaben enthalten nichts Neues.'

Aus dem Angeführten scheint mir mit Bestimmtheit hervorzugehen, dass die Maihinger Handschrift bisher nicht bekannt wurde. Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass es die von Mone in Innsbruck gesehene und angeblich alemannische verschollene Handschrift ist. Der Dialekt ist allerdings mehr oder weniger alemannisch, der auch häufige bayrische Lautverhältnisse aufweist; wie aber die Handschrift von Innsbruck nach Maihingen kam, wenn man einer solchen Vermutung überhaupt Raum geben darf, kann ich mir nicht recht zusammenreimen. Wie lange die Handschrift schon in Maihingen liegt, ob sie von dem Fürsten von Öttingen Wallerstein angekauft oder ob sie ihm als Geschenk übergeben worden, habe ich leider nicht ermitteln können.

Meine frühere Ansicht, die ich in *Alemannia* Bd. 24–77 geäußert, dass die von mir gefundene Maihinger Handschrift vielleicht die älteste der vorhandenen Handschriften über die Klausnerin Elisabeth sei, kann ich nicht länger für richtig erklären, da die unterzeichnete Jahreszahl 1464 ist, während die der Strassburger Handschrift beigefügte Jahreszahl 1428 und nicht 1478 ist, wie ich anfangs fälschlich las. Die Innsbrucker Handschrift datiert gleichfalls aus dem 15. Jahrhundert. Eine bestimmte Jahreszahl ist nicht beigefügt.

Die Schreiber der beiden ältesten Handschriften, der Strassburger und der Innsbrucker, haben jedenfalls das deutsche Original zu Grunde gelegt, ebenso der der Handschrift von 1624. Dasselbe scheint auch der Fall zu sein mit der gegenwärtigen Handschrift. Ob diese älter ist als die Innsbrucker, kann nicht festgestellt werden, da, wie schon erwähnt, keine Jahreszahl beigefügt ist.

Von einer eingehenderen Abhandlung glaube ich absehen zu dürfen. Ein Vergleich mit den andern Handschriften zeigte mir, dass die Maihinger Handschrift keine wesentlichen Unterschiede aufzuweisen hat. Ich gebe also hier den blossen Abdruck derselben mit möglichster Genauigkeit und ohne alle Verbesserungsversuche. Auch die Interpunction habe ich keiner Änderung unterworfen.

Bl. 254<sup>c</sup>–301<sup>c</sup>.*Von ainer sälligen Iunckfrawen genant elspethn.*

Als laider yeczo In diser zeitt vil vnbechanter herter herzen ist vnd da wenig göttlicher mÿn vnd ernst in ist vnd besunder in den dingen da man nit gewise leipliche vrchünde von gegeben mag darvmb das der cristenlich gelaube In dem menschen herzen dester stercker vnd dester vester bestett werd die da ho<sup>r</sup>rönd oder lesend das hie nachgeschriben stat so han ich ainfeltiger priester Brobst dez goczhauss ze walsse Gaistlicher Korherr Sandt Augustinus orden in Costenczer bistumb gelegen von fleissiger pettwegen die mich darvmb angelait sindt worden von erbern lewttten frawenn vnd mannen gaistlicher vnd weltlicher mit diser gegenwirtigen geschriff vnd mit zaichen die hynnach geschriben standt vmb die ere gottes vnd als himlischen herz ze offnen vnd beschreiben das leben die tugend vnd die "büg ainer gaistlichen andechtigen Ingeslossen closnerin mit namen Elspeth beslossen in ainer clausen zerütin oder harstergaw nachent bey walse in dem selben bistum zu<sup>e</sup> costencz der selben closnerin peichter ich gewesen bin vnd haimlicher ingot wie doch gar vnwardig bey zwanzig iaren als ich gesechen hawn vnd warlich gesechen han ain verborgen schacz den schacz ich doch nye wolt geoffnen von ettwas Ehaffter sach wegen Bis nwn so hann ich davon ze erchennen gebenn Ettlichen erwirdigen maisterñ priesterñ vnd ettlichen andñ gaistlichen lewttten frawenn vnd mannen die mir dann in besunder gehaim In got lieb waren von demselben schacz als hie nach geschriben stat ∴ ∴ ∴

An dem anfang diser uslegung so pitt ich en vnd rüff an die hilff vnd die genad vnusers herren chesu cristi In der chrafft vnd mit des hilff dise Iñckfraw dise werck erübet hat Nu vonder genad vnusers herren mir ist gegeben daz ich diser Iunckfrawen bin bey gewessen vnd denn handel vnd wandel allerding zegütter mass gesechen hann als mir dann yeczo zemaal got ze erchennen gibt So wil ich ez beschreiben nit dacz ich ez freuenlichen main ze bewaissen oder mit widerstreitten ze beschirmen mer wann ich dar Inn ze lang oder ze kurz het gesprochen da will ich meinen

obern vnd pas geleritten die müttlichen lassen straffen vnd williclichen pessern Ich pit en die muttlichen was geglauben dar Inn sey des man das andechticlichen vff well nemen wann ich fürcht das ich die vngenad dez almechtigen gocz dardurch verdiene das ich disen schacz also freunenlichen offnete aber vmb daz dise vorbenannte Iunkfraw bej irem leben nit schad gescheche die selben gu'ten werck lernete vnd ain so getan leben an sich nement vnd ain volkomen willigen gedultigen lon verdienten Amen.

Nachdem als der hoch wirdig lerer schreibt Jacobus de wrag ine prediger ordens in dem pu'ch von dem leben der hailigen Da lert er ausslegen den namen elizabeth vnd spricht daz elizabeth sey als vil gesprochen mein got erkennt ess oder meins gocz sabend oder meins gocz föllin Item zu° dem ersten Elizabeth mein got erchenet als got hat sie erchenet wa er sie berait nach seinem wolgeuallenn Auch das er ir sein selbskuntschafft ein hett gegossen Item dem andern mal elizabeth meins gocz sabend si ist gegaubet gewessen mit den siben gauben des hailigen gaistes Auch das sie iecz ist in dem sibenden altar der rewenden darnach chünfftig auffzestan an der gemainen vrstend Item zu° dem dritten mal Elizabeth meins gocz völlin got hat sie also gefüllet des liechtes der warhaitt göttlicher süssichait vnd ains smacks ewiger salichait dauon Augustinus spricht in dem pu'ch von der stat gocz in der warhaitt leuchtend sie in ewichait gru'nent sie in göttichait gottez so fület sie sich.

Die Innsbrucker Hs. beginnt hier mit einem neuen Abschnitt.

Ez was ain man gesessen ze walse in dem stettlin gelegen In Costenczer bistum der was gehaissen hanns aichler der hett ain erber hausfrawenn gehaissen Anna Vnd die waren pürdig paide von dem yecz genanten stettlin von erbeñ leutten geslecht Nu nach dem als der vorgeant Anna sein frau in witwen stat in erberm gu'tem wandel vnd zoch sich mit allem dem das si dann hett in die obgeschriben clausen da ze baiden lebens ain end mit hörtem strengem leben vmb pu'ss vnd pesserung irs vergangen lebens vnd da ez nu unsern herren zeit daucht da haimet er sie vnd tot ir leben also hetten die zwaij erbere gemechet ettwe vil chnid mit ainander vnd dennoch hetten sie ain tochter gehaissen Elizabeth zu° denn zeitten da man zalt

von cristi gepürd drewzehen hundert vnd in dem sechs vnd achtzigosten Iare an sandt Katherinen tag geboren die die mu<sup>ter</sup> selber seugen was Bis das sie reden ward da ward sie allen menschen lieb vnd was also in weltlichem schein ainfaltig vnd rains lauter<sup>n</sup> lebens Bis daz sie vierzchen iar alt ward Da sie nu gieng in das vierzchend iar da was sie scho<sup>n</sup> von antlüz vnd wber<sup>treffent</sup> an gestaltweis vnd perd alle die in irem alter waren vnd mit anweisung vnd gelait gocz vnd des hailigen gaistes kam sie mir dem vorgenanten peichtiger in mein chunschafft vnd ward mir empfolichen zu<sup>e</sup> ai<sup>n</sup> gaistlichen tochter gehaissen elizabeth vnd peichtet mir die erkant ich also rain in Junckfrewlichem statt lauter vnd ainfeltig vnd ainer gu<sup>tten</sup> gewissen Als ich mich da<sup>n</sup> zemal verstu<sup>nd</sup> da rielt ich ir vnd was sie festlichen daroff weisen als vil ich vermocht das sie sich cherte von derfalschen welt vnd an allen irdischenn dingen absaczte als uil als ich vermocht vnd iren willen vnd all ir begird, ordnete zegleichen als vil alz es müglichen wer dem götlichen willen vnd auch ainem gaistlichen orden an sich nem Besunder die dritte<sup>e</sup> regel Sandt Zfrancissen darinn sie ir leben ingotlichem dienst w<sup>end</sup> wer Die egenat<sup>e</sup> Junckfrau Elizabeth mir also anwarten was das sie hinfür in meinenpotten in meiner vnderweissung vnd allen meinen retten wolt willichlich gehorsam sein vnd also ward von pru<sup>derlichen</sup> treuen vnd begird in God bewegt daz ich diesselben Junckfrawen für ander mein gaistlich töcht<sup>n</sup> In got die auch desselben ordens vnd regel waren vnderweisent was stettlich mit gaistlicher erczney als vil als ich vermocht daz sie nit abliess vnd den gutten willen in ir vollbrachte zu<sup>e</sup> den werckenn das si ain fruchtper end dardurch behu<sup>be</sup>.

Und also cham die selb iunckfrau ettwe dick die weil sie da<sup>n</sup> nocht in irs vatters vnd mu<sup>ter</sup> pfleg was mich manent vnd innerlichen pitten das ich meinen fleis wölte darzu<sup>ton</sup> das ir die regel sandt francissen wurd gegeben, Ich wz darzue willig Ir ward die regel geben vnd ward darnach chürizlich eingeslausst vn<sup>e</sup> ward darzu<sup>e</sup> getan was darzu<sup>e</sup> gehört von aller hockzeitlichait gehörend ist vnd also was sie beliben bei irem vatter vnd mu<sup>ter</sup> etwe lang In loblichem ordenlichem leben doch so waren so uil weltlicher lewt vnd ehalten vnd haussgesindes in irs vatters hauss die mit zeittlichen dingen bechüمرت warend doch durch die sie



vielleicht gehindert ward an irem angefangen werck vnd darvmb da warff ich In für das der behalter aller welt gesprochen hat der mensch sol lassen vatter vnd muoter vnd soll mir nach uolgenn vnd als bald do zoch sie sich von vatter vnd von mu<sup>o</sup>ter (das folgende ist ausgestrichen : vnd sol mir nach volgen) vnd wolt fürchamen hindernuss vnd chunfftigen schaden vnd hett das in irem gemu<sup>t</sup> das der herr gesprochen hat der gaist ist behend der leib ist aber swer vnd treg vnd darnach mit meiner hilff ward sie empfolchen ainer erber<sup>n</sup> gaistlichen swestern die der selben regel was die solt sie da leren weben vnd also was sie gelauffen von vatter vnd muoter trost vnd hilff. Nw gab ir got die genad das sie in kurzer zeitt das handwerk weben gelern<sup>t</sup> das sie ez pas chund dann die die sie hett gelert wie doch mit grosser armu<sup>t</sup> vnd mit menger widerwertichait die ir beggnet das ich wider warhait sprich vnd wol wais daz er also wz so sie an ir arbeit was vnd trewlichen ir hantwerck treiben wolt daz sich damit uarte wa<sup>n</sup> si anders nit enhett daz ir ettwe dick die fo<sup>d</sup>en in michlerweil von geschicht ze erprachen. Also das sie ettwe dick ain halben tag dar ob sas mit grosser arba<sup>i</sup>tt bis das si si wider g<sup>a</sup>cz gemacht vnd also mayn ich in der warheit das der pöss veind ainsach wer vnd wölt sie also Irren an irer arbeit das sie mangel gewu<sup>n</sup>e an Irer narung vnd presten hett vnd also wider hinder sich tritt In die welt aber die sa<sup>l</sup>ig Iunckfraw die was also stett In irer gu<sup>t</sup>ten hoffnung in got vnd arbeit daz vorbenant hantwer<sup>o</sup>k wol drin jar vnd doch in derselben zeit hett sie wol denn mangel vnd denn hunger gehept das sie sich n<sup>y</sup>der vff die erde legt vnd ass der speis die man denn hu<sup>n</sup>er gab oder den chaczen oder ander<sup>m</sup> vich dz laid sie doch williclich vnd stilliclich vmb den gesponsen vnserm herren chesu cristi doch daz ich des mangels vnd geprestens ze mal nye nnen ward wann das sie mir es hernach ze wissen-tett.

Nvn als die dickgenant Iunckfrau In dem sibenzehenden iar was da forcht ich ir vorbenanter peichter wie das sie in dem vorgenanten stettlin, walse nit möcht zue nemen an tugenden vnd an göttliches mynn vnd ernst gewachsen von hinderzu<sup>g</sup> wegen die ir täglich dazue vielen bei der Egenanten gaistlichen swester vnd also was ich in mir selber betrachten wie daz ich ez darzu<sup>o</sup> precht das der Iunckfrawen vnd auch andern gaistlichen

Iunckfrawen die der selben regel waren vnd auch rain tochter ingot warend ain clausen gepauen wurd da sie dem willen vnsers lieben herren lebten vnd sich da in ainichait von der welt enthielten Und als ich das in mir selbs betrachtet vnd got vmb hilff patt Da ward das von der ordnüg gottes durch mich vnd ander person die auch darzu<sup>e</sup> geschickt waren gaistlich vnd weltlich der mainung stu<sup>nd</sup> als die mein ain clausen solt man pauen an ain stat da ez dann zimlichen vnd fuglichen wer vnd mich daucht gu<sup>t</sup> sein vnd also in der genad vnd hilff gottes dez hailigen gaistes vieng ich an ze pauen ain clausen bei der pfarr chirchen zereutin zehaystergaw nachent bei dem stettlin walse da die pfarchirch mit aller zuegehörd ist zu<sup>e</sup> dem minster vnd goczhauß ze walse vnd also die closen noch huit wesend ist da selbs da nw die closenn vmb vangen was vnd in ettwil vollbracht ward da nam ich die selben Iunckfrawen vnd ander swester vier die derselben regel waren vnd hiess sie da eingan In die clausen die all da gehorsam waren als chindt der gehorsami. ∴ ∴ ∴

Und als ich die selben funff swestern dahin ein gesāmet hett mit grosser armu<sup>t</sup> vnd mangel speis vnd gewand da nam ich die zwo elstenn vnd sloss die da in ain clausen vnd denn anderñ ordnet ich ettlich zusammen das allmussen das si damit das haus vnd herberg möchte dester pas gepawen vnd ir narung gehaben aber die vorbenante Iunckfrawen erchant ich ainfeltig vnd saubes vnd wolgestalt vnd darumb wolt ich sie nit lassen ausgan wann sie als chintlich was da forcht ich vermailigot werden ir rainichait vnd was ir zueschieben ain ander arbeit daz sie mit irem hantwerk sich vnd die anderñ swester lieb vnd werd was als dann hernach geschriben statt von dem zaichen vnd wanderñ die mit ir geschehen sindt.

Item die selb dickgenannt Iunckfrau hett so getanen fleiss vnd ernst mit ganczer begird irs herzen wr her vnd hinnach bis an Iren-tod wie sie genu<sup>g</sup> gerainiget wurde vnd entlu<sup>d</sup> ir gewissen vonallen gedenken worten vnd werken die wider got vnd wider recht vernufft von ir ie geschehen waren als vil als nach ir vermügend ze rew vnd ze peicht pringen möcht vnd vieng an endlichen vnd stett iclichen ir hercz kuisten in rew vnd ir vergangen zeitt vnd werck zewegenn vnd ze straffen

vnd die allerengosten Conciencia ze haben vml klaine ding die mich clain dauchten die sie swer wegen was vnd mit grossem wainen vnd clagen vnd mit vngehörter vngehab alltag vnd on vnderlass sein. Item sie öffnet mir mit innerlichem Inprüns-tigen ernst vnd mit herzenlichem smercen wie sie ir chintlich tag von Jugend vff als vnnützlich an betrachtend daz leiden vnsers herren chesu christi vnd an frucht hin hett lassen gan vnd an-der andern dingenn wie sie in ir chinthait döcklin het gemacht als ob es ire chind weren vnd wie sie het genomen cletten vnd die an ir gewand hett gehenekt als ob es ire silbrine oder guldine clainet weren vnd also hett sie vmb die clainen chintlichen ding die allergrössten gewissen vnd herzen laid durch daz sie wolt ir gewissen entladen vnd rainigen von allen sachen die sie betrengen vnd besweren möchten doch mit gu<sup>tt</sup> gehoffnung vnd traung aplas aller schuld vnd also cham sie ain tail ze rue vnd ze frid in der gewissen.

Nachdem als sie nw ze lan gewissen chomen was als vorgeschriben stat da leucht ihr ainsmals von manung vnd einsprechen got des hailigen gaistes vnd ward ir von innen gebotten wie das sie fürbas sollt leben vnd doch leiblicher speis nicht sollt niessen das sie gar wirdlich vnd ubernaturlich daucht Und also was sie nach mir senden potschafft daz ich onverzogenlich solt zu<sup>e</sup> ir chomen Und als ich kam zu<sup>e</sup> ir da begund sie mir öffnen wie das ir dz also fu<sup>r</sup> wer chomen Das sie leben solt an leibliche speis vnd fragt mich ob das gesein möchte wan sie ain lauter mensh wer Da sprach ich daz ich darzu<sup>e</sup> nicht chündt antwurte vnd bedacht doch ich wölt mich darnach arbaitten zue andern gaistlichen vnd andechtigen lewttten in clausen die darumb gelegen warend vnd da wolt erfahren wie sie darzu<sup>e</sup> wölten rautten vnd also cham ich ze lest in ain clausen gehaissen *warthausen* zu<sup>e</sup> ainer closnerin gehaissen elspet die got zemaal lieb hett vnd der lait ich sie sach für was sie da von gelaupte oder da von halten wo<sup>lt</sup> Die antwürt mir vnd sprach Nachdem als das harlig evangelium spricht bei got ist nütz vnmüglichs vnd sprach mer daz die Junckfrawe an dem einsprechen nit erschrecken solt vnd solt sich checklich darinn verwagen vnd got darinn ze hilff nemen vnd also ward es vō mir gehenget daz sie nach bei drei iaren plaib on leiblichs essen dass sie chainen

lust noch willen ze essen nit enhett doch so cham der veind der pös gaist in ainer frawen gestalt als ob er ir neben swester were die man da die hussmu<sup>ter</sup> hiess vnd pracht ir ainsmals ain gersten da sie lag in grosser chranckhait in ainer schüssel vnd wolt dz sie geessen hett vmb das sie dester chrefftiges in ir chranckhait möcht gesein Als denn hernach von disen dingen mer geschriben stat.

Da sie nun bis in das dritt iar vnd nachent drew iar vngessen was da was grosser arckwan vnder deñ mit swestern allen ausgenommen die hausmu<sup>ter</sup> wie das sie nit in der warhait vngeessen were Sie tett ez mit gleichsnen vmb das daz si dardurch ru<sup>m</sup> vnd lobe hett uon der welt vnd des arckwans was ain sach der bo<sup>s</sup> veinde der sich ettwe dick liess sechen denn mitswestern In der gestalt diser Iunckfrawen vnd was da verstellen ettwas speis vnd zyemess als dann aber hinnach davon mer geschriben statt das betrachtet dise Iunckfrau mit beswerd vnd des mit grosser begird vnd mit fleissigem gepett mit gu<sup>tter</sup> hoffnung an irem gesponsen vnserm lieben herren chesum cristum daz er sich darüber erbarmbte vnd ir wölt gñnen daz sie doch vnderweillen ettwas möcht essen nit ze dae<sup>n</sup> noch zu<sup>e</sup> ainem leiblichen lust mer zu<sup>e</sup> ainem schein vmb des willen daz der schedlich ar<sup>k</sup>wan der neben swestern gelait wurd vnd das geschach das der herr gab das sie hernach ettwe dick also as in einem schein doch gar wenig das doch die selbspeis also rauch vngedewt wider von ir kam das weret also bis an Irenn tod daz sie wol in zwelff iaren leiblichs essens nit bedorfft.

Und also sprich ich vorbenantes peichtiger daz In der warhait das dise ding vnd besunder das yetz genant wunder vnd zaichen chund vnd wissend sindt Darnach was alles mein fleiss vnd ernst wie ich durch mich selb vnd die andern mitswestern dise Iunckfrawen geweißen möchtenn vff ain emsigs vnd stöttigs betrachten daz leiden unsers herren chesu cristi wann darann ainer yettlichen verstentlichen sel ercznei hailsami vnd ewign sa<sup>l</sup>lichait leg vnd des ward dieselb Iunckfrau als ernstlich vnd begirlich enzündet daz alles ir ton all ir wegung vnd alle ir werck weis vnd wandel darzue genaiget wie sie ez allez zu<sup>e</sup> gleichot dem leiden unnsers herren chesu cristi Ez wer na<sup>en</sup> spynnen holcz tragen oder wz sie arbaitten was das was sie

yetlichs besunder vnd in ainer besundrung zu<sup>e</sup> scheezen dem leiden cristi vnd also wann si span so war sie da bei Innerlich gedenckenn wie vunser her'chesus christus ir allerliebster gespons von seinen veinden vnd von rittern herticlichen vnd vnerparmherzliclienn bey seinen hailigen löcken vmbgezogenn ward. Item wann sye denn holcz tru<sup>g</sup> so was sie betrachte wie cristus der herr in rechter diemütichait sein ellend creucz ainig verlassen von allen seinen fründen durch vnserñ willen tru<sup>g</sup> an die stat Calvarie vff seiner achseln vnd vff seinen ruggen getragen hett vnd wie er hye so fleissiclich gesu<sup>e</sup>cht hat das da verloren was vnd also fürbas auss hin in andern dingen.

Und also nam die egenant Iunckfrau auff sich das crewtz vnnsers lieben heren chu cristi vnd sein leiden mit sollicher emssiger betrachtung wurckenlich an mittel vnd wz das also wegen in Irem herzen vnd in Irem gemu<sup>t</sup> das in churezer zeitt ir ernst also gross ward das sie cham zue ainem so getanen mit leiden das sie siech ward vnd ubernaturlich chrank vnd plöd ward das ich ir vorbenanter peichtiger ettwe dick hortt In meine oren grosses gedo<sup>n</sup> von prauchen vnd stossen die sie hett mit mitleiden vnners lieben herren chesu cristi. Irem liebsten gesponsen vnd als dieselben pru<sup>e</sup>ch vnd stöss ettwe dick geschachen da prach ir auff ir hercz leiblich ze der gelingken seyten von der verhengnusse vnnsers lieben herren vnd viel darauss die tran in grosser vilin als das wasser wallet us ainem kochprunnen vnd das ich sach vnd uerlich ich sach nit allain ainest sunder dick vnd oft an der gaistlichen swestern auch an glaub hefftig lewt maister priester vnd edellewt vil erber person frawenn vnd wann der ettlich noch lebendig sind Und ettlich todt Und also da sich das leiden vnners herren chesu cristi in ir begird also begund meren vnd ymmer zu<sup>e</sup> nemen da sach ich daz ir hercz sich vff tett ze der andern gerechten seitten vnd dasplu<sup>t</sup> dar auss viel ze gleicher weis als vor zue der glingken seyten Darnach vnd sich das leiden in irem gemü<sup>t</sup>t vnd herzen begund meren ye mer vnd ye mer da sach ich ir hende vnd ir füsse ettwe dick offenn vnd durch löchert als gross nagel weren darin gestecht weren vnd sach da den tran dauon rÿnnen In grosser vilin Darnach sach ich In der warhait etwe dick ir haupt löchert vnd durchgraben als ob sie mit ainer dünnen chron wer

bechro<sup>nt</sup> worden als vnnser lieber herr chesus cristus ir aller liebster gespons vnd dar aussgieng der tran In der mass als dan wrgeschrieben ist. Zu<sup>e</sup> dem lesten sach ich allen iren leib von der schaittel bis zu<sup>e</sup> der solen durch verwanttem vnd verpluetten mit unzalichen wunden In aller weis als wir glauben daz vnnser her chesus cristus gegaisselt vnd gepesmet ward vnd geschagen wurdi vnd daz ich die plossen warhaitt da sach so sach ich ettwe dick die rechten waren mÿnzaichen vnsern lieben herren chesu christi in irem leib erscheinen vnd ich vnd ir mitswestern die man hiess die hausschwester<sup>n</sup> oder mu<sup>ter</sup> selber mit vnsern henden leiblichen vil vnd dick den selben tron von den henden vnd von füssen non seitten von haupt uon allem irem leib dick gewischt vnd gewesen haben als gott wol wais an den ich das zuiche In ganzer warhaitt das dem also ist:—

Und vmb das als die mÿn zaichen an ir also erzaigt (*‘eröget’* ist ausgestrichen und *‘zaigt’* darüber geschrieben) hett vnd durch das ganz jar sich offentlich vnd scheinberlich erzeugten ettlichs tags ze acht malen vnd besunder an dem freÿtag vnd In der vasten vnd nahent alltag die weil sie lebt daz sich hend vnd füss haupt wunden uffteten vnd das plu<sup>t</sup> dauon flos da ward dan yenen swester<sup>n</sup> ir arbeit uast darvmb gemert waun si vil dester mer wassers mus<sup>ten</sup> eintragen von ainem bach derinn miehler verri was uon dem hauss das das man ir den leib vnd ire tüchlin vnd ir deckin dw<sup>3</sup> dem tron erseuberte vnd erwüsche vnd auch dauon die dorff leutt vnd nachpauern die da gesessen warren wundert warzu<sup>e</sup> vnd warvmb sie so vil wassers prauchten vnd hetten villeicht ain vnrechten arckwan vnd darvmb ich wrbenanter beichtiger bedacht den grossen mangel vnd gepresten den armen swestern vnd in dar inn ze hilff chomen wolt vnd ruofft an die genad gottes den hailigen gaist ze hilff chommen (wolt ist ausgestrichen) den swestern in irer grossen arbeit vnd darzu<sup>e</sup> sprach ich zu<sup>e</sup> der dick genannten Iunckfrauen wenestu ob ez müglich sey das wir ain prunen graben hiebei vmb die clusen das die gross arbeit die man hat mit wasser tragen dester ringer würd Also bedacht sie sich ain weil vnd antwurt mir vnd sprach tu<sup>nd</sup> ir ewren fleis darzu<sup>e</sup> vnd vachendt an ainen prunen zegraben got der hilfft en daz ez vollbracht würt vnd also zaigt sie die stat in dem garten nahent beÿ der clusen Da sol man

den prunnen graben vnd nit anderswa waun wa man sunst da wer es nit nütz vnd als pald da vieng ich an zu<sup>e</sup> bestellen arbaiter vnd ward ain prun graben In sechs wu<sup>e</sup>chen vnd ward da wasser funden gu<sup>t</sup> vnd lautter wasser vnd ward der prun bereit In dem wintter das in den siben wochen chain vngewitter chain arbaitter da von nÿe getraib da wurden auch funden sollich gross felsen vnd stain usserhalb des prunnen die vnns chain irrung mit enwarren an der arbeit.

Item als nu solliche grosse wunder da an diser Iunckfrawē vollbracht sind vnd besonderlich das aller ir leib nw dürr was worden von ausgiessung irs plu<sup>t</sup>z als vor geschriben stat da was nit vn<sup>p</sup>illich daz ir gaist enzuckt wardt Und das geschach ettwe dick Ob er ir aber wer aus dem leib oder in dem leib des enwais ich nit got dr' waiss es wol Ich sach daz ir leib in sollicher verzuckt still lag vndsich da nichts regend was weder an autem noch an andern leiblichen zaichen Ettwenn zwentag Ettwen dreytag In aller mass als ob sie tod wer vnd denn darnach so das fürcham so wardsich dann der gaist wider enczünden leblich In dem leib vnd dann wider zu<sup>e</sup> dem wrrigen stat doch als sie von den toten erstanden wer mit schön in irs anlüz als ain pluende ros Als ob sie wer gewessen bey ainer gungsamlichen wirtschaft vnd vmb geben mit vaist in vnd wolmügend irs leibs als ob sie gefu<sup>r</sup>et vnd gespeisset wer mit der allerpesten speis die in der zeit möcht gesein vnd also was ich sie dann fragent wa si die weil wer gewessen So sagt sie mir allain vngehö<sup>r</sup>te vnd vnsägliche ding die wber mein verstantnuss waren vnd da zwischen als sie mir veriach das in dem selben hinzucken der gaist cham In den himel vnd das gegenwärtlichen cham chesus cristus gottes suñ In seiner menschlichen angenommen nataur vnd sein edle Iunckfraw vnd mu<sup>t</sup>er marie vnd ander himlisch bürger mit grosser erwirdichait vnd freud vnd in grossen Iubilieren gaist empfiengen vnd in fu<sup>r</sup>ten für den spiegel götlicher maiestat vnd wann dann da der gaist hingefurt wurde So wurd also dann ir vernufft vnd ir verstantnuss als gar erfüllt vnd ersett das sie dauon dann genlich nichtz gesagen chund vō der süssi vnd wunsami die also mir wider leuchtend wer auch sprach sie ains zue mir so der gaist also in ainem nyessen wer das sie dann aller creatur nit achtend wer als wenig als ain toter

mensch Item sie sprach auch mer wenn der gaist also enzückt werd.

(Das folgende ist hereincorrigiert) // : So verstosset er In dem gottlichem wessen dz es also got will haben daz der gaist also entzückt werd. // vmb mer verdienung wegen wen so der gaist wider gat In den leib mit grossem smerzen So hept der leip dann wider an ze leben vnd ee daz die verainigung dann wider werde So wirt ain sollich leiden daz der swaiss ustringt durch hant vnd har flaisch vnder weillen mit plu<sup>o</sup>tigem schwais vnd ain solliches hann ich ettwe dick an ir gesehen.

Wann aber darnach so dise wunderliche ding von der chrafft vnser herren vnd auch mit ainem zetu<sup>n</sup> irer verdienlicher werck vollbracht an ir warren das sie dannach demselben enzucken wider chem an dem leib vnd angestalt wbertreffentlich wunderliches schönin vnd wolgestalt So vieng sie sich dann aber an ze wben In gottlichem schawendem leben das leiden chū cristi herczlichen ze bedencken vnd ze betrachten was mit gaun<sup>o</sup>zer begirde fleschlichen ze begeren aber ze leiden vmb die vorigen nies<sup>u</sup>ng vnd schawen göttlicher sa<sup>e</sup>lichait vnd dann wber ain elain zeitt so ward sie aber enzückt in aller mass als vorgeschriben ist vnd also in sollicher schawug vnd smerzen vmb ain mit leiden des leidens chesu cristi verschied sie vnd gab auff iren gaist in der zeitt irs alters in dem vier vnd dreissigsten iar an sand katherinentag vmb mettinzeitt in dem jar da man zalt von cristi gepurd vierzehen hundert iar vnd in dem zwanzigosten iar mit gu<sup>o</sup>ter vernufft vnd andacht vnd iu die müttichait in gutter hoffnung vnd in warem gelauben vnd rechter mynn bei der schidung ich vor dick benenter beichtiger selb leiblich was Nw was sie begeren daz ich ir solt lesen den passion vnd das ich iren mit swester<sup>n</sup> zesamen ru<sup>o</sup>fte vnd das man ain cherezen an solt zünden das geschach alles vnd da ich den passion also gelass bis auff die pauss Inclinato capitte emissit spiritum Daz spricht zetewczsch mit genaigtem haupt liess er seinen gaist vnd da sprach ich dise wortt Beta ich han da gelesen wie vnser her mit genaigtem haupt hat gelassen seinen gaist vnd da begert sie daz man ir sandt iohanns mynn geb vnd das ward getan also lass ich für pas den passion bis an



daz end als pald das geschach daz der passion gelesen was da laitt sie ir hend zesament vnd also sitzend liess sie irem gaist.

Das dise ding vnd wunderlichen zaichen vnd die wbernaturlich sach dester gelaublicher seÿ So han ich vorbenanter probst mir fürgenomen als ich der egenant iunckfrawen peichter bin gewessenn wie das ich wöll öffnen vnd beschreiben ettliche wunder vnd merckliche zaichen durch die sie hie geschinen hatt in der zeitt etc.

Ich bezeug dass mit dem lebendigen got der da ist ein pruñ der warhaitt das ich ains mals an ainem hochzeitlichen tag da ich mess hett gehalten vnd nachdem als ich genossen hett das hailig wirdig sacrament nach gewonlicher ordnung der cristenhait da wolt ich gan darnach vnd wolt den andern swestern bringen das selb hailig sacrament vnd wolt auff den selben hochzeitlichen tag berichten Nw waren der sweder (?) swestern drey vnd die vierd was die Junckfraw von der die red ist die selb die lag in grosser chrankhaitt vnd als ich wolt gan zu<sup>e</sup> den dreyen da nam ich von dem altar vier gesegent hosti vnd gieng vff die stieg als dañ da selben in der chirchen geordnet ist vnd was zu<sup>e</sup> dem fenster hyn vff vnd wolt da comunicieren die drey swesterñ als vor benent ist vnd wolt die vierden hosti mit mir wider herabtragen vmb des willen daz ich nit ler wider abher gieng das das folck da anpettendt wer den waren got Im sacrament als ich nw die drey swestern hett bericht Da verswand mir die vierd gesegend hosti des erschrack ich von ganzem herzen vnd su<sup>e</sup>cht mit grossem fleiss vnd ernst vff der stieg vnd vnder der stieg vnd also gieng ich herab on das sacrament mit grossem schrecken vnd forcht vnd angst vnd vollendet das ampt der hailigen mess da das vollendet ward da su<sup>e</sup>cht ich aber bas vnd ich ez nit erfande da gieng ich in die clausen zu<sup>e</sup> der Iunckfrawen vnd ir elagen meins herzen grossen kommer vnd wolt durch sie getro<sup>e</sup>st werden vnd als ich enigieng zu<sup>e</sup> ir in ir besunder bettheuslein dar inn sie siech lag da hu<sup>b</sup> sie an vnd lachet wol güttlich vnd sprach dise wort Ich wais wol was ew gebrist vnd was ir da su<sup>e</sup>chendt das sacrament ist mir gepracht zu<sup>e</sup> durch meinen gesponsen Xr̄m des lebendigen Gottes sun den ich hewt gesechen han sn seiner angenommen menschahtt oder menschlicher nataur vnd mit im ain gross mengin der engel vnd

der hailigen die Im da gedient hand der hatt mich selb selber gespeiset vnd darvmb so sollend ir nit vn mu<sup>o</sup>ttig sein wann das ist also geschechen als ir gehordt hand.

Item das ander zaichen als dauor geschriben ist daz die Iunckfraw in zwelff iaren oder lenger nit essens nottürfftig was da machet sich auff der tausent po<sup>o</sup>s lestige veind der tewffel in der gestalt der selben Iunckfrawen vnd stal haimlich prott vnd flaisch vnd ander speis den andern swestern vnd tru<sup>o</sup>g das da die Iunckfrau ir nachtru<sup>o</sup> hett vnd legt ir das vnder ir pett stettlin oder vnder ir haupt wañ dañ das da funden ward so ain grosser arckwan vff in den andern swestern vnd sprach dann in selber sehent das die gleichsnet das sie wol noch müg essen vnd das ist nit vnprillichen wann wz sie erstreichet das stiet sie alles vnd frisset es denn haymlichen in den winckeln.

Item als nwn das was das sie nit enas da gieng natturlich nit von ir chainerlay aber der po<sup>o</sup>ss veindt der tewffel der kam ettwe dick vnd pracht mit im vnsaubrikait vber mass vil vnd wbelmeckend als ob ez swebel wer vnd von pech vnd liess das in ain göllten oder peckin oder in ain andr geschir vnd wolt da den arckwann in den andñ swestern meren vnd bestetten darüber tett er ains der bo<sup>o</sup>s vallendt vnd machet den aller pesten gesmach vmb ir kemerlein vnd bestraich da die stett mit vnsaubrichait vssen vnd innen als ob sie es getan hett vnd vmb des willen das die andern swestern dester mer arckwans vnd unwillen hetten.

Item ich han ettwe diek gesechen das der bös vend die Iunckfrawen slu<sup>o</sup>g vnd sie niderwarff auff die erden vnd sie gar hertielichen handelt vnd auch noch mer so die Iunckfrawainig was in irem pett heuslin So verhangt got das der poess veind cham vnd innen zu<sup>o</sup> slos vnd sie da hertielichen vnd iemernlichen slu<sup>o</sup>g vñ sie bei dem har vmzoch vnd sie swerlich verwundet mit peissen vnd mit kraczen daz ich hernach etwe dick die an mal vnd die masen sach an Irem laib die er ir getan hett auch daz ich ettwe dick cham vnd sie also beslossen In den no<sup>o</sup>ten fandt daz ich dann die tür vffstiess vnd ir zehilff cham.

Item ich han gesechen die weil die selb Iunckfrau dannocht bei leben was das sie ettwe dick so sie in schauung wz vnd in betrachtung des leiden Xri daz sie dann chuntlichen enpfindent was der pein des fegfewrs ettwen auff sechs stund ettwan mynner

oder mer also das aller ir leib in so getan hiez was das die gewand vnd die tuchlin die vmb sie waren als uas waren als der si hett gezezen durch ain güss vnd alle dieselben weil west sie nichtz vmb sich selb noch vmb cham leiplich sach wann sie aber darnach wider zu<sup>e</sup> ir selber cham das sie empfinden was leiblicher ding so waren davon verhencknuss vnnsers herren vil selen des fegfewrs die sie anschrien vnd ru<sup>o</sup>ften mit haisser sty<sup>m</sup>e vnd mit gru<sup>i</sup>lichen Owe Owe hilff hilff o hilff So antwurt sie dann vnd sprach was begerend ir die antwurten denn also in die mass das ye ain andre begeret das geschaffet würd mess ze halten ain andre begeret das sie mit ir fu<sup>r</sup> zu<sup>e</sup> dem fegfewr vnd die selen han ich selb geho<sup>r</sup>tt als mir die Iunckfrau vmb got erwarb daz sie mir selber geredt haund.

Item es ist dick geschechen das mir dise Iunckfrau hat chünfftige ding vor hin gesait Besunder von dem Concili von der ainigung der cri-stenhait wie die schier vnd in welcher zeitt vnd in welcher statt das solt beschechenn vnd also es sich auch hinnach chuntlich erfand als sie ez hett gesagt Item vnder weillenn so ich ettlich gu<sup>t</sup>en vnd gaistlichen lewtten saitt Ettwas von denn vor geschriben dingen an ferren stetten vnd wann ich dann wider vmb cham zu<sup>e</sup> ir so wisset sie ez allweg vor hin vnd sprach ir hand also vnd also von mir gerett wie daz ist daz ich en darvmb hann gepetten das ir nit dauon soltend sagen vnd das die-ding verswigen solten sein vnd da traff sie allweg die selben wort die ich deñ von ir gerett hett an ferren stetten.

Item ir ward auch chundt getann ainsmals wie sie solt leiden den siech tagen der ausseczichait da gab sie sich vnder williclich vnd wolt da gnu<sup>o</sup>g sein dem willen vnser herren vnd als pald verhangt got vber sie daz sie vsseczig vnd vurain ward vnd das weret an ir wol drey ganz tag vnd darnach sprach sie zu<sup>e</sup> nür dise wortt Mein gespons vnser her chesus cristus ist selber komen vnd hatt mich gesundt gemacht vnd das was auch in der warhait also. Item ainsmals an dem hailigen pfingstag da fu<sup>o</sup>gt sich daz ich mit denn andern swestern vnd mit ir gieng in iren garten spacieren nahent bei der clausen als sie also gieng da viel sie wider geswinde als ain mensch der in amechten niderfellt vnd lag als ob sie enzuckt werr vnd also sprach ich das si sie trugen an iren gemach da si nu zu ir wider cham da fragt ich sie

wie sie als geswind wer nidergefallen in dem garten da antwurt sie mir vnd sprach wie das sie hett gehört ainem fogel alz sussiclichen singen daz sie uor rechtem wunder vnd sussichaitt alles ir chrafft ward beraubt wie doch ich vnd die andern swestern das nit enhortten Sie sprach auch das si das vor ettwe dick hett gehörtt.

Item wan das geschach dz sie empfangen hett das heilig sacrament das sie dañ ettwe dick vff gezuckt ward zwo stund oder auff drey also das sie von der stat da si dz hailig sacrament empfangen hett im lufft ob nau swebt das sie das ertrich niendert rürt bis das si cham in ir pettkemerlin.

Item sie hett ganzzen fleis vnd ernst zu° den wercken der barmherzichait als sich gefügt ainsmals da cham ain mensch für die clossentür vnd begeret da des almu°ses mit erpermlicher stym Also ergraiß sie ain prott wann der andern swester chaine daz hortt vnd pracht es dem armen menschen als pald er daz enpfieñg da uerswand er vor iren augen wie der aber ain gestalt hett des enwaiss ich nit wann dz ich heff das seÿ Xrüs gewessen in ains armen menschen gestalt. Item als sie gross begird hett zu° allen zeitten nach irem gesponsen chesu cristo also das sie von rechtem belongen da sait sie mir das ir cristus selb ettwe dick erschinen sey in chindlins weis als er was in seiner mu°ter maria schos vnd da sie in ettwe dick zartlich vmbfangen hab so sie also lag an irem pettlin vnd wan er uon ir schied daz sie in verloren hett das sie cleglichen sprach ettwe dick wa pist wa han ich dick verloren. Item ez fu°gt sich ainsmals daz sie zermal chrank wz vnd daz die andern swester gar onmussig waren mit pauen der prunnen als vor geschriben stat also dz ir chame vff die selben zeitt nit zu° irwartten chund vnd vnder selben weil chomen die hailigen angel gottes vnd richteten ir ir pettlin mit grossem fleis sussiclich on allen smercen als nw die andern swester vnd auch ich kamen zu° ir eingangen vnd siefragten wer ir ir pettlin also schon gepettet hett So antwurt si das hetten getan die diener irs gesponsen die engel gottes Der zaichen vnd wunder ist mer mit ir beschechen die ich yecz zermal von seiner kürcze wegen vnder wegen lass zeschreiben.

Von im nīm ratt vnd ku°ss dir vs ainem hailigen menschen des ebenbild du in dein hercz also seczen solt als dick du an in

gedenckest so mach dich auff vnd orden dich vnd beraitt dich als ob er gegen wirttig seÿ vnd als ob du wellest leben gleich als er leb oder als er gelebt hab wañ sandt bernhart spricht Er hab desgleichen auch getan vnd spricht also von im selben wañ ich hört vnd kalt was vnd ich vmb vnd vmb su<sup>e</sup>cht in wern oder wa ich meiner gaist erhiczigote der da in allen dingen sacht vnd vrdrüczig was vnd mir nichtz begegnen wolt daz mir ze hilff cho<sup>m</sup> in den gebresten die denn mein gemütt trengend vnd eingent waren vnd ich geren hett gehept daz die lautter gleissent süssichait gaistlich genad her wider wer chomen ze hand So macht ich mich vff vnd was mein betrachten werffen an ettwas fromen gaistlichen menschen wie doch aber er yoch tod was oder den zermal nit gegen was ward denn in mich faren der süss wind der gaist liechtez trostez vnd ward den smelczen die gefrürin vnd die kelin vnd wurden dann fliessen die güzz der zecher vnd des mu<sup>s</sup>t ich mich dann schemen das ich der als vnwürdig waz dez sich got also von im selb in mir su<sup>s</sup>sent was. Amen.

F. G. G. SCHMIDT.

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON.

NOTE ON COUNTESS MARTINENGO CESARESCO'S  
LOMBARD STUDIES.

THIS book is hardly one to be reviewed at length in a professional journal, yet it is one that the professional student of English literature can hardly afford to neglect altogether. Passing over the incidental illustration of Tennyson's '*Frater, Ave atque Vale*' in the chapter on 'Benacus, the Poet's Lake;' of Clough in the chapter entitled 'Memorials of a Lombard House;' and of Shelley's *Lines Written among the Euganean Hills* in the chapter entitled *In the Franciacorta*, I will pause for a moment at the chapter devoted to Vittoria Accoramboni. This should be read by every student of Webster's drama. I quote one or two passages, to show the character of the author's comment. Referring to the title of Webster's play, the Countess says (p. 152): 'The last two words are enough to show that Webster must not be taken as an accurate historian, for she was neither Venetian nor a courtesan. Whence did he get his version of the events? Later writers have, one and all, drawn on an anonymous chronicler whose MS. exists in sundry Roman libraries; the author obtained his knowledge through a nephew of Pope Sixtus V, and he could scarcely, therefore, write impartially, a fact which makes one inquire if too implicit faith has not been placed on his narrative. Be that as it may, he was not Webster's authority, for the MS. was written after the play. Perhaps the poet learnt something from unwritten ballad literature; then, as now, doggerel ballads grew up like mushrooms in a night after any tragic event; for instance, only a day or two after the murder of King Humbert I heard a blind ballad singer at Spezia drawling out a dismal lay with the refrain, "*È morto il Re!*" Webster knew of these ballads, as he mentions them in several of his plays. . . . It is likely that Webster owed much to that unacknowledged fount whence all his compeers

drew, the talk of home-returned travellers.' After finishing her account of Vittoria's life, the author says (p. 155): 'And now I would ask, what would have been the effect on the spectators if, instead of this death scene, finely conceived as it is, Webster had reproduced one still finer, the real one? It would lend itself easily to dramatic representation. Vittoria with her beads, Flaminio with his lute, the sweet, solemn sound of the *Miserere*, the repose and religious gloom of the evening hour; then, the inroad of wild figures in grotesque disguises, brandishing torches and wielding arquebuses and daggers; the shot fired at Flaminio, the savage attack of the foul-mouthed assassin on the woman kneeling before the crucifix; Vittoria's bearing, as brave as in the play, but how much more touching in its feminine modesty and forgiving grace! Finally the murderer's horrified cry: "What have we done? We have killed a saint!"'

ALBERT S. COOK.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

## CHRIST 11-14.

CHRIST 11<sup>b</sup>-14<sup>b</sup> runs :

Nū is þām weorce bearf  
 þæt se Cræftga cume and se Cyning sylfa,  
 and þonne gebēte--nū gebrosnad is—  
 hūs under hrōfe.

With this figure of the dilapidated house, may be compared the first two stanzas of Henry Vaughan's *Burial* :

O thou, the first fruits of the dead  
 And their dark bed,  
 When I am cast into that deep  
 And senseless sleep,  
 The wages of my sin—  
     O then,  
 Thou great Preserver of all men,  
 Watch o'er that loose  
 And empty house  
 Which I sometimes lived in!

It is in truth a ruined piece,  
 Not worth thy eyes;  
 And scarce a room, but wind and rain  
 Beat through, and stain  
 The seats and cells within;  
     Yet thou,  
 Led by thy love, wouldst stoop thus low,  
 And in this cot,  
 All filth and spot,  
 Didst with thy servant inn.

ALBERT S. COOK.



## TREES AND STONES AS INFORMERS.

A WELL-KNOWN passage in *Macbeth* runs (3. 4. 122-6) :

It will have blood ; they say, blood will have blood ;  
 Stones have been known to move, and trees to speak ;  
 Augurs and understood relations have  
 By magot-pies and choughs and rooks brought forth  
 The secret'st man of blood.

The latest edition (1903) of the Furness Variorum, for which Mr. H. H. Furness, Jr., is responsible, has the following note on the word *trees* (l. 123) :

‘Steevens. Alluding perhaps to the tree which revealed the murder of Polydorus, Virgil, *Æneid*, iii, 22-68.—[It is more likely that Steevens cited this from memory ; had he looked more closely it would have been apparent that it was not the tree which revealed the murder, but the ghostly voice of Polydorus himself, “gemitus lacrimabilis imo Auditur tumulo, et vox reddita fertur ad aures.”—III, 39, 40. In Scot’s *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, Bk. 8, ch. vi, p. 165, ed. 1584, there is the following : “This practise [by cousening oracles] began in the okes of Dodona, in the which was a wood, the trees thereof (they saie) could speake.” Again in Bk. 4, ch. xviii, p. 208, “Divine auguries were such, as men were made beleieve were done miraculously, as when dogs spake . . . or when trees spake, as before the death of *Cæsar*.” There are indications that Shakespeare had read the *Discoverie*, and Malone conjectured that at the time of the writing of *Macbeth*, Shakespeare was also meditating and reading on the subject of *Julius Cæsar*. Is it not likely, therefore, that Scot and not Virgil suggested the speaking trees? Scot may have been indebted to Virgil for his statement in regard to the trees at the death of *Cæsar*. In the *Georgics*, i, 476, speaking of the portents before that event, Virgil says : “Vox quoque per lucos vulgò exaudita silentes Ingens.”—*Ed. ii*.’

The note on *stones* is much less satisfactory than the foregoing.

The spirit of the Shakespearean passage is well reflected in the following lines from Vaughan's *The Stone* :

Hence sand and dust  
Are shaken for witnesses ; and stones,  
Which some think dead, shall all at once  
With one attesting voice detect  
Those secret sins we least suspect.  
For know, wild men, that when you err  
Each thing turns scribe and register,  
And, in obedience to his Lord,  
Doth your most private sins record.

Vaughan cites, at the head of his poem, *Josh. 24. 27*, which runs : ' And Joshua said unto all the people, Behold, this stone shall be a witness unto us, for it hath heard all the words of the Lord which he spake unto us ; it shall be therefore a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God.'

The earlier part of the poem is as follows :

I have it now ;  
But where to act that none shall know ?  
Where I shall have no cause to fear  
An eye or ear,  
What man will show ?  
If nights, and shades, and secret rooms,  
Silent as tombs,  
Will not conceal nor assent to  
My dark designs, what shall I do ?  
Man I can bribe, and woman will  
Consent to any gainful ill,  
But these dumb creatures are so true  
No gold nor gifts can them subdue ;  
*Hedges have ears*, saith the old sooth,  
*And every bush is something's booth* ;  
This cautious fools mistake, and fear  
Nothing but man when ambushed there.  
But I, alas !  
Was shown one day in a strange glass  
That busy commerce kept between  
God and his creatures, though unseen.  
They hear, see, speak,  
And into loud discoveries break,  
As loud as blood.

The general notion is as old in classical literature as Euripides, *Hippolytus* 1074-7 (Murray's translation, somewhat free):

*Hippolytus.*    Ye stones, will ye not speak? Ye castle walls!  
Bear witness if I be so vile, so false!

*Theseus.*       Aye, fly to voiceless witnesses! Yet here  
A dumb deed speaks against thee, and speaks clear!

Cf. *Hippol.* 418.

ALBERT S. COOK.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

## REVIEWS.

*Les Débuts de la Critique Dramatique en Angleterre jusqu' à la Mort de Shakspeare.* Par Harold S. Symmes. Thèse présentée pour le Doctorat de l'Université de Paris—Lettres. Paris : Leroux, 1903. Pp. xiv, 276.

As the title of this thesis indicates, the author seeks in the productive activity of Elizabethan England but the beginnings of dramatic criticism. He realizes that a searching and comprehensive theory of the drama can exist only after an era of creation. Nevertheless, conscious that Englishmen of the sixteenth century must have had some ideas concerning national literary tendencies, his hope is to find in their expressed opinions, however sporadic and superficial they may have been, the fruitful seeds of the later critical system.

In his investigation Symmes goes back to mediæval times, and even to the early days of the Church ; since the animosity then exhibited against the drama—the spirit of the Middle Ages, as he calls it—was to meet in play and counterplay throughout the whole Elizabethan period with the other great influence moulding dramatic criticism—the spirit of the Renaissance. Thus the adverse attitude of the Fathers becomes, as it were, the basis of his study. And though the treatment of this part of the subject unfortunately does not individualize the work of the different leaders in the different centuries, it serves to elucidate all later moral criticism of the drama. For views similar to those of the Fathers prevailed in England, and were accepted as valid by the Puritans. But side by side with those religious reformers there lived in Elizabethan England men possessed with other ideals—the followers of the Renaissance. To the ethical ideal of the one was opposed the æsthetic standard of the other. In the latter lies Symmes' main concern. Consequently he carefully traces its development from the time when it first appeared in its crudity and insufficiency—for it was not ready to hand, a heritage of the past, as was the other—till it took on a deeper and more self-conscious tone. The first, or forma-

tive period of this criticism, as Symmes divides it, extended to the year 1577, when strong expressions of mediævalism called forth the first piece of true criticism in England—Sidney's *Defense of Poesy*. From this noble beginning the development of dramatic criticism, in definiteness, originality, and nationality is traced in the work of Nashe, Meres, and even the chance jests on the *Spanish Tragedy* and *Tamburlaine*, until, just before the arbitrarily chosen limit of the study, it reached its greatest profundity in the scattered though consistent comments of Ben Jonson. The author's conclusion is plain. Although in England the outworn ideas of mediæval life prevailed longer than in France or Italy, and although Englishmen, in superficiality and diffuseness, showed a self-evident lack of critical taste, nevertheless in that early age the seeds, at least, of later theory were slowly maturing.

For the support of this thesis the author has brought to light several documents. One is the *Woork of Ioannes Ferrarius Montanus touchynge the good-orderynge of a Commonweale*, translated in 1559 by William Bavande, which assigns to the drama, in virtue of its many benefits, a position in a well-governed state. The opposite conclusion is reached in Geoffrey Fenton's *Forme of Christian Policie* (1574). But most important of all is the work of Martin Bucer, *De Honestis Ludis*, written about 1551, which maintains the possibilities of the drama as a moral teacher, and the superiority of sacred history over profane as a source-book for both comedy and tragedy. Curiously, however, Symmes apparently makes no mention of that other passage of Bucer where the evils of miracle-plays are recognized.<sup>1</sup> These three discoveries are printed in appendices, and as proof of their value it is sufficient to say that even Prynne, the encyclopædic Puritan compiler, did not know of their existence.

Before considering the nature of Symmes' work as a contribution to knowledge, a word may not be irrelevant in regard to its make-up. In places the work shows lack of care in details. Literal accuracy in quotation has been attempted, but often not realized—as in the important quotation from Thomas Twynne. One might object, also, to seeing the familiar titles of Puritan tracts translated into French, fearful lest his own name might be some day so irreverently handled—Fisher to Pêcheur, or Carpenter to Charpentier. These are mere details, but details of accuracy and good choice are not to be slighted.

<sup>1</sup>*Psalmorum Libri Quinque*, p. 355.

Although the author, not only in these three discoveries, but also in his treatment of other rare books, has thrown new light on each of the great influences affecting the English theatre, his sense of the Puritan movement is less fair than that of the revival of æsthetic appreciation. It remains for him, even till the end, a mediæval question. He is quite right in dwelling on the words of the Fathers ; for one familiar with English feeling knows how pertinent they were. But Symmes does not lay stress on the fact that between the days of the Fathers and of the English Puritans there was a time when the clerical warnings were not truly applicable. In the so-called Dark Ages there was no secular drama in existence, and, in spite of church censure, the miracle-plays held wide popularity, as the testimony of Fitzstephen in Stow's *Survey*, and of William of Wadington in his *Manuel des Pechiez*, and the very edicts of ecclesiastical councils, prove. It was not till the sixteenth century, or perhaps slightly earlier, that conditions at all analogous to those in Rome arose. Then against the existing drama a home-nourished sentiment, whose original inspiration may or may not have been clerical, spread throughout the Puritan classes. It was more real, therefore, than mediæval sentiment, and more universal, owing to political conditions, than the Fathers'. Indications of this revived sentiment appear in the fourteenth century sermon against the stage, reprinted in *The English Drama and Stage*, and reasons for it may be found in the social and economic, as well as in the spiritual, tendencies of the country. History thus gives the *rationale* of the movement, a *rationale* one might have presupposed, had its wide diffusion been adequately traced. And history, again, can defend from the charge of plagiarism the author of *The Refutation of the Apology for Actors*. To be sure, he reproduced *verbatim* three separate passages from Stubbes. But so also did Northbrooke, without acknowledgement, quote from Bishop Alley, a fact unknown to Symmes ; and so did the author of the *Third Blast* quote not only from Thomas Twynne, but also from that very work of Fenton which Symmes, though oblivious of its relations to the later attack, brought to light (*Third Blast*, p. 149). These facts make it plain that all useful arguments were regarded as common property by reformers. To such details one must attend to gain insight into the Puritan spirit, and, because the author has often passed them by, the originality and true cause of the Puritan movement are obscured.

Such treatment demonstrates that the author's sympathy lies with

the æsthetic criticism of the period. Thus he accepts more readily than he otherwise would Fleay's conjecture in regard to the author of the *Third Blast*, for which the only confirmation known to me is Gosson's ambiguous and dubitable statement. Thus, also, he assigns too great an influence to the publication of Sidney's *Defense* (p. 115). For his main concern is with the Renaissance activity in dramatic affairs, and in this his appreciation is sound. His deductions in the matter may not be radical, nor even unexpected; but the facts presented are convincing—even where weakened by a merely enumerative arrangement—casting light on a subject heretofore too little considered. And, above all, the author has not attempted by amplification or exaggeration to assign to his material a value greater than it deserves.

ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

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*On the Text of Chaucer's Parlement of Foules.* By Eleanor Prescott Hammond. Chicago, 1902. (*University of Chicago Decennial Publications VII.*) Pp. 25.

Four years ago Miss Hammond won for herself some distinction as an investigator in the field of Middle English by her discovery in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, of a Christmas mumming by Lydgate (*Angl.* 22. 364–374). Her latest contribution to scholarship, if less striking, is even more creditable, resting as it does on no gift of lucky chance, but on laborious investigation and clear reasoning. The extent of her labor is suggested by the fact that her study is based on a collation of the entire text of Chaucer's *Parlement* in the fifteen mss. published by the Chaucer Society.

The stemma which Miss Hammond establishes agrees in the main with that indicated by Koch on the basis of a partial collation, in *Angl.* 4, *Anz.* p. 97, and reprinted by Heath in the Globe edition of Chaucer's Works. Four additional mss.—Caxton, Selden, Pepys, and Cambridge University Library, Hh. 4. 12—are included, and a slight change is made in the relationship of the mss. in the C group. This change consists in the association of Longleat with Digby rather than with Tanner, as indicated by Koch; but this association does not begin till after line 75. For the first 75 lines of the poem Miss Hammond argues a common affiliation of Longleat and Tanner to a ms. of the group represented by Fairfax and Bodley. But

unless the scribes of Tanner and Longleat were working from a common original, which according to the author's genealogy is not the case, it would be hard to explain why each scribe should have abandoned one exemplar, and taken up another, precisely at line 75.

Having established a stemma, the next step is to determine the relative value of the resulting ms. groups, and of the individual mss. within these groups. On this point Miss Hammond's statements are somewhat contradictory. Thus on page 9 she asserts that 'the text of the A archetype was probably nearer to the ultimate original verbally,' and says that in writing out a critical text she has been led to adhere to the readings of the A archetype when that and C are opposed." But at the end of her essay, after demonstrating that ms. Gg. of the University Library, Cambridge (A group) betrays signs of deliberate emendation on the part of its scribe, and after commenting on the 'complete freedom of Fairfax and Bodley (C group) from any tendency to meddle with the text, together with their sober accuracy of transcription and orthography,' she declares on page 24 that she does not find herself in full agreement with the evaluation of A as the better group: 'When the tendency of C to omit has been allowed for, as also its occasional slight lapses already mentioned, it will be recognized that the C group offers a set of readings certainly equal in value to those of A.' In view of these opposing statements, one feels that on this point the author has failed to speak the final word.

Before pursuing further this question of evaluation, it will be necessary to quote the list of divergent readings on which the division into two main groups is based. It is as follows:

Line *	3, A	<i>dreadful</i>	C	<i>blissful</i>
	* 5,	<i>wonderful</i>		<i>dreadful</i>
	* 5,	<i>astonyeth</i>		<i>astonyeth so</i>
	* 13,	<i>I dare</i>		<i>dare I</i>
	* 26,	<i>(as) of this</i>		<i>of my first</i>
	* 29,	<i>make of mencion</i>		<i>make mencion</i>
	* 30,	<i>as I shal telle</i>		<i>I shal you telle</i>
	* 32,	<i>seven it hadde</i>		<i>it hadde seven</i>
	* 35,	<i>say</i>		<i>tell</i>
	37,	<i>In—meteth</i>		<i>Into—mette</i>
	43,	<i>tellith it (or he)</i>		<i>told he him</i>
	44,	<i>shewed</i>		<i>yshewed</i>
	* 50,	<i>folk</i>		<i>the folk</i>



Line	* 55, A	<i>after</i>	C	<i>when</i>
	* 58,	<i>the hevens</i>		<i>hevens</i>
	64,	<i>bade (or said)—syn</i>		<i>bade—see</i>
	* 69,	<i>shuld</i>		<i>shal</i>
	* 70,	<i>is doon</i>		<i>was doon</i>
	* 72,	<i>into that</i>		<i>to</i>
	* 75,	<i>shalt not</i>		<i>shalt neuer</i>
	* 84,	<i>send us (or thee)</i>		<i>send each lover</i>
	*107,	<i>I had red</i>		<i>I red had</i>
	*110,	<i>totorne</i>		<i>al totorne</i>
	? 135,	<i>strokis</i>		<i>stroke</i>
	*137,	<i>neuer tree shal</i>		<i>tree shal neuer</i>
	*138,	<i>to</i>		<i>unto</i>
	*149,	<i>sette</i>		<i>ysette or is set</i>
	178,	<i>boxtre piper</i>		<i>box pipe tre</i>
	*188,	<i>that swimmen</i>		<i>and swimming</i>
	*192,	<i>so or som</i>		<i>that</i>
	*194,	<i>al aboute</i>		<i>aboute</i>
	? 206,	<i>wex or was</i>		<i>growen</i>
	*209,	<i>than man</i>		<i>no man</i>
	*215,	<i>her</i>		<i>hard</i>
	*217,	<i>for to</i>		<i>to</i>
	221,	<i>do before (or by force)</i>		<i>go before</i>
	*222,	<i>I will</i>		<i>I shall</i>
	? 229,	<i>shall not here</i>		<i>shall not</i>
	? 233,	<i>som ther were</i>		<i>som were</i>
	? 234,	<i>wer gay</i>		<i>gay</i>
	*237,	<i>of doves white</i>		<i>saw I white</i>
	*238,	<i>Sitting—100 (or 1000)</i>		<i>Of doves . . . 100</i>
	*240,	<i>sat with a</i>		<i>sat a</i>
	*241,	<i>by her side</i>		<i>her beside</i>
	*250,	<i>and wel</i>		<i>wel</i>
	338,	<i>hardy sparhawk</i>		<i>sparhawk</i>
	436,	<i>al be</i>		<i>al though</i>
	501,	<i>said</i>		<i>said tho</i>
	544,	<i>may not go</i>		<i>may not</i>
	666,	<i>brought</i>		<i>wrought</i>

After giving this table, Miss Hammond remarks: 'While making this division, several noteworthy facts become evident: first, the marked decrease in group-divergences after line 250; secondly, the

fact that in several cases the difference of group C from group A is due to an omission by the former archetype. . . . That in a poem of 699 lines 45 of the 50 cases of group-divergence should fall in the first 250 lines is a fact so noteworthy that it cries aloud for explanation; but Miss Hammond has no explanation to suggest.

Let us first examine the character of the divergences after line 250. In lines 338 and 544 we have omissions by C to the detriment of sense and metre. In line 501 C inserts *tho* to the detriment of the metre. In 436 and 666 we have substitutions by one scribe or the other, where it is impossible to determine the original reading. Such divergences are of the sort familiar to all textual critics, and are due, conceivably, to mere scribal carelessness. But in the first 250 lines not only do we find divergences of this kind much more frequently, but, in a number of instances, divergences which must be traced, not to carelessness, but to deliberate alteration by one of the scribes. Of the instances of mere careless error, the most striking are lines 43, 64, 178, 221, where A has the right reading except in 178. Of deliberate alteration I find clear proof in lines 3, 5, 32, 69 and 70, 84, 149 and 150 (?), 215, 237, and 238, where in every case A offers a reading clearly preferable on grounds of taste (though the C reading is perfectly possible), and where the divergence is of such a character as to preclude the hypothesis of mere carelessness on the part of either scribe. For example, in line 32, C reads in Fairfax,

Chapitres hyt had vij of hevene and helle,

a line which is in every way satisfactory save for the disagreeable internal rime of *seven* and *heven*. The A archetype, by inverting the word-order, puts the riming words further apart, and converts what was a blemish into a positive virtue. Other cases of transposition which seem to have been dictated by æsthetic considerations, though much less striking in their character, may be found in lines 13, 107, 137, 237, and 238. In line 35 disagreeable assonance is avoided by A's substitution of *say* for *tell*.

In several instances the alteration in A seems to have been made for the benefit of the metre. Thus a heavy syllable in the thesis of the last foot of line 215 is obviated by A's substitution of *her* for the *hard* of the C archetype. A frequently inserts or omits an unimportant word, and thereby secures a more regular metrical flow. Examples of such omission are found in lines 5, 110, 138, 229, 250; while lines 58, 72, 194, 217 are instances of insertion.

Space will not allow me to exhibit all the cases of variation in detail; but I have marked with an asterisk in the table of divergences all those which seem to me reasonably clear examples of emendation. If the reader cares to compare them with the printed texts, he will, I think, be convinced that my contention is not fanciful.

But who is this skilful reviser, and why does he stop his work at line 250? It is, of course, possible to assume that the A archetype was the work of two scribes, one an inventive and poetical man who deliberately 'edited' the text before him, the other, who took up the work at line 250, a sober, accurate man who copied what he found before him. My own belief, however, is that the reviser is none other than Chaucer himself. That Chaucer was a conscious literary artist is admitted, I suppose, by all critics. That he was in the habit of revising his own work is attested by the complete reworking of the *Knichtes Tale*, and by the two versions of the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*.<sup>1</sup> If we may accept the theory advanced by Koch, and adopted by Ward and Skeat, that the *Parlement of Foules* was an occasional poem written to celebrate the nuptials of Richard II. and Anne of Bohemia, it may well enough have been composed in some hurry, in anticipation of a particular day. Evidence of such hurry is to be found in the abrupt way in which the poem ends.

When the festivities of the royal wedding were at an end, we may suppose that Chaucer set himself to the task of revising and polishing his work, before permitting its wider circulation. But every one knows Chaucer's sad habit of leaving his work half done. Revision is a tedious task anyway; and the poet, with scant leisure at his disposal, was impatient for fresh woods and pastures new. The revision was completed up to line 250, and then postponed to that more convenient other time which never came.

It will follow, then, if the theory here presented be received, that the critical text of the *Parlement of Foules* must accept the readings of the A group of MSS. in preference to those of the C group, except in the few instances in which the A archetype exhibits manifest scribal error, notably in line 178. The readings of the C archetype, when not clearly erroneous, should be given in the foot-notes as representing Chaucer's earlier version of the poem.

ROBERT K. ROOT.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

<sup>1</sup> Compare also Professor Lounsbury's remarks on the unfinished *Squieres Tale* in his *Studies in Chaucer* 3. 317-8.

*Select Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge.* Arranged in Chronological Order, with Introduction and Notes, by Andrew J. George, A. M., Department of English Literature, Newton High School. Boston : D. C. Heath and Company. 1902. Pp. xlvi, 410.

The compiler of this volume is already known as a student of the Wordsworth-Coleridge period, although in no true sense an original investigator. His present work is not uncharacteristic; it is an accumulation of material hardly assimilated sufficiently by the author to be called entirely his own, and not always accurately enough transcribed to be considered the property of any one else. Inaccuracy, which is absent from the text of the *Select Poems*, abounds in Mr. George's Notes and in his Introduction.

This 'Introduction' is a maze of quotations; of poetry, from Thomson, Collins, Gray, from MacPherson, Percy, Chatterton, from Cowper and Burns, supposedly illustrative of literary tendencies and influences that culminated in Coleridge; of prose criticism, from Matthew Arnold, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Gosse, whom the editor summons to his aid, between stanzas, in the interests of transition. Mr. George's faulty handling of excerpts from Cowper and Burns has been noticed in the *Nation*, Feb. 26, 1903, 'Notes.' Space forbids detailing here all the carelessness of citation in his Introduction; an instance or so may suffice. On page xx Mr. George says of Collins' *Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland*: 'The ninth stanza is typical of the entire poem.' That Mr. George should give the first line of stanza 9, in some versions stanza 11, thus :

Unbounded is thy rage; with varied style,

when the reading ought to be :

Unbounded is thy range; with varied skill,

is typical of his accuracy. Of the general looseness of connection in Mr. George's varied style, a passage on page xxxix may serve as an example. The editor ventures: 'It seems that Cowper read Burns in July, 1797, for he then wrote: "I think them on the whole a very extraordinary production."' In Mr. George's context there is no grammatical antecedent for the pronoun 'them,' unless the word 'Burns.' Such want of sequence in detail is symptomatic of inconsequence in the Introduction as a whole. A greater than

Mr. George would have difficulty in organizing into a concrete essay the heterogeneous matter with which the preliminary pages of this book are filled.

One's regret in writing thus severely is not lessened by the real need of some such book as Mr. George has tried to give to the student in school and to the public. For the school and for the general reader Coleridge, in smaller measure, it is true, than Wordsworth, should be relieved from some of the 'poetical baggage' 'encumbering' his poems of highest merit, as they stand in his complete works. Coleridge deserves also a sympathetic and enlightened introduction to his reader of this generation; an appreciation and a broad criticism of his literary work, to take place as a masterpiece at the side of the standard *Life*. We possess the one; we have a right to hope for the other. As Wordsworth awaits his Dykes Campbell, so Coleridge his Arnold.

One part of the double duty incumbent on the Coleridge anthologist, Mr. George has, indeed, performed reasonably well. His love for Coleridge's poems, and his acquaintance with much of the literature concerning them, have enabled him for the most part to disengage what is characteristic and excellent in the poet from what is colorless and of interest only to the special student. This or that particular piece, for example, the *Water Ballad*, to which we shall refer below, might have been omitted from the *Select Poems*; of course, no two people in a choice with so wide a range would make exactly the same selection. Mr. George offers us a representative body of Coleridge's poetry on a fair page, and in good, legible type.

No direct mention is made of the source of the text. The text of the *Select Poems*, so far as my comparisons show, follows without variation that of the Globe Edition; wherein the writer for the *Nation* may find the two readings which he contests, justified for Mr. George, or for the printer.

Mr. George's Notes are arranged on a laudable plan. Since, as we read in the sub-title, the *Select Poems* are ordered chronologically, the Notes, which are largely biographical, present a running comment on the poet's life, as it bears upon his best and most typical poetry. Unfortunately, because the individual notes lack reference to page of text, their use is mechanically difficult. It is easier to turn in the Globe Edition, as Mr. George must often have done, from a given poem in the text, with date of composition appended, back to the corresponding year, marked at the top of the page, in the introductory biography. The student may still be advised to do

this. Mr. George states that, while he has gathered material for the Notes during past study and teaching of the poet, he is indebted for much to the *Life* and the *Poetical Works* by Dykes Campbell. He says further, page vii : ' The dates prefixed to the poems give the time of writing and of first publication respectively, so far as they can be ascertained. In some instances when it has been impossible to fix the exact date of composition I have conjectured the date from certain events in the poet's life . . . ' The present writer, who seriously objects to the slightest approach to confusion of two problems so different in nature as those of date of composition, not so often discoverable, and date of first publication, usually to be learned by patient search, has been unable to find a single place where Mr. George has added real information about either sort of dates, or about any point whatsoever in the poet's biography, to the accurate stock of knowledge bequeathed us by Coleridge's lamented biographer.

Instead, when one begins anywhere to follow Mr. George's researches to their source, one is likely to find such bungling as follows. The Globe Edition, page 571, describes the poem, *On a Discovery made too late*, thus :

' First printed in *Poems*, 1796, as " Effusion XIX.," but in the " Contents " it was called " To my own heart." '

Mr. George, sparing his authority the embarrassment of a reference, renders this, page 310 :

' First printed in *Poems*, 1796, an " *Effusion xxx*" but in " contents " was called *To My Other Heart*.'

Had Mr. George been thoroughly anxious to obtain the latest and most accurate data concerning Coleridge's poems, he would have availed himself at least of Mr. Hutchinson's remarks upon the Globe Edition in the *Academy*, June 13, 1893. He would then have dated the *Water Ballad*, page 355, not '? 1799,' as Dykes Campbell gives it, but '? after 1826.' And if, having seen it branded by a competent critic as a ' very poor and colorless ' translation of E. de Planard's *Barcarolle de Marie*, he had decided still to include it among the *Select Poems*, he could scarcely have cared to perpetuate a mistaken conjecture that we had here to deal with an adaptation from the German.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare also Dykes Campbell's queried date, '? 1799,' for *The Visit of the Gods*, with Mr. George's more assured transcription, page 355, ' 1799.' As Dr. J. L. Haney points out in his dissertation, *The German Influence on Samuel*

Space forbids a rehearsal of all the slips in Mr. George's Notes. However, his mangling of Dorothy Wordsworth's *Journal* (page 184; cf. Knight's *Life of Wordsworth*, 1889, 1. 134) and of Wordsworth's *To H. C., Six years old* (page 373; cf. *Wordsworth's Works, Globe Edition* 184), must receive at least passing notice; they belong with the remarkable readings in the Greek on page 342 and the German on pages 355, 370, observed by the *Nation*; they throw light, perhaps, on the nature of those results of the editor's study and teaching with which he supplements the labors of Dykes Campbell; they are on a par with the careless English style of portions of the editorial matter not within quotation-marks; with the slipshod habit of making Coleridge, Addison, Burns, and the rest, 'voice' their 'sentiments'; with the editor's varied skill in referring to each of a dozen short poems as 'this little poem.'

It is charitable to suppose that the editor, either unconsciously, or under pressure of academical demands, has fallen in this volume upon a task beyond his powers; that the large claims of his subject have weakened his grasp of detail. A less pretentious editorial apparatus, at once more simple and more exact, would have proved as useful for the school. For the general reader, if the book were to reach him, some entire one of the appreciations of Coleridge already existing in English by good hands would make an introduction more adequate than is furnished by a medley of quotations from many critics. Perhaps, however, until the ideal criticism of Coleridge shall appear, one could not do better than to prefix to such a volume a condensed and guarded paraphrase of Professor Brandl's well-known attempt. Whatever happens, let the editing be accurate and unified. The present writer imagines that young students, though unaware of it, are not uninfluenced by the spirit of inaccuracy in a book.

L. COOPER.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

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*Taylor Coleridge*, Philadelphia, 1902, p. 15, a reference in Crabb Robinson's *Diary* 1. 196, places the date of Coleridge's translation in all likelihood after 1810.

*Ordenes Liv.* Kristoffer Nyrop. Köbenhavn. Det Schubothske Forlag, 1901. Pp. 239.

In ten chapters Professor Nyrop gives a popular presentation of the main phenomena of semasiology. While intended primarily as a popular treatise it offers abundant new material and new points of view, so that even the specialist will find ample food for thought in this delightfully entertaining book. The main problems of the science are discussed and illustrated by numerous well-chosen examples taken largely from Danish and French, but also from German, English, Swedish, Spanish and other languages. The first fifty-six pages, or nearly one-fourth of the book, are devoted to various forms of euphemism,—synecdoche, litotes, antiphrasis, aposiopesis, the use of loan-words, euphemism in the use of words for oaths, the devil, death, insanity, bodily illness, crimes, vices, theft, deception, falsehood, drunkenness, the process of digestion, parts of the body and of one's dress, etc., etc., and finally the opposite process, cacophemism, a use of words that is due to a superstitious fear that beautiful names or designations will bring misfortune by arousing the jealousy of the gods. Thus the Calif Matavakhil, it is told, called his wife *Kahibat* (the black) just because of her great beauty. It is even to-day a wide-spread superstition that praising an object too much will bring ill-luck; the Slovenes, e. g., upon seeing a new-born child, call out: *ti gerdoba* (thou frightful one), and in Silesia a beautiful child is called *Schweinhund* or *Schweinbraten*. In Corsica to say to a child *che tu sia maladetto* is supposed to bring it good fortune. The author sees a relic of this custom in many of our terms of endearment, which are in themselves terms of reproach or reproof, as *Utske*, *Trold*, *vilain*, *petit monstre*, *rogue*, etc. In the second chapter the author discusses a class of intermediate words, *voces mediae*, words that have a neutral meaning of such a nature, that possibilities are present for development in opposite directions. "In order to understand this condition it should be borne in mind, that the meaning of words is not stable, but is conditioned in the majority of cases by the context, every new sentence combination may give a new shade of meaning to a word. . . . There are moreover in our speech a host of 'silent implications' (stiltiende underforståelser), implied meanings; one omits quite commonly characterizing adjectives or adverbs because they are felt to be superfluous, cf. Dan. *han har Manerer* = he has (bad) manners, and *han har ingen Manerer* =



he has no (good) manners. When in Holberg's *Melampe* 3, Scene 5, Oldflux says: *Polidorus har udvælget ham til den Forretning, saasom han har Tanker om hans Ærlighed* (Polidorus has selected him for that business as he has a good opinion of his honesty), *gode*, good, is implied with *Tanker* as indicated by the context. Similarly *bonnes* is implied with *qualités* in the well-known French proverb: *nous avons tous les défauts de nos qualités*. Ordinarily it is such qualifiers as *good* or *bad*, *lucky* or *unlucky*, *favorable* or *unfavorable* that are implied. In *Han er ikke født* (He is not born), the title of one of H. C. Anderson's comedies, it is *ædelt*, 'of a noble family,' that is the implied qualifier. Thus ellipsis plays a very important rôle in Semantic change. Many words which designate fame, ill-repute, praise, blame, have originally had merely an intermediate or neutral meaning. The author observes that such neutral words especially often develop in an unfavorable direction, but he does not subscribe to the explanation which attributes such deterioration in meaning to pessimism.<sup>1</sup> Such deterioration in meaning, it is suggested, has its origin rather in a certain linguistic delicacy: if something is good, then we call it by its proper name; if it is bad, we avoid designating it as such and permit the meaning to be guessed. In this optimistic view Nyrop agrees in the main with Bréal, though with some reservations in that he admits that there are a few cases that cannot thus be explained (cf. also Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie* II, 446-449). On pages 69-76 are discussed antitheses and their common basic meanings,—words for fortune and misfortune, advantage and disadvantage, gain and loss, joy and sorrow, friend and enemy. "Joy and sorrow may meet in the neutral 'strong emotion,' . . . . An expression like *témoigner son ressentiment* meant in the 17th century to show one's joy as well as to show one's sorrow,—how the word *ressentiment* was to be understood, depended wholly on the circumstances; in present speech the meanings sorrow, resentment have prevailed, as with the Spanish *sentimiento*." In Chapters 3 and 4, pp. 78-113 are discussed certain phases of specialization and generalization including transference. The author's method has necessarily here and in the

<sup>1</sup>As early as 1863 Reinhold Bechstein noted this tendency in a large body of German words in an article entitled 'Ein pessimistischer Zug in der Entwicklung der Wortbedeutungen,' *Germania* 3. 80 ff., where some forty words are discussed, including: *Pfaffe, Knecht, Dierne, Wicht, Kerl, elend, feig, Gift, gleissen, List, Pöbel, versucht, Schuld, Wahn, Wucher, schlecht, Minne, Liebe, Wollust*, etc., etc.

following chapters: 5 Metaphors, 6 Catachresis, 7 Defective names and appellatives, lead to occasional repetition, something that could not easily be avoided where the aim was not logical classification but a popular presentation of general tendencies. It is clear that the author's examples of 'stiltende underforståelser,' p. 63, are also examples of a particular form of specialization, viz: specialization by the subtraction of modifying elements, as when Holberg uses *födt* in the particular sense of *ædelt födt*. And so in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are taken up problems, in part, that are, strictly speaking, forms of generalization, likewise Chapters 8, the influence of sound harmony on the meaning, and 9, influence of form, although each of these phases or tendencies are sufficiently isolated to be treated separately. In Chapter 3, on specialization, is discussed specialization in various directions, illustrated e. g. by the Danish word *Operation* as used by a physician, a financier or a military officer. This process which Greenough and Kittredge, *Words and their Ways in English Speech*, N. Y., 1900, have so excellently named 'radiation' is from one point of view a form of generalization.<sup>1</sup> After all, these processes belong to one and the same semasiological category. So also amelioration and deterioration belong in one category. The author's second chapter, on neutral words, *voces mediae*, contains excellent illustrative material of these processes. The scope of generalization and specialization is well nigh endless and the processes are constantly going on. There are always new things, new activities calling for names, new ideas to be stamped with language symbols. Sometimes new names are created, but more often old words are made to serve new uses, and so we have again generalization or specialization as the case may be. On specialization in various directions or radiation I will cite the author, page 88: "We see thus, how our common stock of words is variously colored. We all speak the same language, employ essentially the same words, but give to the words, nevertheless, more or less divergent meanings, according to circumstances. Within the common speech are necessarily developed separate speech-classes, each belonging to a separate class of individuals that are bound together by common interests, common occupation or residence in one locality. Such class-speeches may be quite different

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Paul's well known distinction of 'usual' and 'occasional' meanings. On the whole subject of radiation, individual specialization, transference of things spatially, temporally or causally see Paul's *Principles of Language* (1889) pp. 65-91.

in extent and kind. One class may, e. g., embrace the inhabitants of a single section of the country; it may embrace the population of a whole city as opposed to that of the surrounding country; it may embrace a single stratum or class of the population or a single profession or occupation, . . . and within each of these classes and professions may again be found many subdivisions. . . . And so general terms are specialized in various directions; their meaning depends both on the speaker's social station and on the circumstances and conditions present."<sup>1</sup> Interesting examples of generalization are offered by the word 'Latin' and derivatives in the different languages. In Spanish *latinado* means a teacher of foreign languages, an interpreter. Since Latin was formerly the key to all knowledge, the word was also used as synonymous with knowledge and frequently in the sense of ability, dexterity, cunning. So in Spanish still *sabe mucho Latin* means to be shrewd. In French *être au bout de son latin* means to be at a loss what to do, be at one's wit's end, as in German *da ist mein Latein zu Ende*, which becomes catachresis in the expression: *Im Griechischen ist mein Latein zu Ende*. Latin was the language of the learned; to the laity it was inaccessible, and was therefore used as an expression for something unintelligible; with the same meaning *græsk* (Greek) was later used in Denmark, which has now been replaced by *hebraisk* (Hebrew), as *det er hebraisk for mig*, and in French *c'est de l'hébreu pour moi*. Cf. our American *it is all Greek to me* (and more recently *it is all Chinese to me*, and the college student's use of 'Dutch' in the same way). The author cites the similar use of *allemand* in French which is significant historically. Catachresis, or the use of a word in a meaning that stands in logical contradiction to the usual one, or the grouping of two or more expressions that are contradictory in their ordinary meaning forms the subject of chapter 8. Particularly interesting is this phenomenon as

<sup>1</sup> It is especially this phase of the study to which Erdmann devotes the greater part of his book, *Die Bedeutung des Wortes*. Leipzig, 1900. See there pp. 1-77. Of particular interest in his 5th chapter, *Nebensinn und Gefühls-werth der Worte—Obertöne*—pp. 78-133. Erdmann distinguishes three elements in words: 1, den begrifflichen Inhalt von grösserer oder geringerer Bestimmtheit; 2, den Nebensinn; 3, den Gefühlswerth (oder Stimmungshalt), adding: Und ich verstehe unter dem Nebensinn alle die Begleit- und Nebenvorstellungen, die ein Wort gewohnheitsmässig und unwillkürlich in uns auflöst, unter dem Gefühlswerth oder Stimmungshalt alle reactiven Gefühle und Stimmungen die es erzeugt (p. 82).

observed in numerals and color words (p. 153 ff.) and in ordinary turns of expression (Ger. *ins Fäustchen lachen*, Dan. *at le i Skægget*, Ital. *ridere sotto i baffi*, of which the dictionaries expressly state *anche di donne*. Cf. also Spanish *mentir por mitad de la barba*.) In the impossible: *Sie gab einem todten Knäblein das Leben*, she gave birth to a still-born child, the catachresis is due to a thoughtless use of the expression *das Leben geben*. But it would require more space than I can take to follow out the many interesting lines of thought. Enough has been given to show the character of the book and the method of treatment. The last four chapters deal with the relation of form to meaning,—sound-harmony as an element in style and meaning—change the influence of the form of words, folk-etymology, etc., etc. It was the error of early etymologists to derive words that had no etymological connection from one another, because of accidental similarities of form, an error that perhaps reached its climax with Rudbeck's *Atlantica* according to which Plato's *Atlantis* was the Northmen's *Midgard*, *Atland* was the department of *Oland* in Sweden, *Ponthos* was the bay of *Bothnay*, etc. The last chapter, 10, forms a valuable contribution to the author's *Navnets Magt*, Köbenhavn, 1887. It is shown how in numerous cases the function of a patron saint has been fixed in the course of time, not with reference to his life or work, but exclusively with regard to his name. Thus Saint Expeditus, Lat. Sanctus Expeditus. All that is known of this saint is that he once suffered martyrdom in Armenia, possibly under Diocletian. Of miracles performed by him nothing is recorded. When, however, Saint Expédit is worshipped in France as *le patron des causes pressées* it is due entirely to the name, in accordance with the belief that Divinity bestows upon sainted men and women powers and characteristics that harmonize with their name. So among Catholics in Germany Heiliger Expeditus is 'Besonderer Patron um glückliche und fertige Ausrichtung aller Geschäfte Amts- Standes- Haus- Verrichtungen und Reisen' according to an inscription on an Austrian image of the saint. Saint Corneille (Pope Cornelius) has become the protecting patron of the peasantry, because he is supposed to extend his protection especially over *les bêtes à corne*, etc., etc.

The author expects to treat more fully elsewhere some of the subjects dealt with in this volume merely in outline, especially chapters 2 and 6. Popularizations of the right kind may be productive of much good and cannot be too highly commended. I know of no work on the subject written in recent years that better

combines charm of treatment with scholarly insight into semasiological processes. Nyrop's book, furthermore, contains a mass of new material, which makes it a highly important contribution to the study of this youngest of the sciences—Semasiology.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

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A Dictionary of the English and Dano-Norwegian Languages by John Brynildsen. Danisms supervised by Johannes Magnussen. English Pronunciation by Otto Jespersen. Part 1 (A-M). Pp. 727. Part 2 (N-Pouncet-box). Pp. 176. Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1902.

Danish and Norwegian Students of English and English writers of Danish have for many years felt the need of a new English-Danish dictionary. The standard work, S. Rosing's, which in its day was very excellent, has become obsolete, as no changes have been made in it since the appearance of the sixth edition in 1887. This is due not to lack of enterprise on the part of the publishers, for the new work comes from the same house, but because of an unfortunate provision by the editor that no changes should be made in the book after his death except those indicated in his papers. While Larsen's Danish-English dictionary has been steadily improved and extended, the corresponding work of Rosing has remained at a standstill. It can thus be seen that a new book was not merely desirable, it was absolutely necessary.

The first question that naturally suggests itself in connection with a review of the new work, the first volume and part of the second volume of which are before us, is its relation to the old one, both as to quantity and quality. Exact comparisons under the first head would be difficult to make, since the mechanical make-up of the two works is so very different, but some general idea of the superiority of the new book may be gained from the following. The letter *a* in R. extends to the middle of page 20, in B. to the latter part of page 65. The difference is even greater than these figures indicate, as in B. words from the same root are usually placed in the same paragraph, and as a result there are fewer incomplete lines. Volume I of B. contains 727 pages, almost 200 more than Rosing's

whole work, and the portion of R. extending through *n*, is only 302 pages. A no less significant difference is that shown by the words found in R. that have been omitted in B. In all early international dictionaries a large number of entirely useless, sometimes non-existent, words was traditionally accepted. Not every word that occurs in an unabridged dictionary can be given a place in the columns of such a dictionary, especially, when, as with Danish works, business conditions make condensation more than commonly necessary. On the first page of R. occur the following 16 words not found in B.: *abacist*, *abacot*, *abactor*, *abaisance*, *abalienator*, *abalienation*, *abannation*, *abare*, *abarticulation*, *abbe*, *abbreviature*, *abdicant*, *abditive*, *abditory*, *abear*, *aberrance*, *aberrancy*. Of these all but *abalienation* and *abdicant* may safely be regarded as padding, whose omission is the student's gain. Of the words that have been added in B. very few seem to come under this head.

The most marked single point of superiority of B. over R. is the indication of the pronunciation of all words. In R. only the accentuation is indicated for all words, the pronunciation being added in the cases of special difficulty. The name of the Editor in charge of this important department is sufficient guarantee that modern scientific methods have been carefully applied. Special attention is paid to the pronunciation of proper names, very few of which were included in B. It would be going too far to say that no mistakes have been made, yet it must be admitted that the result is surprisingly good. It is especially gratifying to find so intelligent a treatment of the pronunciation of American names. Still another improvement, which places B in the first class of international dictionaries, is the large number of quotations from modern books and periodicals. The choice is not limited to the more familiar authors, but shows a range that is gratifyingly broad. Kipling was noted more frequently than any other one living writer. Many of the technical sea terms are taken from Cooper's *The Two Admirals*. Both Florence Marryat and Ouida were also noted.

The addition of Dano-Norwegian forms, which includes orthographical differences, while it is of less importance to English users of the dictionary than in Larsen, is a marked improvement, which must be especially appreciated by all Norwegian students. As in Larsen, Norwegianisms are distinguished by stars.

The question of what proper names to include in an international dictionary is always difficult. It is clearly impossible to make the list even approximately exhaustive and at the same time the

foreign reader of English books must frequently desire guidance in the matter of pronunciation. The best plan would seem to be to include all such proper names as may offer special difficulty of pronunciation, especially those that admit of two pronunciations. Anything beyond this is extralexicographical and borders upon the encyclopaedic. In the present work no such distinction is drawn and much information is given about names that does not seem to belong here. Thus, a large number of the characters in Dickens is given, with a reference to the places where they occur and with an occasional brief description of the character. In many cases the dates of historical characters are stated, together with some of the details of their lives. These particulars appear to be given with great accuracy, only occasional printers' errors having been noticed, but frequently this seems to be love's labors lost. As instances of unnecessary entries may be noted the following: *Becky, Boffin, Burns, Dibdin, Dickens, Ellen*. The account of the pronunciation of *Elia* ("Thus [with short e] Lamb himself wished it to be pronounced: now many say *i-lja*."') is beside the mark. The first pronunciation, though undoubtedly correct, would be regarded as affected by most persons. This last, however, may serve as a good example of the class of words that should be included.

Turning now to the proper names with an eye to possible omissions and errors in detail, we note the following: *Abelard, Abner* and *Abram* are not given, although *Heloise* and *Abraham* are. Under *Absolute* is given *Captain*, who is described as a despotic person, in confusion with his father *Sir Anthony*, who is not mentioned. The whole is a good example of an unnecessary entry. *Achitopol* is evidently a misprint, as the pronunciation is correctly given. *Actæon* should have been included, because of the possible difficulty of accentuation. *Barmecide* is referred to in connection with *The Arabian Nights* but without mention of Dickens. *The Battery*, in New York, occurs so frequently in fiction and elsewhere that it deserves a place. The two pronunciations of *Beaconsfield* are given, with the statement that the one with the short vowel is local, which is only in part true, as this form is generally used even in this country by careful speakers. *Beethoven* is also given two pronunciations, although the English sounding of the *h* is undoubtedly rare. *Biron* deserves a place, on account of the conventional pronunciation. *Bruges* is given only as a dissyllable, although the monosyllabic form is undoubtedly much the commoner in America. By a slip *Chaucer's* first name is spelled *Jeoffroy*. *Elsinore* is given only with

the accent on the last syllable. *Howells* is missing, *Jersey City* is called a town *i Staten Jersey* and *Philadelphia* is called *Hovedstaden i Penn.* *Natty Leatherstocking* is not a Cooper compound. If proper names are to be included on a large scale *Plymouth Church* certainly deserves a place.

Of even greater difficulty than the question of proper names is the treatment of obsolete words. It is not practicable within the limits of a work like this to attempt to include all the obsolete words occurring even in Shakspeare, to say nothing of Shakspeare's contemporaries and successors. On the other hand, it would be quite at variance with tradition to exclude words of this class altogether. An examination of the first scene of *Hamlet* shows that the following words occurring there are not found in the dictionary: *jump*, as adv., *parle*, *joint-labourer*, *avouch*, *emulate*, as adj., *compulsative*, *climature*. *Argal*, on the other hand, in the grave-diggers' scene, was noted. A similar result was reached from an examination of one of the *Essays of Elia*. Even such Lamb favorites as *agnise* and *arride* were lacking. This is sufficient to show that completeness in this direction is not attempted.

In the treatment of Americanisms very little attempt is made to distinguish between standard and provincial forms. Such words as *hired girl* and *hired man*, for example, are given as Americanisms without qualification. *Not a circumstance*, however, is credited as an American colloquialism. The first two cases noted hardly seem to fall under the head of Americanisms, they are *all-to-pieces* and *Prince Albert coat*. This latter is better rendered by *Diplomat Frakke* than by *Surtout*. With unconscious satire on Wall St., *Bucket-shop* is translated (*simpelt*) *Spillehus*. *Buffalo robe*, often used without the first part, should have been added to the list of compounds, as its use is often misunderstood even by British readers. *Buggy* is not distinguished in B. as an Americanism and it is incorrectly rendered as *Gig*, *Trille*. The compounds, *side-bar* and *top-buggy* might properly be given a place. *Canned corn* is not given as an Amer. and *corn* should be rendered as *Majs*. *Dago*, which is given as a slang and nautical name for Spaniards and Portuguese, is more often used of Italians and is certainly commoner in this country than in England. The statement that the idiom *is graduated* is the common one in the U. S. is open to question. *Graft* is given as a slang word for 'work,' but without reference to its use in American political slang. Neither *green goods* nor *Jersey lightning* as an American slang word occurs. *Heifer* for woman or wife is given



on the authority of Mark Twain and De Vere. *Lope* as prov. Amr. for gallop, is misleading, as it is not provincial and means something slightly different from gallop. *Pervade*, in the sense of 'go through,' if it is an Americanism is certainly slang, as is also *meat bill* for *ménu*. A rather unexpected word is *poudre-day*, meaning a snow storm.

In the matter of pronunciations the treatment of Americanisms is remarkably full and exact. Although of course not all such forms have been included, as absolute fullness in this as in other classes is an aim not an accomplishment in lexicography, a careful examination has failed to disclose any actual errors. It may be added that in a bilingual dictionary the giving of American pronunciations is far less important than the giving of forms and meanings peculiar to this country, since the great majority of the Scandinavian users of the work prefer to use the English of London, whereas the time has long since passed when Sydney Smith's question 'Who ever reads an American book?' applied with any force.

In order to test informally how far disputed pronunciations are given, a number of words belonging under this head in *Hefte 2* was examined, with the following results. Only one pronunciation, usually the commonest British one, is given of these words: *aria*, with long *a* in the first syllable, *arsenic*, *Aryan*, *association*, *asthma*, *Athanasian*, *ballet*, *banana*, with broad *a* in the second syllable, *banyan*, *bastion*. It would clearly be confusing to many users of the dictionary to give all four pronunciations of *asthma* or *Athanasian*, or the three pronunciations of *bastion*. But in some of these cases as well as in a number of others a slightly greater fullness would have been desirable. An example of the care with which Dr. Jespersen has attempted to indicate American pronunciations is shown in the two forms of *Lima*: *laimə* for the Indiana town and *li'mə* for the Peruvian capital. The second pronunciation of *Cairo*, however, which is more important to the foreign reader through the unfortunate connection of the Illinois town with Martin Chuzzlewit, is not given. The statement about the sound of *Chicago*, while it is not quite exact, is interesting. The form *f'ikā go* is given first, with the added statement, "in England often *f'ika'go*." It is probable that there are many Easterners as well as Englishmen who have never even heard the first pronunciation. This is undoubtedly the correct one, however, on the principle that local usage is correct usage for geographical names. Under *New Orleans* the usual pronunciation is given as that with the accent on the first syllable of

the second part, that with the accent on the last syllable and with long *i* as the local form. It might be added that, whether the last is the local form or not, it is certainly the mercantile pronunciation when the word is used to designate a kind of molasses.

The following omissions and slight errors in common nouns were noted. The question of inserting a word is often a matter of personal judgment or taste. The only criterion is the degree of probability that the word will occur in the ordinary reading or speech of a Dane or a Norwegian using English either at home or abroad. It is clearly impossible to give all technical terms and in Dano-Norwegian as in German the necessity for including a large number of recent foreign derivatives is reduced by the general use of dictionaries of foreign words, which may be regarded as supplementary to other dictionaries.

Under *academy*, the secondary meaning *Universitet* is incorrect. *Ambrotype*, *anxious seat* (American religious slang), *argot*, *alfalfa* and *allegro* would seem to deserve a place. Under *agnus dei* should be added a reference to the chant. *Barkeeper* is inaccurately rendered by *Krovaert*. *Bath bun*, *Belgian hare*, *breeches-buoy*, *bull* (in the slang sense), *charlotte de russe*, *China-town* and *cocker spaniel* are missing and *Calliope whistle* is not included under the leading word. Under *colored lady*, *gentleman* occurs a foot-note with the extraordinary statement that to call a negro by any other name is regarded in the U. S. as an insult. *Colored person*, the really common term, is not given at all. The treatment of *episcopal* is insufficient, especially in connection with American conditions. The rendering *Lutheran Episcopal* by *Evangelisk Luthersk* is misleading and there is no reference to the special use of the word in the titles *Protestant Episcopal* and *Methodist E.* The Amer. provincial use of *Episcopal* as a noun might give trouble to Danish readers, and should have been given a place. The explanation under *firstly* that it is old for *first* is clearly wrong, as is also the reference to *illy* as provincial and Amer. Under *immortal* should be given the forty of the French Academy. The phrase *Job's comforters* is found in its literal meaning but not in the derived application. Under *League* should be given the use of the word in this country in connection with base ball as well as *Union League*. *Margin* is given in one of its mercantile meanings but not in the other and the obsolete form *margent* is missing. The identity in application of *lemon squash* and Amer. *lemonade* is not made clear, the latter evidently being confounded with the European manufactured article.

It would be ungrateful to close this notice without repeating an expression of satisfaction at the appearance of this admirable work. Its faults are so few and its virtues are so many that it can be safely recommended to the student. Continued use will undoubtedly bring out other mistakes and omissions, but it can hardly affect one's opinion of the admirable plan and the consistent attempt at thoroughness.

DANIEL KILHAM DODGE.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

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Andreas Heusler: *Die lieder der lücke im Codex Regius der Edda* (Sonderabdruck aus "Germanistische Abhandlungen," Hermann Paul zum 17 März, 1902 dargebracht), Strassburg, Trübner.

Any one who has been engaged in the study of the old Eddic lays knows that the famous principal MS. in which they are found, *Codex Regius* 2365, 4<sup>to</sup>, in the old Royal collection in the Great Royal Library of Copenhagen is defective. There has, unfortunately, been lost a whole form of eight leaves; that this is the number that has been lost can be assumed with the greatest degree of probability, since the forms in the old Icelandic vellums in general consist of eight leaves. This is also the case with the preserved forms in *Codex Regius* except the last which has only five, clearly because the writer could calculate that he did not need more than that for the rest of the lays in the collection.

It is not a difficult matter to tell how many strophes there were on the eight leaves. According to the usual number given the second *Lay of Guðrún* to and including *Guðrúnorhvot*, which takes up c. 16 pages in the Codex (together with inconsiderable prose parts) contain about 260 strophes. Although this number is by no means exact (more exact would it be, for example, if the verses were counted), it is nevertheless probably not far from correct. Here account must, however, be taken of the fact that between the separate poems there may have been, and it is reasonable to suppose have been, larger or smaller prose parts, which would reduce the number of strophes accordingly. Much more than c. 250 ordinary strophes we are hardly justified in assuming to have been contained in the lacuna.

It is known beyond a doubt, that this part included (1) the end of the *Sigrdrífumál*, (2) the beginning (the first part, the two first thirds, or whatever the amount may have been) of the poem the end of which is found on the first leaf after the lacuna. It may be supposed that the contents corresponded to chapters 21 (the end: the end of *Sigrdr.*) to chapter 29 (30), in *Völsungasaga*, which both before and after are based on the poems of the Edda before and after the lacuna. This relation is important evidence. The question is now, how much of this (especially chapters 22-29 of the saga) rests on poems, how many and which were they.

It is this question that Professor A. Heusler has investigated with greater thoroughness and acuteness than anyone before him. The chapters of the saga mentioned contain the following: chapter 22 is a description of Sigurd Fáfnisbane which without the least doubt has been taken from the *Þiðrekssaga*. This chapter Heusler leaves entirely out of account, and accepts that it has been taken from *Þiðrekss.* (p. 3). Chapters 23-24 treat of Sigurd with Heime, where Brynhild is and where Sigurd accidentally sees her as he is pursuing his falcon who has lighted at Brynhild's tower-window. Chapters 25-29 treat of the Gjukungs and Sigurd's relation to them, of Gunnar and Brynhild approximately to where Brynhild induces Gunnar to kill Sigurd, and falsely accuses him of breach of faith with Gunnar (or to Str. 6, 12 ff. of *Sigurðarkv. sk.*). Chapter 25 relates Gudrun's dreams and a conversation between her and Brynhild, who interprets her dreams; Chapter 26, Sigurd's coming to Gjuke and marriage with Gudrun; Chapter 27 Gunnar's wooing of Brynhild, Sigurd's ride through the flame in Gunnar's form and finally their wedding; Chapter 28 tells of a conversation between Gudrun and Brynhild, in which the latter learns of the deceit that has been practiced upon her: in these two chapters three strophes in fornyrðislag are given; in Chapter 29 are described Brynhild's grief, Sigurd's conversation with her and her vehement appeal to Gunnar to kill Sigurd; here also a verse is cited.

Professor Heusler accepts and attempts to establish, by an exhaustive analysis that this content (Chapters 23-29 and some passages in the following) rests on lost poems, that were in the lacuna. Of such he assumes four, namely: a falcon-poem (corresponding to Chapters 23-24) from the thirteenth century; a lay relating the dreams (cor. to most of 25) of the same age: a longer Sigurd lay, a longer lay from the later classical heroic period (beginning of the twelfth century?) and finally the first half of a

Sigurd lay from the heathen period (*Sigurðarkviða en forna*). The last half of this poem is *Brot of Sigurðarkviðu* (cf. VII, brief summary). In section VI Heusler tries to characterize each of these lays, and to give their relation to one another; this would seem to be, and indeed is, a venturesome undertaking, something that the author is fully conscious of.

Some of the author's results are attended by serious objections. First of all as a general objection it is highly improbable that our collection should contain lays from the thirteenth century. The youngest of the lays, *Grípisspá* is generally accepted to belong to the twelfth century, and it has obviously been included in the collection later. In general I do not have much faith in a theory of Eddic poems after 1200. But the two assumed by Heusler to belong after 1200 certainly could have originated in the twelfth century (been contemporary with *Grípisspá*).

I do not believe that there ever existed a *Lay of the Falcon*, or that 23-24 go back to such a lay. In my *Litteraturhistorie* I have assumed that these two chapters the internal character of which is very different and that are closely connected with the late fiction of *Áslaug* as a daughter of *Brynhild* and *Sigurd*, is a loan from elsewhere, just like the preceding chapter (from *Piðrekss.*), and it was not difficult to show whence it is borrowed, from the older saga of *Ragnar Loðbrok*; with this the contents agree admirably. I adhere to my former opinion with regard to this matter and cannot accept the author's statement when he says unreservedly that after *Sigrdrífumál* followed in the collection a passage, the contents of which we know from *Grip*. 19, 27-31 and from *Völs*. Chapters 23-77; nor can I accept his remarks against me (p. 32), for it is a matter of course that there must be some internal connection between Chapters 27 and 43 (*Áslaug*), even though the author or later redactor does not express himself more fully. As I have already said, I cannot admit that the author has succeeded in establishing the existence of a *Lay of the Falcon*. To this I desire to add that it is not to be assumed beforehand that the author of *Helreið* knew *Heimir*, for it does not mention the latter's name, but only *Hymdalir*, *Brynhild's* supposed home.

Then Heusler attempts (IV) to prove the existence of a lay relating the dreams, (the main part of Chapter 25). Here it seems to me we can more safely accept the author's position. Although it is not an easy matter to form a judgment of the prose chapter, the composition of which is exceedingly poor, a fact emphasized also by

the author himself (pp. 39-40), we can nevertheless assume that such a lay did exist. On the other hand, it does not seem to me that the author is correct in his characterization of the original poem (p. 44). I cannot refrain from stressing the great uncertainty, nay the uselessness, of attempting to pass judgment on a supposed poem based on an imperfect, and as the author believes interpolated, prose account. There is absolutely nothing that argues against accepting that the poem is from the twelfth or even the eleventh century. I do not see that there is any marked difference between these dreams and others as Heusler argues.

Finally as regards the remainder, Chapters 26-29, they are as Heusler says, all closely related with regard to contents. After having cited (v.) the various earlier opinions as to how many poems, these chapters are based on the author says that the last *i.e.* the view that I have held and expressed, namely that there was only one poem, is the more probable. But he adds, that the possibility should be considered as to whether there may not have been two poems, that have been combined in the prose. This is of course not impossible. His investigation here is very ingenious, though he seems at times to be straining the point somewhat. He comes to the conclusion, that there must have been two poems, *Sigurðarkviða en forna* and *Sigurðarkviða en meiri*, very different in style and age. I have assumed one poem (*Sigkv. en meiri*) which must have been a very long one, indeed the longest among the lays of the Edda, since it was this that caused that the so-called third Sigurd lay, which, as we know, contains over 70 strophes, was by contrast called "the short" (*en skamma*). I have believed it necessary to assume this, partly on account of the above mentioned close connection of parts in the saga and, in part, because the strophes cited in Chapters 27, 28, 29 are all the same formally and uniform with the Sigurd lay fragment. I must therefore hold to my view, that we need only assume one poem, *Sigurðarkviða en meiri*; but we need not assume that it had more than c. 150 strophes; the lay relating the dreams may have contained c. 50 strophes and the remainder of the 16 pages of the lacuna may have been taken up by prose parts; with these we must also reckon; nor is it known precisely how much of the *Sigrdrífumál* is missing, and finally there may have been a poem not known or used by the author of the *Völsungasaga*.

Nor can I here either agree with Heusler that on account of the character of the prose there were two poems different in style. It would lead too far to enter upon all points discussed by the author,

the reader must be referred to the work itself. On the whole I must say that with all the author's acuteness at reasoning and all due praise to his method, it seems to me entirely too risky an undertaking to aim to distinguish so unreservedly between separate poems, the spirit of their various authors, etc., and the time of origin of each—and all mainly on the basis of the account in the *Völundgasaga*. Suppose this could be done with Chapters 33–34 where *Atlakvíða* and *Atlamál* are combined into two chapters. If some acute scholar who did not before know these poems could make the attempt, but it would be difficult to find a man with Professor Heusler's qualifications.

Finally I may call the reader's attention especially to § 2, which I have not spoken of before. This chapter does not deal with the lacuna in the narrower sense, but discusses the much disputed and interesting question as to how far *Sigrdríf* (when will one cease using the incorrect and late form *Sigrdrifa*?) is identical with Brynhild. I have elsewhere expressed my opinion on this matter; I maintain still that *Sigrdríf* (against Symons) is a proper name, not an appellative, but emphasize (with Symons' views as lately developed) that the two were identical for the poets of the 10th century, and then of course also for all later poets. Nevertheless I have no hesitancy in accepting Professor Heusler's position when, after a long investigation, the details of which I cannot here enter upon, he arrives at the result (p. 23) that the two "von hause aus" were distinct. But the time when the two poems were individually independent lies far back of the 10th century.

There is no reason to dwell on details. Permit me to say, however, that *ástráð þín*, *Sigrdr.* 21 cannot possibly mean "der Besitz deiner Liebe" (p. 7) as the author translates, though hesitatingly.

In closing I wish to thank Professor Heusler for this highly important and excellent treatise, although I can only in part subscribe to his conclusions, and I urge all who are interested in the old heroic lays to read this instructive work.

FINNUR JÓNSSON.

COPENHAGEN.  
June, 1903.

*The Faire Maide of Bristow*, a Comedy now first reprinted from the Quarto of 1605. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Arthur Hobson Quinn, Instructor in English, University of Pennsylvania. (*Publications of the University of Pennsylvania: Series in Philology and Literature*, Vol. 8, No. 1.) Published for the University, Philadelphia, 1902. Ginn & Co., selling agents, Boston. Pp. 96.

The introduction of 26 pages treats of (1) the existing copies of the text, (2) the sources, (3) the authorship, (4) its position in a group of similar plays, (5) Tieck's translation into German (pub. 1895), (6) the constitution of the editor's own text. The text covers 48 pages, with original title-page reproduced in type, and comprises 1225 lines. The division into 5 acts and 13 scenes made by Tieck and his editor Bolte is followed. There are 4½ pages of notes, chiefly glossarial. The index of 5½ pages is rather full.

The immediate source seems to be the anonymous play, *A Pleasant conceited Comedie, Wherein is shewed how a man may chuse a good Wife from a bad*, variously ascribed to Heywood and to Joshua Cooke; this in turn comes from a story of Cintio's *Hecatommithi*. Mr. Quinn also finds some resemblances to *The London Prodigal* (pub. 1605). J. P. Collier's ascription of it to John Day, based on the identification of this play with 'a play called Bristo tragedi' by Henslowe, is supported by no other evidence than the similarity of the names. The internal evidence is massed as follows: 'The dramas of John Day are poetical and satirical, rich in vocabulary and classical allusion, fanciful in imagery, light and pointed in humor, and often obscure and involved on account of the very wealth of these characteristics. *The Faire Maide of Bristow* is written in clear, straightforward blank verse, in which the poetical element is not conspicuous, with limited vocabulary and almost entire freedom from allusion and satire. The humor is broad and the imagery is direct. An examination of the metre shows the play to be different from the works of Day in the main qualities of construction and arrangement. So that, considering the wealth of evidence on the negative and the slight foundation on which Collier's statement was based, it is safe to decide that *The Faire Maide of Bristow* was not written by John Day.'

As other possible authors, George Wilkins, Barnaby Barnes, and Robert Armin are suggested, but no definite ascription is found



possible beyond the strong probability that it was either an actor or a playwright closely connected with the stage.

The place of *The Faire Maide of Bristow* among plays treating of the sufferings of a faithful though ill-used wife is then considered. Mr. Quinn finds it to be intimately connected with four other plays running from 1602 to 1607. This leads him to postulate a more considerable interdependence of the dramas of this time than is generally supposed.

The text is that of the quarto of 1605 in the British Museum, reproduced faithfully (apparently with respect to spelling, capitalization, and punctuation, though this is not stated). Act and scene-numbers, stage-directions, and occasional omitted letters, are inserted in brackets. The foot-notes call attention to misprints, and suggest occasional rearrangement of passages to improve the versification. Mr. Quinn neglects to state whether the Bodleian quarto of 1605 and the British Museum quarto of 1605 are identical. This is not to be taken for granted. For instance, I have observed variants between two different copies of the 1612 quarto of Jonson's *The Alchemist*. Furthermore, I am not sure from the statement on p. 8 whether the English manuscript from which Tieck's translation was made has been determined to be a copy of the British Museum copy, or whether it may represent another copy or edition with small variations. Tieck's translation is pronounced accurate in the main. A more definite statement as to the exact filiation of this MS. is desirable. The insertion in text or notes of the places where the action is supposed to go on, so far as these are determinable, would add clearness, for changes of scene are often evident. In the note to line 182 a cut in the text between 181 and 182 is supposed. This I think is unnecessary, as the text is comprehensible as it stands.

An interesting testimony to the lack of reserved seats in the theatres of the time occurs (1122-4):

the graue is as the publick theater,  
the roome being taken up, by them first enter,  
The second sort must sit but as they come.

The editor's aim evidently has been to provide the student with an accurate transcript of the play, and to collect the ascertainable facts about it in a brief space. In this he has been successful, if he has attained a faithful copy of the text. That can be tested only by comparison with the British Museum copy. We need a large num-

ber of similar editions of little known and inaccessible plays before we can hope to clear up many of the dark places in English dramatic history.

CHARLES M. HATHAWAY, JR.

ADELPHI COLLEGE.

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*Zur Geschichte der Altenglischen Präpositionen 'mid' und 'wið,' mit Berücksichtigung ihrer beiderseitigen Beziehungen.* Erla Hittle. (*Anglistische Forschungen* II.) Heidelberg, 1901. Pp. 184.

This volume is the fourth contribution to the study of the Old English preposition, the others being: A. Harstrick, *Untersuchungen über die Präpositionen bei Ælfred dem Grossen*, Kiel diss., 1890; E. M. Taubert, *Der Syntaktische Gebrauch der Präpositionen im Andreas*, Leipzig diss., 1894; and Wülfing's compendious treatment in the second volume of *Die Syntax Alfreds des Grossen*.

However, Hittle's work is on new ground; it is the story of the struggle for predominance in Old English between the two rival words, a struggle to result in the complete disappearance of *mid* from the arena by the time of Chaucer. In portraying this, the author has gone through the important Old English poetic and prose monuments, with several notable exceptions, to bring before the reader in systematic order for the most part well-filled categories illustrating each detail of the rivalry.

The study of *mid* occupies the 104 pages of Part I; Part II, treating of *wið*, takes up the next 42 pages; and the last 20 pages or so are given to 'Schlussbemerkungen,' summative in character, and to a series of tables, which show in parallel columns (a) verbs used with *wið* only, (b) verbs used with either *wið* or *mid*, (c) verbs used with *mid* only, (d) modern English usage.

Returning to Part I, *mid* is resolved by Hittle under the eleven following main categories: Local, Sociative, Sociative-Modal, Modal-Instrumental, Instrumental, Exornative, Specificative, Causal, Material, Temporal. It is shown that the original meaning of *mid* is Local (*unter, apud, penes*), and that this meaning in Old English had already become almost entirely restricted to use with nouns denoting names of persons: e. g. *he was mid his freondum*. Now, since 'unter einer Schar sein' = 'mit anderen zusammen eine

Schar bilden,' transition is easy to the second category, viz., the Sociative (*zusammen mit*; *simul cum*). Growing out of this is the third, the Sociative-Modal, which is reached just as soon as the *mid*-phrase denoting accompaniment acquires something of attributive signification: e. g. *Pirrus com him to mid ðam mæstan firde* (cf. *Cæsar cum magno exercitu Galliam invasit*). This usage in its turn bridges the way to the fourth category, the Pure Modal, after which follow the Modal-Instrumental and the Pure Instrumental, needing no comment here, and closing for *mid* the line of extended usage. The exemplification of the remaining five categories is scant. An example under each will suffice; Exornative, *swurd mid ðam sylfrenan hylte*; Specificative, *ða gecorenan . . . ða læssan gebroðru oferstigað mid ealdorscipe*; Causal, *glæd mid golde*; Material, *geworhte weall mid turfum*; Temporal, *mid ærdæge*.

Similarly, in Part II, *wið*-phrases are made to fall into eight classes: Pure Translocal, Metaphorical Translocal, Reciprocal, Intralocal, Sociative, Modal, Instrumental, Temporal. The purely Translocal meaning of direction from one point to another is the primary one, which easily leads into a metaphorical extension, constituting the second category: e. g. *he hæfde swyðe agyllt wið Crist*. Now since the idea of direction, literal or metaphorical, implies two factors, a giver, or sender, and a receiver, the third category, the Reciprocal, comes in: e. g. *gang ær and gesybsuma wið ðinne broðer*. The fourth main division, the Intralocal *wið* = *neben, an; apud*), is an extension, says Hittle, of the original Translocal. This use of *wið* is far more restricted than the previous ones. The next category, the Sociative, grows out of the Reciprocal, mentioned above, and is of limited occurrence, being met merely in stock expressions, such as *gemæne wið*. Only one example, *Ælfric Hom.* 1. 434, *ðone gehadode se bisceop . . . to ðam R. bisceopsetle wið wurðmynte*, is adduced to support *wið* Modal. *Wið* Temporal (*usque ad*) is found in a few phrases: e. g. *wið æfentid*. The remaining category, the Instrumental, p. 161, seems to me a very doubtful one, supported as it is by only one example: *Lch.* 2. Table 28, *Læcedomas wið ðon ðe monnes ðæt uferre hrið sie gefylled wið yfelre watan*. Now this same sentence is repeated in the expanded prescription, *Lch.* 224. 8, and there shows *mid* for *wið*, which reading will easily be taken as the true one.

Having traced, in Parts I and II respectively, *mid* and *wið* though all their various divisions and subdivisions, Hittle finally, in the 'Schlussbemerkungen,' calls attention to the fact that *wið*

gradually, beginning in the Northern and the East Midland, forced *mid* from the language, its disappearance being complete by Chaucer's time. The circumstances favoring *wið* in the contest, he goes on to say, were three: (1) *wið* Reciprocal lay very near in meaning to *mid* Reciprocal, and analogy led to a transfer of function in favor of *wið*; seconding this tendency is (2) the fact that *wið* Intralocal likewise tended by analogy to supplant *mid* Local, which, we have seen, was already restricted to names of persons; (3) *wið* found in *ðurh*, *be*, *onmong*, *bitweon*, and others, helpers in its encroachment upon *mid*.

We have now passed in review the general plan of Hittle's book—a review so hurried as to present only the broad outlines, leaving unmentioned many valuable bits of detail, worked out with fine insight and imagination. It remains, after expressing high appreciation of this contribution to the study of Old English syntax, and after indulging the hope that this essay will be by no means the author's last, to point out, for the future guidance of the student, certain shortcomings more or less casually hit upon in its perusal. None of these are criminal, though all are perhaps culpable.

The minor subdivisions often fail to betray any clear and practical reason for the trouble of their making. Almost analysis for its own sake! The main categories are differentiated well enough, according to the adverbial function of the prepositional phrase in question, and in the first rank of subordinate headings a consistent enough basis is found in the meaning of the verb. However, in the third and fourth subordinate categories, as a random turning of the pages will show, case governed by the preposition, part of speech modified by the phrase, and meaning of word modified by the phrase, too often appear as playing leapfrog with one other for precedence in the division-headings.

Again, the category-title is sometimes too general and colorless. An instance of this fault occurs on p. 97, where the heading 'Vereinzelte Gebrauchsweisen' stands co-ordinate in the series: Local, Modal, Instrumental, Exornative, Specificative, Causal, Temporal. If no more logical disposition could be made of the examples placed by the author under this head, it should at least stand at the end of the series as a sort of 'Anhang,' rather than be thrust in, as it is, between Causal and Temporal. Other marked instances of similar intangibility in headings are, for example, p. 130, 'Ausdrücken die Bedeuten,' and p. 155, 'Bei Anderen Verben oder bei Substantiven.'

On p. 61, in the treatment of stock phrases with *mid*, viz., *mid ungemete* and *mid gewisse*, it is strange to find no mention of *mid (un-)ryhte* (cf. Wülfing, *Ælf. Syntax* 2. 398); and yet stranger to miss there the common *mid ealle* (*eallum*), two examples of which Hittle has inadvertently printed on p. 98. For others see Bosworth-Toller, *Dict.* s. v. *mid*. XII, and Wülfing, *Ælf. Syntax* 2. 412.

On p. 111, the trouble found with the phrase in such sentences as Matthew 20. 30, *ða sæton 2 blinde wið ðone weg* (*secus viam*; Lindisfarne = *æt, neh*; Rushworth = *bi*), would all disappear should the author quit trying to make *sittan* fit into the Translocal category, sub-head 'Verbs of Rest.' He would find it more contented if placed on p. 157, along with Matthew 21. 19, *he geseh an fctreow wið ðone weg*, under the Intralocal category, sub-head 'Verbs of Rest.'

On p. 165, the treatment of subordinate clauses introduced by *wið dæs*, *wið ðam ðe*, *wið ðon ðe*, *wið ðæt* (*ðe*) would satisfy better if it made clear their twofold function, viz., conditional (*in case that*) and final. Also the list of examples here is by no means complete. Of the five given, one alone, CP. 329. 16, *Gehieren ða reafaras, ða ðe higiað wið dæs ðæt hie willað oðre men bereafian*, can be taken as illustrative of *wið* in phrases of finality. Other and clearer instances of this use, which ought not to have been omitted, are: Cockayne, *Leechdoms* 2. 156. 5, *wið ðon ðe hæc ne weoxe, æmettan ægru genim . . . ne cymð ðær næfre ænig feax up*; Bd. 126. 30; CP. 254. 8; Wulf. *Hom.* 173. 23; 181. 31; 290. 9. To the remaining four examples, expressing a proviso (conditional, *in case that*), should have been added the five dropped by the author into a note on p. 144; and yet there might have been added five more undiscovered: *Or.* 192. 1; *Chron.* 129. 11; 133. 33; *Cock. Lch.* 1. 312. 21; 3. 44. 21.

The last paragraph on p. 165 reads thus: '*Wið* = '*dagegen*' bezieht sich auf einen ganzen Satzteil: *P. Did.* 6 *eft sona wið gif ðeo ylca adle egelic on geogede*, und so oft.' In spite of the last three words, considerable search has forced me to the opinion that the example is unique. *Wið* has no syntactical relation whatever to the *gif*-clause, but is merely an accidental scribal interpolation. How natural this very error would be may be seen from a glance at the page where it occurs: five lines above is *Eft sona wið ðæt ylca*; five lines below is *And eft sona gif* . . . —all three nearly similar expressions standing in introductory position to their respective prescriptions. Another rare usage, of real syntactic import, ignored

by Hittle, is the clause with *wið ðon gif*; e. g. Cock., *Lch.* 2. 9. 21, *Læcedomas wið ðon gif mon ne mæge his miegean gehealdan*; *ib.* 2. 16. 22, *Læcedom wið ðon gif mon ðung etc.* Analogy of this construction may have assisted in the scribal confusion just mentioned.

The following concluding paragraphs will show, with page-references, some of the typographical and mechanical shortcomings of the book. Errors in proof-reading, accidentally hit upon, are the following:

7, *ebgegnēt* for *begegnēt*; 9, *Or.* 100. 8, *Grecos* for *Greacos*; *Dipl.* p. 340, *ðæm mannum* for *ðam mannan*; 16, *Æðest.* for *Æðelst.*; *Æðest. Legg.* 26 § 7 for *Æðelst. Legg.* 2. 26. 3; *Wulfhelm* for *Wulfhelme*; 17 *Æðelst. Legg.* V<sup>1</sup> for *Æðelst. Legg.* 6. 1. 3; *Or.* 10. 5, *licgeað* for *tolicgeað*; 21, *CP.* 167. 25 for 165. 25, and *heow* for *treow*; 22, *Or.* 204. 30 for 204. 34; 27, *Chron.* 1096, *unarnnedlice* for *unarimedlice*; 28, *CS.* 959, *ðyll* for *pyll*; 30, *Or.* 118. 19, *hie* for *hi*; *Or.* 268. 10, *becam* for *becom*; *Ælfric* 294 and 74 for *Ælfric* 1. *loc. cit.*; *Dipl.* p. 612, *gigilda* for *gegilda*; *Ps.* 100. 5, *oferhydigum* for *oferhydegum* and *sagum* for *eagum*; 31, *Ælfr.* 1. 384, *for* for *ðurh*; *Or.* 64. 10, *ðeowiende* for *ðowiende*; *Bd.* 250. 5, *geryne* for *gerynu*; *Dipl.* p. 169, *ongan* for *ongon*; 32, *Dipl.* p. 469, *hie* for *hit*; 39, *Bd.* 400. 8, *ærenne* for *ærnenne*; 41, *Dipl.* p. 528 for p. 529; 44, *Or.* 192. 11, *dearenge* for *dearnenga*; 45, *Or.* 120. 18 for 120. 24; 46, *Dipl.* p. 170, *geegnigean* for *geagnigean*; 47, *Ælfr.* 1. 124, *gehædde* for *gehalde*, and *asendon* for *asendan*; 50, *CS.* 1010, *fulre* for *fullre*; *Ælf. Legg.* Einl. 49, *fiohbate* for *fiohbote*; *Chron.* 887, *Earnulfes* for *Earnulfes*; 54, *Ælf.* 1. 68, *mid* omitted before *gitsegendum*; 55, *CP.* 91. 9, *idelre* for *iedelre*, and *gehateð* for *gehatað*; 58, *Ælfr.* 1. 190, *geleafanð æt* for *geleafan ðæt*; *Or.* 30. 18, *underrende* for *underiende*; 61, *Chron.* 978, *ume* for *sume*; 62, *wer* for *war*; 64, *Ælfr.* 1. 340, *ðæm* for *ðam*, and *uferen* for *uferan*; *CP.* 183. 2 for 183. 20; 65, *CP.* 297. 10, *ne* for *no*; *CP.* 269. 29, for 269. 23, and *beað* for *beoð*; *CP.* 347. 7, *hered* for *hereð*, and *timpanum* for *timpanan*; 69, *Dipl.* p. 348, *leafre* for *neofre*; 70, *CP.* 241. 19, *beheð* for *beheleð*; 72, *CP.* 449. 26, *attar* for *attor*; *Dipl.* p. 536, *treownan* for *treowenan*; 73, *CP.* 994 for *CS.* 994; 75, *CP.* 163. 17, *rammum* for *ramman*; 76, *Bl. H.* 199, *ongean* for *ongan*; *CP.* 445. 13, *ne* for *no*; 77, *CP.* 271. 23, *on lucað* for *onlucað*; 78, *CP.* 307. 20, *gestrongian* for *gestrongien*; *Ælfr.* 1. 408, *upahofen* for *upahafen*; 79, *CP.* 269. 21, *nemæg* for *ne mæg*; 80, *CP.* 257. 7, *wierd* for *wierð*; 81, *Bl. Hom.* 205 for 203; *CP.* 397. 4 for 397. 14; 86, *Or.* 1849 for 184. 9; 87, *Dipl.* p. 131, *hlafordum* for *hlafordum*; 88, *CP.* 183. 25, *wodðrage*

for *wodðraga*; 89, *CP.* 347. 4 for 347. 8, *hered* for *hereð*, and *timpanum* for *timpanan*; *CP.* 433. 12, *unahefde* for *unaliefde*; *Or.* 86. 23, *moncwealmes* for *monn-*; 90, *Or.* 68. 21, *geegsode* for *geegsade*; *Ælfr.* 1. 20, *gegremedon* for *gegremodon*; 91, *Ælfr.* 1. 144, *sihð* for *gesihð*; 96, *CP.* 111. 16, *hi oferstigen* for *he hi hæfð oferstigene*; 97, *Or.* 154. 26, *wicræfte* for *wigcræfte*; *Cock.* 3. 442, *ðy læs* for *ðy læs ðe*, the normal form in all later monuments, as this is; 99, *CP.* 179. 10, *wenen* for *wenað*; 100, *Ælfr.* 1. 270. 4 for 1. 270; *Æfr.* for *Ælfr.*; 122, *Ælfr.* 1. 380, *dweorigað* for *ðweorigað*; 125, *Dipl.* p. 391, *ðære* for *ðæra*; 131, *CP.* 75. 3 for 75. 13; 137, *Cri.* 569, *gefremde* for *gefremede*; *Or.* 266. 2, *Judon* for *Judan*; 140, *Dipl.* p. 29, *he wæren* for *heo wæren*; *Ælfr.* 1. 334, *he beoð* for *heo beoð*; *Dipl.* p. 141, *freonreddene* for *freond-*; *CP.* 123. 2, *ealdodom* for *ealdor-*; 142, *CP.* 401. 34 for 401. 24; 155, *Ælfr.* 2. 28, *Sagrade* for *Bagrade*; *Ælfr.* 1. 564, *ðær binan* for *ðærbinnan*, and *gelagod* for *gelogod*; 157, *Or.* 12. 29 for 12. 19; *Or.* 17. 3, *norð weardum* for *norðweardum*; 161, *Lch.* 2, Tab. 27 for 28; 163, *Ælfr.* 1. 386 for 1. 382, and *astreece* for *astreccað*; 183, *Gray-Birch* for *De Gray Birch*.

Casual discovery has been made of the following citations which are not to be identified through the reference-figures given: 7, *CS.* 907; 9, *Dipl.* p. 351; 17, *CP.* 129. 19; 19, *Dipl.* p. 528; 33, *Or.* 524 (*sic*); 35, *Bd.* 2. 18; 44, *Chron.* (no citation-mark); 48, *Chron.* 1052, *Ælf. Legg.*; 56, *Or.* 89; 65, *Æðelr.* 7. 27; 69, *Or.* 241; 83, *Or.* 667; 100, *Ælfr.* 1. 190; 101, *CP.* 126. 6; 107, *Chron.* 918; 132, *CP.* 202. 11; 157, *Or.* 89. 8; 158, *Cock.* 3. 17.

In the Table of Abbreviations on p. 183, aside from its frequent bibliographical indefiniteness as to the edition of the text referred to, the following discrepancies between it and the body of the work sometimes tax the ingenuity and infringe upon the patience of the reader, and always mar the scholarly exactness of the book: 8, *M. Germ.*; 10, *Boet.*; 12, *Tr. Krz., J. Ger.*; 15, *Hom. Skt.*; 17, *Chron. Interpol.* XII sc.; J. 855 (cf. a. 1023 p. 12); 19, *Chart. Merc. Æðelr.*; 19 *Chart.* 901-24, *Æd. Merc.*; 30, *Ælfric*; 31, *Cock.* 3, *Hist. Fr.*; *Chart.* 970; 38, *Did.*; 40, *Bl. Hom. Mart.*; 43, *Winkler* 488; 52, *E. G. Legg* (cf. *Ead. u. Guð. Legg.* p. 72); 59, *Sax. K. Chart.*; 61, *Pred. Ps.*; 86, *Xl. Leb.*; *Dipl. Guild. Exeter*; 133, *Eadw. Eld.*; *Eadm.*; 152, *Æðelr.*; *Bl. H. hl. Mart.*; 158, *Ælfric* 200; 178, *Ælfric* 138.

Much of this clumsiness could have been avoided by the economical and exact volume-page-line system of reference, sometimes, happily, followed by our author. But when, as often happens,

citation is made only to volume-chapter, without page or line, real hardships is inflicted upon the user of the book: for example, the excerpt on p. 33, *Chron.* an. 1016, must be sought through five pages in a single MS.; or that on p. 140 to the *Cartularium Saxonicum*, No. 1130, which covers four pages.

Finally, cross-reference to parallel phenomena would add much to the usability of the book. To indicate just a few instances, the following figures are briefly added: between pp. 7 and 28; 20 and 160; 36 and 140; 37 and 141; 40 and 135; 54 and 67.

H. G. SHEARIN.

RIPON COLLEGE.

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*Geschichte der isländischen Dichtung der Neuzeit (1800–1900)*,  
von M. phil. Carl Küchler. Leipzig, Hermann Haacke, 1902.  
Heft I. Novellistik. vi+85 pp. Heft II. Dramatik.  
vi+79 pp. 8°.

The first part of Küchler's work appeared in 1896 although the date upon the title-page was changed at the appearance of Part II. It is the author's intention to issue still another part on the *Lyrik*. Purely objective reasons have impelled him to treat these three branches of literary activity in the inverse order of their development and importance in the history of Modern Icelandic literature. Only in the field covered by the first division of his work, has Küchler been able to profit somewhat by the labor of predecessors. He has therefore felt obliged, for the sake of completeness, to devote space in Parts I and II to outlines of a number of productions of little or no permanent literary value. Another cogent reason for this procedure is that most of the originals are extremely difficult of access, while many others exist only in manuscript and might soon be entirely lost. Küchler has spared no pains in obtaining first hand knowledge of his material, depending only in extreme cases upon copies or excerpts furnished by friends. His criticisms, whether favorable or unfavorable, are, at any rate, impartial. Each part is provided with an index to authors, titles, and subjects.

Several reviews of Part I appeared at the time of its publication. A. Heusler in particular furnished very fair estimates of it in *Anz.f.d.A.* 23. 386–387, and Herrig's *Archiv* 97. 392–393. Küchler



traces the development of the modern novel and short story from their beginnings in the period of the general awakening in Iceland (about 1830). The poet, Jónas Hallgrímsson, has the honor of being "the father and founder" of Icelandic *Novellistik*, chiefly through his singularly beautiful tale *Grasaferð* (1847). Jón Thóroddsen, best known by his novel *Piltur og stúlka*, and Gestur Pálsson, undeniably the most brilliant novelist Iceland has produced, also deserve wider recognition than is possible through the German and Danish translations of their principal stories. The historical novel has found its most capable treatment in the hands of the authoress, Torfhildur Þorsteinsdóttir Holm. Among the writers of lesser importance Küchler reckons five members of the Icelandic settlements in Canada, where nearly a fifth of the reading public of this nationality now resides.

In the drama also there were no native productions in Iceland until after the opening of the nineteenth century. Continuous development in this field came still later, and hence was nearly contemporaneous with the beginnings of the modern novel. The most interesting of the several early attempts at dramatic writing were composed by Geir Vídalín and by Sigurður Pétursson for the boys of the Latin School in Reykjavík. The real creator of the Icelandic drama, however, is the gifted poet, Rev. Matthías Jochumsson, whose first play, *Útilegumennirnir*, was written in 1861 while the author was still a student at the Latin School. This encouraged the production of a large number of pieces by other students, for the greater part comedies influenced by those of Holberg or Shakespeare. From the impulse given by the school-comedies in Reykjavík, play-writing began to receive very general attention from other classes of people throughout the island. During the years that followed, even peasants, tradesmen, and mechanics brought out works which gave evidence of considerable genius in spite of faulty technique. To this general class, Küchler adds the half-score of dramatic efforts produced on American soil by the Icelandic immigrants in Canada, (page 40). But dramas of real worth were hardly produced until practically the end of the century, and to these the author gives a very full and appreciative treatment. Eggert Ólafsson Briem's *Gizurr Þorvaldsson*, (published 1895-1899), written under the influence of Ibsen, is too extensive and unwieldy for the stage, but as an historical drama he concedes it more than ordinary value. The two writers, however, who have in

their latest works brought the Icelandic drama to the highest degree of excellence yet reached and have made it worthy of the attention of a larger public, are Matthías Jochumsson and Indriði Einarsson. The former, in his historical tragedy (*Harmsöguleikur*), *Jón Arason*, deals with an episode in the ecclesiastical history of Iceland in the middle of the sixteenth century. This work was published in Ísafjörður in 1900, and later translated into Danish by its author. *Sverð og bagall*, by Indriði Einarsson, published in 1899 in Reykjavík, is likewise an historical drama. The material is from a chapter out of the *Sturlunga saga*. Küchler has made a German translation of the play with the title *Schwert und Krummstab*, Berlin, 1900. There is also a Danish version by Henrik Ussing, *Sværd og Krumstav*, Copenhagen, 1901.

The author also presents an interesting sketch of the development of the theater in Iceland, which by reason of the extremely unfavorable conditions existing in the island, is not yet out of the hands of amateurs.

Translations of foreign plays, mainly Danish comedies and French and English farces, but also Shakespeare's best works, have been presented and published in Iceland.

The more important foreign influences upon the native drama noted by the author are primarily those of the Danish writers of comedy, then Shakespeare and Ibsen.

Heusler's criticism of Part I, that Küchler apparently assumed too great a familiarity on the part of his readers with the works discussed, and hence wrote "mehr von den Sachen als über die Sachen," would not apply to the *Dramatik*. The author certainly deserves much credit for his long and tedious labor in an entirely new and interesting field.

CHARLES ALLYN WILLIAMS.

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

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*The Life and Repentaunce of Marie Magdalene, by Lewis Wager.*

A Morality Play reprinted from the Original Edition of 1566-67, edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossarial Index, by Frederic Ives Carpenter, of the Department of English. (*Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, Second Series, Vol. I.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1902. Pp. xxxv, 91.

The profound interest taken of late by cultivated audiences in the admirable performances of *Everyman* by the Elizabethan Stage Society, and in Mrs. Fiske's powerful impersonation of the heroine in Paul Heyse's *Mary of Magdala*, would indicate that the publication of this book is timely. But, all considerations of timeliness apart, it was quite worth the reprinting, and worthy, too, of inclusion among the Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago. Such being the case, we can only regret that the character of the editing does not seem wholly commensurate with the dignity of the occasion.

The text was printed from a transcript made in the British Museum from a rare copy of the book. This was well enough, but of course the proofs should then have been read with the book itself. Unfortunately, nothing of the kind was done, and, as a result, seventeen lines were omitted from the text, owing to the loss of a sheet from the transcript. Accordingly, the line-numbering from line 676 to the end is all wrong. The suspicions of the editor were, however, aroused, for he says in a note on line 676: 'After this line, a line seems to have dropped from the text. A line without rhyme stands where a couplet is expected.' It was not till after the publication of his book that the editor discovered the loss of the sheet, and then only after a (probably unique) copy of the first (1566) edition had been lent him by Mr. W. A. White, of New York. Of this copy Dr. Carpenter says in a loose sheet of *Addenda et Corrigenda*: 'I have carefully collated it with my text. Unfortunately, as a result of this collation, I have been led to suspect the exact trustworthiness of the transcript from which I printed. The following corrections in my text, based on the 1566 edition, I have since submitted to Mr. H. R. Plomer, of London, who reports to me that they correspond throughout with the readings of the 1567 edition (B. M. copy). It is altogether probable, therefore, that the 1567 edition was a reissue of the unsold copies of 1566. From the

collation which follows it will be possible to establish the text of 1566 in its essential integrity. Punctuation, of course, I have left in its modernized form, as it is above, and I have not thought it necessary in most cases to note mere deviations in spelling.'

This statement at once gives us pause. 'Punctuation, of course, I have left in its modernized form, as it is above'; this is the first intimation we have had that the punctuation is modern, nothing having been said on this point or on spelling in the book itself. Then, 'I have not thought it necessary in most cases to note mere deviations in spelling'; yet among the corrections are: *for plesent read plesant*; *for daresay read dare say*; *for yearley read yearly*, etc. And 'mere deviations in spelling'; deviations from what? Since it is probable 'that the 1567 edition was a reissue of the unsold copies of 1566,' there is only one text, one authority; and 'deviations in spelling' are failures to reproduce this one authoritative text. If punctuation is modernized (though Dr. Carpenter reproduces it in the lost passage of seventeen lines), and deviations in spelling do not matter, why should the editor say of the first edition: 'I had been searching in vain [for it] for several years past.' He searches; at last he finds; he has the precious copy in his hands; he has 'carefully collated it with [his] text'; and the result is, not only that he allows his modernized punctuation to stand (then why give the original punctuation in the omitted passage?), but that he disregards 'mere deviations in spelling.' He had 'been led to suspect the exact trustworthiness of the transcript from which [he] printed'; then, with the means of rectifying its errors, why not do so, especially as he says: 'From the collation which follows it will be possible to establish the text of 1566 in its essential integrity'?

Mr. W. A. White has been generous enough to allow me to make a collation of the new edition with his copy. The detailed results will be given below; here I shall note only a few facts bearing on the statement last quoted. In l. 91 of the new edition, *Infidelitie* says to Mary:

Mock? I know that you come of a worshipful flock.

The editor has a note on this line, but passes the word 'flock' without comment, though in l. 628 Mary says:

I promise you I come of a stock right honorable;

l. 630 reads:

It is a stock (they say) right honorable and good;

and l. 1280 reads:

They come of Abraham's stocke and holy sede.

As a matter of fact, 'stock,' and not 'flock,' is the reading of l. 91.

In ll. 1095-7, Infidelitie says to Mary (new edition):

Here is a pocky knave, and an yll favoured;  
The deuill is not so euill fauoured, I thinke in dede,  
Corrupt, rotten, stinking, and yll fauoured.

The threefold occurrence of the same word seems to have occasioned no surprise. For the last 'fauoured' read 'sauoured.'

L. 1061 runs:

All men for synne by God's sentence dammed be.

For 'dammed' read 'damned,' surely not a mere deviation in spelling.

Ll. 1579-80 read:

Thou hast looked on man, of thy compassion,  
And lent thyne owne sonne with thy spirit anoynted.

This 'lent' seems to have excited no suspicion, although on the same page we have (l. 1595):

Thou hast sent thy sonne anointed with the holy ghost;

and on the next page (l. 1604):

And hath sent his sonne with his spirite anointed.

For 'lent' in 1580 read, of course, 'sent.'

I pass now to a more detailed consideration of the text. In Mr. White's copy the page is approximately  $6\frac{1}{2}$  by  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches (17x12 centimetres). The new edition has no indication of the beginnings of the successive pages of the original. All the editor says on this point is: 'Both [editions] are in "fours," A-I, iii, in black letter.' I append the details: The title stands on A. i<sup>a</sup>; A. i<sup>b</sup> is blank; A. ii<sup>a</sup> has the first 28 lines of the Prologue, A. ii<sup>b</sup> ll. 29-60, A. iii<sup>a</sup> the remainder of the Prologue. The interlude proper begins on A. iii<sup>b</sup>, and thus proceeds (the line specified is that which in each case begins the new page): A. iv<sup>a</sup>: 31; A. iv<sup>b</sup>: 61; B. i<sup>a</sup>: 93; B. i<sup>b</sup>: 125; B. ii<sup>a</sup>: 157; B. ii<sup>b</sup>: 189; B. iii<sup>a</sup>: 221; B. iii<sup>b</sup>: 251; B. iv<sup>a</sup>: 283; B. iv<sup>b</sup>: 315; C. i<sup>a</sup>: 347; C. i<sup>b</sup>: 379; C. ii<sup>a</sup>: 411; C. ii<sup>b</sup>: 443; C. iii<sup>a</sup>: 475; C. iii<sup>b</sup>: 507; C. iv<sup>a</sup>: 539; C. iv<sup>b</sup>: 571; D. i<sup>a</sup>: 603; D. i<sup>b</sup>: 635;

D. ii<sup>a</sup>: 667; D. ii<sup>b</sup>: 682; D. iii<sup>a</sup>: 714; D. iii<sup>b</sup>: 746; D. iv<sup>a</sup>: 778; D. iv<sup>b</sup>: 810; E. i<sup>a</sup>: 840; E. i<sup>b</sup>: 872; E. ii<sup>a</sup>: 904; E. ii<sup>b</sup>: 936; E. iii<sup>a</sup>: 968; E. iii<sup>b</sup>: 1000; E. iv<sup>a</sup>: 1032; E. iv<sup>b</sup>: 1064; F. i<sup>a</sup>: 1096; F. i<sup>b</sup>: 1128; F. ii<sup>a</sup>: 1160; F. ii<sup>b</sup>: 1192; F. iii<sup>a</sup>: 1223; F. iii<sup>b</sup>: 1255; F. iv<sup>a</sup>: 1286; F. iv<sup>b</sup>: 1318; G. i<sup>a</sup>: 1350; G. i<sup>b</sup>: 1382; G. ii<sup>a</sup>: 1414; G. ii<sup>b</sup>: 1446; G. iii<sup>a</sup>: 1476; G. iii<sup>b</sup>: 1508; G. iv<sup>a</sup>: 1540; G. iv<sup>b</sup>: 1572; H. i<sup>a</sup>: 1604; H. i<sup>b</sup>: 1636; H. ii<sup>a</sup>: 1668; H. ii<sup>b</sup>: 1700; H. iii<sup>a</sup>: 1728; H. iii<sup>b</sup>: 1760; H. iv<sup>a</sup>: 1792; H. iv<sup>b</sup>: 1824; I. i<sup>a</sup>: 1856; I. i<sup>b</sup>: 1888; I. ii<sup>a</sup>: 1920; I. ii<sup>b</sup>: 1952; I. iii<sup>a</sup>: 1984; I. iii<sup>b</sup>: 2016.

Collation yields also the following results:

(1) On the title-page, *not only* should be on the same line as *Marie Magdalene*; *pleasaunt* is divided after the first *a*; the *w* of *Charlewood* should be written *vv*; and the *Key* should be on the next line; and 1567 should of course be 1566 (in the first title-page). There are certain indications that the title-page was written, or set up, or corrected, at a different time from the body of the work, and perhaps later. These are: *repentaunce* twice (elsewhere always, or practically always, *repentance*); *Marie* twice (elsewhere nearly always *Mary*); *Fayth* (elsewhere usually *Faith*); *fruitfull* (cf. *fructfull* P. 59; *fruit* 1971, *fruitte* 1984, *fruittes* P. 64, 1682, 1683; but *fruitte* 2005).

(2) In the following cases, *e* should be appended to the word: contain 303, do 401, 1059, find 266, Magdalen (?) 951, neck 1651, obtain 186, own 141, 278, 798, 1049, profit 378, return 883, self 390, 1108, soon 686, stock 628, such 306, 786, 1155, think 532, 866, touch P. 30, vnclean P. 68, walk 1495, wear 602, work 382. Similarly in the first syllable of: iudgment 514, 916, Judgment 934, 1461 (stage-direction), iudgments 1177, only 1070, 1968.

(3) In the following, final *e* should be omitted: absente 979, accustome 1662, are 675, bestowe 1716, brynge P. 35, diligente 448, doe 1516, faithe 215, feete 1739, greate P. 75, 1491, hathe 1626, heade 774, here 1801, intende P. 72, kynge P. 34, lame 1516, 1890, 1891, meate 1332, mynde 819, Nowe 1710, othere 1803, oute 97, Refreshe 1136, suche 386, 1481, teethe P. 7, there 640, truthe 207, vnderstande 1009, whiche 1581, Whiche 1887, worlde 1112, 1228, 1264, 1612, worthe P. 37, youre 648. Similarly in the first syllables of: childebode 133, lothesome 1099, sometime 394 (2), somewhat 1742, truely 1733, 1763. Also in the first syllables of: thereby 186, therefore 941, 1226, therein 1395, thereof P. 46, 1429, thereto 957; Whereby 1708, wherein 656, 895, whereof P. 54, 726, 1598.

(4) For *Italic* substitute Roman 'and' in the following instances: P. 4, P. 5, P. 11, P. 48, P. 70, 66, 111, 127, 136, 137, 139, 140, 149, 150, 151, 155, 178, 220, 238, 277, 299, 321, 326, 328, 340, 404, 437, 544, 592, 623, 624, 696, 721, 723, 749, 754, 928, 957, 993, 1028, 1177, 1204, 1229, 1339, 1422, 1540, 1613. On the other hand, substitute the abbreviation in the stage-direction of 404.

(5) For *v* substitute *u*: behaviour 1713, beleve 1406, convenient 474, devoure 1521, even 306, 1128, 1572, ever 1780, every 44, evidently 1596, favour 1817, favoured 180, 1095, forgeve 927, 1229, 1319, geve P. 55, 201, governance 1425, have P. 26, P. 50, 224, 1178, 1233, 1696, heavenley 1424, heavy 1447, lyve 511, marvell 259, never 1112, purvey 1781, salvation 1346, Saviour 1711, service 1693, universitie P. 26.

(6) For *u* read *v*: under 1643, uniust (first *u*) 1127, 1129, universitie P. 26, us P. 41, use P. 83, used P. 26.

(7) In the following omit *u*: honour 1716; labouring 896.

(8) In the following insert *u*: error 1956.

(9) Substitute small letter for capital: Bryng 1566, Gentlewomen's 82, Ghost 1385, God 337, Holy 1952, If 796, It 1726, Judgment 934, Malicious 1461 (stage-direction), Mistresse 621, 750, 753, Now 1060, Princes 262, Publicans 393, Rapine 322, Science 1765, Sonne 1222, 1256, 1278, Synnes 1970, Syrs 765, The [Law] 1142, 1150, 1178, This 514, Warre 326, With 3, Without 131, Yea 1902.

(10) Substitute capital for small letter: counsell 468, faith 34, justice 1124, repentance 1356.

(11) For *i* read *y*: did 356, didst 1668, find 266, him 1091, kinds 328, sinne 329, their 992.

(12) For *y* read *i*: dye 949, heartyly (heartily) 1462, hym 1922, hys 1739, 1745, theyr 1582.

(13) For *y* read *ie*: folly 1904, pretty (pretie) 953, slippery 821, story P. 61, vnworthy 1691.

(14) For *e* read *i*: altogether (altogither) 706, eniquitie 1687 (see 1688), entende (intende) 967, her P. 66, P. 67, 281, 293.

(15) For *ie* read *y*: in the *Marie* of all running titles (head-lines).

(16) Read single for double letter: deede 1146, deuills 1672, feete 1691, heere 1800, litterature 163, little 382, married 656, offspr yng 359 (cf. 232), proceedeth P. 19, shall P. 48, 669, 733, tarry 884, thee 1292, warrant 682, will 55, 229, 616.

(17) Omit final *s*: always 278, kinds 328, others 1697, Sometimes 602.

(18) Append s: vice 294.

(19) For *-ley* read *-ly*: chiefly 925, clereley 1383, greatly 1773, 1818, heauenley 1424, 1911, vtterley 1928.

(20) For Roman read Italic *n*: iudgement P. 14, than P. 29.

(21) For Italic read Roman *n*: tong 1105.

(22) Divide one word into two: another 527, cannot 147, 932 (besides instances given in Appendix), Indede 1855, today 970, 1721, tomorow 825. Misprints: shame (sham e) 1055, some women (som ewomen) 612.

(23) Unite two words into one: blasphemmer and (blasphemmerand, of course a misprint) 1866, for ever (?) 1537, shal be 793, 1692, swete heart (?) 633, to day 1538.

(24) Change the first to the second reading: afeared: afeard 1860, at least: at the least 95, om. *Car. con.* 745, chase: chace 1507, commandements: commaundements 1523, entereth: entreth 1214, 1461 (stage-direction), fauourd: fauoured 1096, forgieuen: forgiuen 1950, friendship: frendship 944, Godesse: Goddesse 523, humilitie: humilite 1797, learned: lerned P. 57, majestie: maiestie 1152, *Mal.*: *Malicious* 1725 (stage-direction), Manne: Man 1222, O: A 1232, proclaime: proclame 1121, Properly: Proprely 236, runeth: runneth 1285 (stage-direction), repentaunce: repentance 1221, and all head-lines, *that*: *the* 94, *that*: *then* 754, *the*: *the* 19, *theirin*: *therin* 857, *wholy*: *wholly* 1341, *with*: *with* 1964, *ye*: *yon* 270, *young*: *yong* (but corrected in the Appendix) 676. In the Introduction, p. xxix, Benediktbeuer: Benediktbeuern.

(25) The following, which are rather curious than important, refer only to the original: The catchword at the bottom of F. iii<sup>b</sup> is *For*; the head-line of C. iv\* and E. i\* has *Magalene* for *Magdalene*; and there is a device at the end of the book: *Post tenebras lux*.

Besides, *father*, 1279, should almost certainly be *fathers*, since the the pronoun of the following line is *they*. In P. 47 one might think of *enow* for *now*, but this is not necessary.

Inaccuracies occur in the quotation of lines for illustrative purposes in the Introduction. Thus in the notes on p. xiv (I quote by line, and give the true reading): vnto 1; shal 2, to morow 2; p. xix: haue 1, Loke 2, doe 3, Muche, vs 5; p. xx: captiue, prerogative, inuisible, infirmity 2.

In the following lines improvements in punctuation seem desirable: 26 (*Jewes*; cf. 29), 587 (; to, ), 590 (. to, ), 700 (, after *faith*), 755 (. at end), 1274 (? after *sir*), 1556 (, for .) 1567 (*tables*'), 1652 (omit , after *horeson*?), 1694 (omit ,), 1778 (! for ?), 1806 (, after



*kisse*), 1808 (, after *Woman* and *in*), 1873 (omit , after first *them*). These instances have been noted almost at random.

Turning now from the text, we find that the Introduction treats of the following topics: Bibliographical; The author; Date; General character and analysis; Staging; Distribution of parts; Synopsis of the action; Diction and versification; Rhyme-scheme; The author's aim and intention; Class; Sources; The Vice; Treatment of the theme before Wager; The legend: its content and provenience; Mary Magdalen in continental literature; Mary Magdalen in English plays; English Magdalen literature, non-dramatic; Later Magdalen literature.

Practically all that is known of Lewis Wager is that he became rector of St. James, Garlickhithe, on March 28, 1560. Since the Prologue (l. 34) demands concerning his 'facultie',

Doth it not teache true obedience to the *kyng*?

the editor argues that the play belongs to the period of Edward VI, and this he finds confirmed by the theology and the diction. He therefore conjecturally dates it *circa* 1550, the entry in the *Stationers' Register* being within the year July 22, 1566–July 22, 1567. The ascription on the basis of the word 'kyng' is confirmed by the prayers of *Lusty Juventus* and *Nice Wanton* (cf. Chambers, *Mediæval Stage* 2. 460).

Although both on the title-page and in the entry of the *Stationers' Register* the piece is called an interlude, the editor calls it a morality play on his own title-page, and on p. xiii says: 'The play is a morality-play, with special features which give it a peculiar interest.' Dr. Carpenter continues: 'It is a Reformation drama on the Protestant side, like most of the Moralities.' Chambers (*Mediæval Stage* 2. 460; cf. 2. 223–4) enumerates one drama of Catholic controversy, *Respublica*; eight of Protestant controversy—Bale's *God's Promises*, *John Baptist*, *The Temptation*, *Three Laws*, and *King John*, besides *Lusty Juventus*, *Nice Wanton*, and *Somebody*, *Avarice and Minister*; one of Protestant controversy, a translation, *Freewill*, and two of Protestant controversies, pseudo-interludes, *Robin Conscience* and *Bishop of Rome*. Not one of these is styled a morality in its title, and Chambers' list of extant moralities (2. 436 ff.) contains none which belong to this class.

Dr. Carpenter adds: 'It presents most of the morality devices, including the Vice in its fullest development'; and on p. xxiii he gives three signs of its being a morality-play, including 'its fully

developed Vice.' It is true that among 'the names of the players' on the title-page we have 'Infidelitie, the Vice,' and that at the very beginning of the play we are told 'Here entreth Infidelitie, the vice.' As to the provenience of the vice, that is another matter. Chambers says (2. 204): 'The vice is not found under that name in the text, list of *dramatis personæ*, or stage directions of any popular morality. . . . The majority of plays in which he does occur are not morals, even of the modified Elizabethan type. . . . Moreover, as a matter of fact, he comes into the interludes through the avenue of the farce. The earliest vices, by some thirty years, are those of Heywood's *Love* [circa 1521], in which he is "Neither Loving nor Loved," who mocks the other disputants, and plays a practical joke with fireworks upon them, and *The Weather* [before 1530?], in which he is "Merry Report," the jesting official of Jupiter. And in the later plays, even if he has some other dramatic function, he always adds to it that of a riotous buffoon.' Chambers concludes that 'the character of the vice is derived from that of the domestic fool or jester.' Dr. Carpenter has followed, with respect to the vice, the views of Cushman (*The Devil and the Vice in the English Dramatic Literature before Shakespeare*), whose theory on this point Chambers rejects, with the words: 'Unfortunately it proceeds by disregarding several plays in which the vice does occur, and reading him into many places where there is none.'

The editor observes (pp. xiv-xv): 'The title-page informs us that "Foure may easely play this Enterlude." "Foure" is obviously a misprint for *five*, as during two long periods in the play (ll. 423-795 and 1662-1849) five speaking characters are on the stage at once.' This quotation from the title-page is illustrated by the statements of Chambers (2. 188): 'Economy in travelling and the inconvenience of crowding the hall both went to put a limit on the number of actors. Four men and a boy, probably in apprenticeship to one of them, for the women's parts, may be taken as a normal troupe. In many of the extant interludes the list of *dramatis personæ* is accompanied by an indication as to how, by the doubling of parts, the caste [*sic*] may be brought within reasonable compass.' To which he adds in a note: 'This method begins with the Caxton *Sacrament* [about 1461], which has twelve parts, but "ix may play it at ease." Bale's *Three Laws* [1538] claims to require five players and *Lusty Juventus* [1547-53] four. Several of the early Elizabethan interludes have similar indications.'

Under the head of Diction the editor says: 'His principal gram-

matical peculiarities are those common to sixteenth century English.' In that case, it is difficult to see how they are *his* peculiarities. Among specific examples adduced are: '(a) The use of plural subject with a singular verb: l. 1073' [l. 40 might have been added, and 1311, stage-direction]. Now l. 1073 runs:

For many lustes and dedes hath defiled thy conscience.

The editor thus ignores the fact that 'hath' is historically a legitimate form, and might here be archaic or dialectal, and not 'singular' at all (see *NED.* s. v. *have*). We wonder what Dr. Carpenter would make of l. 50:

Infidelitie all men's heartes *doe* occupie;

and of 122-3:

The promise of maidens, the Poet doth say,  
Be as stable as a weake leafe in the wynde;

unless *promise* stand for *promises*. Again Dr. Carpenter instances: '(d) idiomatic use of prepositions: as l. 405 (How think you *by* me?)'. This, however, is not a *peculiarity* of sixteenth-century English, being as old as *Beowulf* (1723): 'ic pis gid *be* pē āwraec.'

Under Versification we learn: 'Identical rhyme is common, especially in polysyllabic words.' Several citations are given, examples of two words riming, but the striking quotation, ll. 1582-5, is omitted, with the four riming words: *creation*; *preservation*; *restoration*; *saluation*.

Under Class the editor remarks: 'It is further remarkable among English plays of the sixteenth century in introducing the figure of Christ upon the stage alongside of those of Simon the Pharisee and Mary herself. Bale, it is true, introduces the figure of Deus Pater in his *Comedy Concernynge Thre Lawes*; and the figure of Christ had appeared in several mystery-plays.' But Christ is one of the interlocutors in Bale's *John Baptist* (1538), which is described as 'a Breffe Comedy or Enterlude,' and in his *Temptation* (same year), identically characterized. And Pater Coelestis appears in *God's Promises* (1538) and *John Baptist*. He adds: 'The date of this play forbids our classing it as properly transitional between mystery and morality plays. In the development of dramatic kinds it stands rather as a "sport" by itself.' It is rather remarkable, in view of this, that Chambers says (2. 155) of a play that Dr. Carpenter elsewhere discusses: 'A somewhat unique position between

miracle-play and morality is occupied by the Mary Magdalen drama contained in the Digby manuscript.'

After discussing various developments of the Magdalen theme, the editor adds: 'With the Reformation, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the subject recedes into the background.' He then adduces the poems by Southwell, Markham, Thomas Robinson (1612), and Crashaw, but fails to mention those by Herbert and Vaughan. In the latter there are two curious parallels to passages in the play. The interlude has (183-6):

As I vnderstand, you haue in your possession  
The whole castel of Magdalene, with the purtenance,  
Which you may rule at your discretion,  
And obtaine therby riches in abundance.

Vaughan has:

This dusky state of sighs and tears  
Durst not look on those smiling years  
When Magdal-castle was thy seat,  
Where all was sumptuous, rare, and neat.

Again, the counselors of Mary have much to say about her hair (538-553).

Your hair, me thynke, is as yelow as any gold;  
Upon your face layd about haue it I wold.  
Sometime on your forehead, the breadth of an hand;  
Sometime let your attire vpon your crowne stand,  
That all your haire for the most part may be in sight;  
To many a man a fayre haire is a great delight.

. . . . .  
In sommer time now and then, to kepe away flies,  
Let some of that faire haire hang in your eies;  
With a hotte nedle you shall learne it to crispe,  
That it may curle together in maner like a wispe.

. . . . .  
By your eares somtimes with pretie tusks *and* toyes  
You shall folde your haire, like Tomboyes;  
It becommeth a yong gentlewoman, be ye sure,  
And yong men vnto your loue it will allure.

Vaughan has:

Why lies this hair despised now,  
Which once thy care and art did shew?  
Who then did dress the much loved toy,  
In spires, globes, angry curls and coy,  
Which with skilled negligence seemed shed  
About thy curious, wild young head?

In at least one case the editor has descended into colloquialism akin to slang. On p. xxxii he says: 'Infidelitie . . . *does his little best* to make up the deficiency.'

The Notes might well have been increased. Thus, under l. 69, we have no comment on *by gis*; at least a reference to *Hamlet* 4. 5. 58 would have been in order. Under 477, a longer list of references for *heart of gold* might have been found in *NED.*; cf. 'Greensleeves is my heart of gold' in the old song of *Greensleeves*. Line 610 reads:

Your nether garments must go by gymmes and ioynts.

On this, Dr. Carpenter's note is: '*gymmes*, probably *gems*. Possibly, however, a misprint for *gynnes*, i. e., *gins* = contrivances, devices.' How could her nether garments go by *gems*? The word is no doubt miswritten for *gymmal*(*l*)s, or, more probably, *gymmers*, for which see *NED.* under *gim*-. Commenting upon *Naim*, 828, the editor says: 'Given as *Naim* in the sixteenth-century versions of the Bible,' and ignores the fact that it is also *Naim* in the Vulgate. Under 996, he might have referred to 1860, where *afear'd* occurs in the rime. On *Tomboyes*, 551, reference might have been made to Jonson's *Alechemist* 5. 5. 412, where *tomboy* = 'boy,' and to Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of Malta* 2. 1, where it = 'strumpet.' On *bookes*, 1695, *Love's Labor's Lost* 4. 3. 347 ff. might have been compared, though the parallel is not of the closest; and, with 1034-7, *Hamlet* 3. 4. 20-21. On *purtenance*, 184, the editor might have compared *Exod.* 12. 9. *All and some*, 443, would have borne a note. But the most surprising omission, on the whole, is that of references to Scriptural originals, especially in the latter part of the play; of such notes we have six, a number singularly disproportionate to the number of Biblical allusions in the play, if any citations at all were to be given.

On the other hand, certain of the notes display attention and acuteness. Thus, commenting upon the translation of *Juvenal* 5. 66, the editor remarks: "'*Servis . . . superbis*" would suggest that *naughtie* is possibly a misprint for *haughtie*; again, on 1183, where he would emend *have to leave*. Nor must we overlook Mr. White's convincing restoration of 1487, where his suggested transposition 'some repast to take' supplies the necessary rime.

In the sheet lost from the transcript occur these lines:

Use your ciuet, pommander, muske, which be to sell,  
That the odor of you a myle of, a man may smell.

So in l. 999:

A swete sauour of muske and ciuet I smelt.

This is well illustrated by part of Sir John Davies' *Epigram* 26 :

But when she hath put on her sattin gowne,  
Her cut lawne apron, and her velvet shooes,  
Her greene silke stockins, and her petticoat  
Of taffaty, with golden fringe around,  
*And is withall perfumed with civet hot. . . .*

Had Chambers' *Mediæval Stage* appeared thus early, a good comment might have been drawn from it, for Introduction or Notes, on a passage in the prologue (24-27), where the author says :

I maruell why they should detract our facultie;  
We haue ridden and gone many sundry waies;  
*Yea, we haue vsed this feate at the vniuersitie,*  
Yet neither wise nor learned would it dispraise.

On the point touched on in the last two lines, Mr. Chambers says (2. 194-5): 'There were interludes, moreover, at universities and in schools. The earliest I have noted are at Magdalen College, Oxford, where they occur pretty frequently from 1486 onwards. They were given in the hall at Christmas, and overlap in point of time the performances of the *Quem quaeritis* in the chapel. There was a play at Cardinal's College in 1530. Nicholas Grimald's *Christus Redivivus* was given at Brasenose about 1542. Possibly his *Archipropheta* was similarly given about 1546 at Christ Church, of which he had then become a member. Beyond these I do not know of any other Oxford representations before 1558. But in 1512 the University granted one Edward Watson a degree in grammar on condition of his composing a comedy. At Cambridge the pioneer college was St. John's, where the *Plutus* of Aristophanes was given in Greek in 1536. Christ's College is noteworthy for a performance of the antipapal *Pammachius* in 1545, and also for a series of plays under the management of one William Stevenson in 1550-3, amongst which it is exceedingly probable that *Gammer Gurton's Needle* was included. Most of these university plays were however, probably, in Latin. The Elizabethan statutes of Trinity College and Queens' College both provide for plays, and in both cases the performances really date back to the reign of Henry VIII. At Trinity John Dee seems to have produced the *Pax* of Aristophanes, with an ingenious contrivance for the flight of the *Scarabæus* to Zeus, shortly upon his appointment as an original

fellow in 1546.' For failure to draw upon these stores, however, Dr. Carpenter can of course not be held responsible.

*Noone*, 1552 (cf. 952), might have yielded an interesting comment. The quatrain runs:

A straw, all this geare wyll quickly be doone.  
The cookes be ready, also, I am sure;  
Let me see, byr lady, it is almost *noone*,  
I maruell that they can so long fastyng endure.

*Prick of Conscience*, 1050, suggests the well known Middle English work.

On 104 (cf. 334),

Within a while they would not be worth a *couple of nuts*,

the editor might have referred to Hein's article in *Anglia*, Vol. 15.

The Glossarial Index is quite inadequate. Thus we miss *a*, 1771; *Aldermen*, 1535; *attire*, 541; *cast*, 707, 718; *dalliance*, 150; *entreating*, title-page; *foole*, 687 (cf. 1195); *freate*, P. 77, 1088; *haire*, 543; *harlot*, 1236 (as well as 911, 1733); *iust*, 1045; *knacky*, 15; *lese*, 668; *mynion*, 800, 801, etc.; *owe*, 169; *plant*, 189; *pretence*, 873; *taking*, 1189; *wanton*, 219, 620. Two other examples of *dresse* occur, 279, 1285. Only one sense of *geare* is given, but cf. 649, 1550, 1655, 1906, etc. *Grutch* occurs 1599 in another construction.

Interesting etymological spellings are *dearlyng*, 172; *fautes*, 574; *wisedom*, 395, 1193, etc. An older plural is *kynd*, 303 (cf. *kyndes*, 732).

To sum up respecting the merits of the edition, the text is inaccurately reproduced, and the modern punctuation sometimes careless; the introduction is well enough planned, but too sketchy; the notes are insufficient; and the glossarial index omits several words which should have been included, and meanings of certain words which are included. A sounder knowledge of linguistic history would have been of advantage to the editor; and he would have done well to avoid certain repetitions which suggest poverty of resource. Thus on p. xiv, and again on pp. xxvi and xxxii, the devils, following the text, are made to roar terribly without the door, and the author of the interlude is not only the 'learned Clarke' on the title-page, but also on pp. xi, xii, xxii, and xxiv. A similar redundancy in the preface suggests a similar poverty: 'It has, however, a peculiar historical interest, as I have indicated in the introduction which follows, and suggests several problems for consideration. The

sketch of the history of the literary treatment of the theme which I have introduced is merely a sketch in outline and is by no means exhaustive. It suggests an interesting section of our literary history.' Most artistic creations of the past have a peculiar historical interest, and suggest problems for consideration; and a sketch is usually a sketch, and not exhaustive. In the present case, it is unfortunate, not only that the history of the literary treatment of the theme is a sketch, but that the editing as a whole has something of the same character. However, those who know of Dr. Carpenter's talents and industry from work previously published will readily believe that he is destined to finer achievement than anything represented by the book before us, and will not allow their confidence to be dashed by a single failure to attain the highest standard.

ALBERT S. COOK.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

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## THOMAS RANDOLPH PRICE.

(MARCH 18, 1839—MAY 7, 1903.)

(The comparative paucity of Professor Price's publication, and his consistent refusal, yielding only once, to publish anything about himself, have thrown this memoir for most of its facts upon the recollection of the writer and of other pupils and friends. Acknowledgment is hereby made most gratefully for large courtesy in correspondence to Col. Archer Anderson, Dr. W. Gordon McCabe, and Professor Walter Blair, of Richmond ; to the Bishop of Kentucky, the Rt. Rev. Thomas U. Dudley, of Louisville ; to the President of Randolph-Macon College, Professor R. E. Blackwell ; to Professor John B. Henneman, of the University of the South ; and to Mr. Joakim Reinhard, of Brooklyn ; for the verification of references, to Professor Nelson Glenn McCrea, of Columbia, and to the librarian of that university ; but, above all, to Mrs. Price and to Professor Gildersleeve, without whose advice and assistance the difficulty of the task would have been doubled.)

— Virginian birth in environment of large ease, a temperament poetically imaginative, three years of military service—so much points away from the popular conception of a scholar. Yet each proved its place in a rare composition. Few scholars, indeed, have seen life so various and striking ; but there was more to answer his heart in the verse of old Lawrence Minot than in the soldiering that made Minot sing. War was the hardest prose of his life ; almost all the rest was poetry. His duty was to fight. He did it nobly, because he was strict with himself, and generous in devotion. His calling was to follow the red clue of humanity, not in the press of its instant action, but in every phase of its literary expression. Thus his life is romantic, not in a few years of belt and spur, but through many years of laborious annotation, all vivified by the interpreting of imaginative sympathy. Research was a human pursuit, with dramatic suspenses and unfoldings. In many literatures, and in forms the most various, he read life, full of color and quick with suggestion. Thus he radiated enthusiasm, because within his mind was perpetual romance.

What we used to call Southern chivalry was in him fully expressed. The scholar's shyness, indeed, he had, and behind that a finer

reticence sensitively evasive of all publicity ; but the scholar's rudeness was quite out of his ken. Most urbane and gracious of men, he left always, without the faintest hint of affectation, an aroma of the old school, a fine flavor of courtliness. This delicacy of habit must always predominate in the recollection even of those whose confidence and intimacy warmed his imagination to the kindling expansions that are no less memorable and even more precious. For his conversation realized both aspects of De Quincey's ideal—ground harmony of perfect breeding and original brilliancy of improvisation. He was a man to win disciples, make them his friends, show them the finer ways of friendship. Everywhere men recall him warmly, always with a mental inclination to his dignity. Unknown, as he wished to be, to the modern world of advertisement, he is one of the strong personal influences of our time.

Thomas Randolph Price, born in Richmond, 18th March, 1839, received in baptism the name of his father, and in blood the heritage of his state. He was thoroughly Virginian. His mother, Christian Elizabeth Hall, was a granddaughter of the second Bishop of Virginia, Richard Channing Moore. A boy in Richmond in the '40's, at school under Dr. Maupin and Col. Wm. D. Stuart, a youth at the University of Virginia in the late '50's, he is remembered as shy and studious, but never seclusive. The students that he outstripped by obtaining his master's degree in two years ('56-'58) found him a genial companion. The most eminent American classical scholar, then fresh from Germany, found him among the best of the large class in Greek ; but, not penetrating that reserve, knew only seven years later the awakening of another great force for scholarship, and the beginning of a life-long friendship. After seeing him dutifully follow the law for a year more in the university, his father gave him the means and the freedom to follow his bent toward the study of literature.

With his friend Walter Blair, he entered in the summer of 1859 on three years of study in Europe. At Berlin they lived in the family of Albert Benary, 'the greatest *practical* master of Latinity,' said Mr. Price, 'in the University, the intimate friend of W. von Humboldt and Bopp and the Grimms, and the first man to apply the comparative method to the reform of Latin grammar. Besides him, who guided my studies, I studied under Haupt in Latin, Boeckh in Greek, Bopp and Steinthal in Sanskrit and comparative

grammar.’<sup>1</sup> Here, doubtless, he first saw clearly the principle of much of his own original work—‘a scientific basis for the art of letters.’<sup>2</sup> During his three semesters in Berlin perhaps the strongest personal influence was that of Haupt, whose ‘fervour suited Price’s temperament exactly.’<sup>2</sup>

‘In Kiel, whither I was attracted by the budding reputation of Georg Curtius . . . I studied practically under him alone, and lived in such close intimacy with him that he has continued his friendship and correspondence with me ever since. He was the greatest man, that the happiest and most fruitful period, of my experience. Working with him in the lecture-room and seminary, talking with him evening after evening, I gathered the plan and method and aims of philological study that I have been following ever since.’<sup>1</sup>

Among these four semesters of close application in Germany came a year of studious travel.

‘In Greece, where I resided from December until May (1861), I gave myself up to the study of the modern Greek language, of topography and antiquities. I matriculated at the University; but my time was so fully taken up with tours through the country, and with learning to speak and write the modern tongue, that I hardly gained much from my occasional attendance on lectures. I have never regretted this; for the use of Greek as a living language, and my experience and study of the land itself, have added enormously, as I feel every day, to the vitality and reality of my knowledge.’<sup>1</sup>

His six months in Paris appeared most in the keen appreciation with which he ever afterwards followed French literary criticism.

Then, on the eve of his doctorate, he gave up his career for his state. Virginia was paramount. He shut his books and set out for home, however sadly, quite simply, to button on the gray coat. There is a rumor that at Rome, being unable to secure a passport without taking the oath of allegiance to the United States, he was effectively a prisoner until a Virginia woman extricated him through an introduction to Cardinal Antonelli.<sup>3</sup> His plan to ship from Liverpool as a Greek immigrant was superseded on his encountering in London that famous blockade-runner, John Wilkinson, then captain of the steam privateer *Giraffe*. The nights on deck *sub divo*, the hazardous failure to make Charleston harbor, the thrilling

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Col. Archer Anderson, 27th April, 1876.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Prof. Walter Blair, 8th June, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> Letter from Col. Archer Anderson, 5th June, 1903.

adventure of lying helplessly aground within earshot of a Federal frigate—Mr. Price detailed to stand over the engineer with a pistol—the final dash into the Cape Fear River,—this was a long way from Kiel and Curtius.<sup>1</sup> His service was with the engineers. After some months as first lieutenant on the staff of Major General J. E. B. Stuart, commander of the cavalry corps of Lee's army, he was transferred to the Bureau of Engineers in Richmond, advanced to captain, and later—too late to receive the papers before the end of the war—to major. It was he that was sent by General Breckenridge to announce to Jefferson Davis at Danville that Lee would surrender.<sup>2</sup> Philology would ill spare those years; but the sacrifice expressed alike his generous loyalty and the simplicity of his conscience. It was not in him to think of sitting by.

Not long after Appomattox Professor Gildersleeve, sadly gazing from his window in the University of Virginia, was reanimated by the enthusiasm of the young scholar, who had come from Richmond to express his gratitude and his determination. 'No vision that he saw in my class-room,' writes the elder, 'could have been more significant for him than the vision he brought into my study.'<sup>3</sup> And this kindling ardor was essential in his character. Not only did it generate high friendship; it also gave to his latest studies, as to his earliest, the impetus of youth. As a student, in largeness of undertaking, in imagination, in the tinge of romance, he was always young. The vision to his master then, before the opening of his career, was quite the same as the vision to favored pupil after pupil, year after year, until his death. The man was himself, quite unconsciously, a call to high and generous conceptions, as to honest and patient realization.

At first he conducted (1866–68) with John M. Strother the University School in Richmond. On the 26th December, 1867, he married Miss Lizzie Triplett of that city. In the autumn of 1868 he entered upon his career, as professor in Randolph-Macon College (1869–1876). The chair was of Latin and Greek. In 1870, dropping the Latin, he added the teaching of English. From 1876 to 1882 he was Professor of Greek in the University of Virginia;

<sup>1</sup> The story is told most graphically in Professor Price's own words, *Columbia Literary Monthly*, March, 1894. The detail of the pistol is from the same letter of Col. Anderson.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Dr. W. Gordon McCabe, 29th June, 1903. Letter from Mrs. Price, 10th June, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> Letter from Professor B. L. Gildersleeve, 12th June, 1903.

from 1882 till his death he was Professor of English at Columbia. Here is a surprising alternation. On its face it suggests, and very truly, great scope of activity, a great sum of knowledge. But it might also suggest instability of purpose, versatility leaning to vacillation; and nothing could be further from the truth. For not only was all philology in his audacious conception one field; but his whole career shows one purpose, to realize faithfully and fully for American young men the value of philology in education. Taking American youth as in 1870 he found them, instead of following *a priori* or traditional pedagogics, he set himself with clear foresight to supply the actual needs of his country. This explains his turning to English while he held to his beloved Greek; and in this his plan at Randolph-Macon is the outline of his career. Though to follow this in detail would be full of instruction, yet sufficient may be grasped from a mere statement of principles. On the 14th August, 1877, he read at Louisville, before the National Education Association, a paper entitled *The Study of English as Introductory to the Study of Latin and Greek*, which so far anticipates the trend of our education as to be an important historical document. His text was from Alfred's preface to the translation of Pope Gregory's Pastoral Care: 'I think it better that all the youth that are now in England may for a time give themselves up to no other work till first they well know how to understand the English. Let them that wish to know more learn Latin afterwards.' 'Such is the plan,' he adds, 'that after the blunders of a thousand years, still seems to me the only one capable of achieving for the English-speaking boys of this our nineteenth century any of the great benefits of philological culture.' The argument, outlined barely in his own words, proceeds as follows:

(1) [The boy's] 'knowledge of the English and his power over it are the measure . . . of his fitness and ability to gain other [linguistic] knowledge. Here lies the first term of all sound educational sequences. (2) In almost all the high schools of England and the United States the study of English . . . is . . . neglected. (3) [It is a] grotesque principle that the English language can be best learned from the Latin grammar. . . . As an examiner, I have found it to be the rule that young men tolerably familiar with the elements of three or four foreign languages were intolerably ignorant of their own. . . . (4) I have known no class in Greek or Latin that was not irretrievably injured in efficiency and progress by its lack of command over the resources of the English. (5) In our language, better than anywhere else, the child can learn the nature and function of the parts of speech. For . . . it is the function of the word, and not the form, . . . that marks what it is.

. . . But it is the supreme merit of the English language as a part of philological discipline that it opens up to the mind, more clearly and simply than any other, the facts and laws of logical analysis, . . . as great foreign philologists have admitted. (6) [Really profitable translation demands that] a large part of the early years of education should be spent . . . in the careful and thoughtful reading . . . of those great English books, especially Shakespeare, that enlarge and strengthen the young mind by continual increment of words and ideas. . . . Hence it is . . . preposterous for a child to begin the study of . . . any foreign language till he is familiar by reading and composition with the word-supply of his own tongue, and capable of putting the thought of the ancient writer into decent English form.<sup>1</sup> (7) I mean by English study something . . . far higher and more generous than the ordinary cram of so-called English school-grammars; i. e. : (a) training in the function of each word in the sentence; (b) inflection; (c) a select course of great English writings, . . . by far the most important part; (d) the principles of word-formation . . . copiously illustrated in reading; (e) logical analysis of sentences; (f) constant practice in writing English.<sup>2</sup>

Here is the key. It is thus clear why from this early chair of English, held by a man who spent so much of his training and teaching on Greek, went influences strongly directive of later teaching in the South and Southwest, and suggestive for the whole country. From Randolph-Macon, for instance, Sharp and Basker-

<sup>1</sup> 'It was hard to know to which of the two languages his class [in Greek at the University of Virginia] leaned the more, Greek or English, so intimately upon one another, especially in the work of translating, did the two depend.' J. B. Henneman, 'The Study of English in the South,' *Sewanee Review*, vol. 2, no. 2 (Feb. 1894).

<sup>2</sup> These principles are laid down in the prospectus of the new Randolph-Macon School of English (1870). The Introductory Class (preparatory) surveyed the grammar and history of the language, studied certain classics, and had practice in composition. The Junior Class advanced the same studies. The Intermediate Class studied Anglo-Saxon and the history of English literature. The Senior Class went on to Gothic and historical grammar. President Blackwell, who was kind enough to furnish transcripts from the college catalogues, adds in his accompanying letter (13th August, 1903): 'He spent most of the hour on grammatical, rhetorical, or philological points; but he always gave some illuminating or provoking literary criticism . . . I have never found any one who seemed to me so to stimulate his pupils. . . . Such men, . . . though studying Greek under him at the University of Virginia, and though there was no course of English there, caught this enthusiasm, and devoted themselves to the teaching of English.' The influence at Randolph-Macon, alike of his teaching and of the benevolent wisdom of his friendly intercourse, appears in two recent communications (May 28 and July 9) to the *Baltimore and Richmond Christian Advocate*, each containing a letter from him to one of his graduates.

vill, Blackwell, Woodward, and others, went to Leipzig, and returned to Southern professorships of English.<sup>1</sup> The current has thrilled through many; it has joined others from far in a general reanimation; Professor Price would have been the last to overestimate its particular force; but in retrospect few seem more salutary.

In the class-room, at Columbia and doubtless elsewhere, Professor Price's teaching showed peculiar limitations and a peculiar value. Always and above all a teacher, so devoting himself to his classes that he left quite insufficient time for publication, he was yet too nervous, too scrupulously courteous, and often too lengthily minute to hold large bodies of undergraduates. He could not appeal to the Philistine, nor discern what would awaken his interest. Needing sympathy as a basis, he was generally at his best in his smallest and most advanced courses, and perhaps at his height as inspirer of single men. Numbers, and all the consequent routine of organization, disconcerted and oppressed him. Moreover, he had no art of putting the question. Bringing in the work done, instead of bringing it out from the students before him, he rather showed them how like results might be achieved than made them achieve the particular result at hand. Add that he would detail orally all the stages of his inductions, and it is plain why many were impatient. Many felt also in his criticism a certain lack of measure. Giving himself entirely for the time to the single book or single author, he sometimes made the impression of forgetting, in the degree of his appreciation, all others. But there was, even for the many, an interest in his own interest. His almost boyish pleasure in finally formulating a result was contagious. Besides, he would sometimes in the midst of statistics let himself go into vivid suggestions, reclaiming the weariest; for he was too highly charged with ideas to keep them all within until the scientific moment. To the few, those who discerned that whatever he thought worth their while would prove to be indeed worth their while, he was always interesting. Such men, knowing him, never let slip a word of that memorable style; and he in turn, stimulated by their confidence, would give them suggestions with both hands. It was not at all that he despised the many, but that he was temperamentally averse to popular class-room presentation, and, like other men, could not give his best without response. Response he had no other art to win than original views of truth,

<sup>1</sup> J. B. Henneman, 'The Study of English in the South,' *Sewanee Review*, vol. 2, no. 2 (Feb. 1894).

scientifically won and artistically presented. And that more than sufficed for pupils numerous enough in thirty-five years to spread widely the practice of his methods and the results of his suggestions.

In 1891 the University of the South conferred upon him the degree of LL. D. His 'sabbatical' years were spent in the field-work of philology, in living contact with living Germanic tongues whose past he had followed in the dead letter. Most important of these was his year (1891-2) in Scandinavia. After studious preparation in modern Danish, he gave himself up to full oral communion with the life and literature of Denmark. Thus he came to feel the Jutish dialect; thus going up and down both the land and its long tale of letters, he comprehended vitally the national expression; thus, above all, he appreciated the significance of Danish drama.

. . . 'It shows the blending in the Danish literary form of the French passion for neatness of construction and smartness of dialogue with the Teutonic passion for minute delineation of character, for wild and even coarse extravagance of fun, and for realistic display of contemporary life. The stage of Holberg . . . looks as if some nice stage-arrangement of Molière were of a sudden flooded by a rush of characters out of the Merry Wives of Windsor. . . . In Oehlenschläger . . . there is often much of lofty eloquence, . . . force of declamation, . . . fulness of philosophic thought. But there is that looseness of form which belongs to German romanticism, and the emptiness and paleness of abstract expression that mark the German idealism.'<sup>1</sup>

Even this fragment of criticism shows that he could comprehend in Ibsen not only the tremendous dramatic unity, but also the national character. It reveals further, what is confirmed by the testimony of an accomplished Dane with whom he often talked at large, that Professor Price was an independent master of Danish literature.

'His critical acumen, at least as regards Danish words, was little short of amazing. So subtle a perception had he acquired of the characteristics of the Danish language that his judgment was almost authoritative.'<sup>2</sup>

The single continuous record of these travels, a large, human, and picturesque lecture on *Denmark* before the University of Virginia (1st May, 1897), is matched in charm by another lecture (6th April, 1900), *A Student of Frisian in Frisia*. As he had listened to the

<sup>1</sup> MS. of a lecture on *Danish Life in Danish Literature*.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Mr. Joakim Reinhard, 22nd July, 1903. The statement is supported by details too numerous to quote.



Jutish in Jutland, so, regarding as merely preparatory his study of Rask and Siebs, and of the books he had collected during a short visit in 1895, he spent three months (August-October, 1898) in hearing the Frisian in Frisia. Studying with a master in convenient headquarters in Leeuwarden, welcomed as a kindred gentleman by the seclusive Frisian gentlemen in their patriarchal manor-houses, he found his chief account in the uncontaminated country speech around Grouw, Sneek, and Sloten. For him, as was unfortunately habitual, it was enough to have done the thing. May some pupil prepare those notes for publication !

To evaluate his researches separately is the less easy because they were for him all parts of one. With another scholar in his field,<sup>1</sup> he deprecated the narrowing of the word philology. Philology meant inflections and syntax, indeed, but it meant literature as well. Not only so ; but any one of its aspects might be misapprehended without the others. It would not do to separate English or Greek literature from its language ; and, on the other hand, it would not do to consider the development of speech as automatically physiological. Rather he showed that always 'l'esprit humain y était pour quelque chose.'<sup>2</sup> But, with this unifying impulse in mind, it is interesting to see from a few typical instances the range of his variety.

His lectures to Columbia Sophomores in 1885 on the technic of the English paragraph were sounder, fuller, and far more practically suggestive than anything published up to that time. Based ostensibly on Bain, they were essentially original. I remember no point in my college course that was of greater moment to my education ; and I hear the same opinion from men that have not the slightest professional interest in the subject. Of his voluminous notes on the technic of English verse he published only two on the verse of Shakespeare. Of these, the one that sets forth his doctrine is the study of the verse of *Othello*. Though some of its interpretations seem to draw much from little, and though the theory as a whole has been questioned, it is at least important enough for wider consideration than it has yet received. Negatively, by expelling the incubus of mechanical and pedantic prosody, it vindicates the various freedom of English verse. But its positive value is in

<sup>1</sup>Albert S. Cook, 'The Province of English Philology,' Presidential Address to the Modern Language Association of America, *Publications*, Vol. 13, No. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Michel Bréal, *La Sémantique*.

scientific induction from the facts as against the *a priori* application to English of a bastard classical system. In sum it is as follows:

(1) As the unit in classical measures is not a foot, but a rhythmical series (Schmidt), so in English. Our English rhythmical series may be called the stave (Guest), since 'the history of English poetry in this respect is unbroken from Beowulf to Tennyson.' (2) 'The two kinds of feet that enter into English staves are trochees and dactyls.' By anacrusis, the effect may be made iambic or anapæstic; but since, throughout the history of English verse, anacrusis is used or omitted at the poet's pleasure in the same stanza or other group, it should not be treated as an essential element. Instead, therefore, of adding to our classification two hypothetical feet (iambus and anapæst), it is more scientific to speak simply of iambic or anapæstic staves, as of trochaic or dactylic staves. (3) Thus with staves of one, two, three, and four accents, we have some twenty-two staves as the basis of English verse. (4) But the variety is at once multiplied by the use of syncope. (5) Shakespeare's perfect verses, by employing, besides these other means of variety, variation of the cæsure, have a practical infinity of forms, answering, to take a single aspect, the most subtle purposes of characterization. (7) 'In Shakespeare's verse . . . the progress of art growth was towards freedom and audacity.'

This doctrine pervaded all Professor Price's teaching of verse. In a series of lectures too important to be left long unpublished he also traced the development of English verse-forms from the tenth to the fifteenth century; and his plan was to work out the life-history of Shakespeare's art by an elaborate study of the verse-habit in each play.

All these studies of detail were parts. They were complete, but they were contributory. Scrutinizing the parts minutely, he comprehended the whole largely. He ranged from the smallest variation in syntax or in verse to the widest scope of artistic structure. The import of this will be plainer from two personal experiences. One of the most thoroughly trained of our younger playwrights, now assistant manager of a New York theatre, told me that he had his first view of what was essentially dramatic, what really made a play, from Professor's Price's undergraduate lectures on Shakespeare. The same lectures had revealed to me, among many things, the supreme art of Sophocles. The *Oedipus Rex* has always thereby remained for me the greatest tragedy of all my reading. It was not that Professor Price either taught the details of exits and entrances or turned aside into Greek drama, but that his large and essential considerations gave us both points of view, gave each suggestion for his own peculiar application.

Dramaturgy, indeed, was his peculiar delight. Pursuing it through several literatures and many years, he also sounded it on the stage, and especially on what seemed to him the great stage of our time, the theatre of Copenhagen.<sup>1</sup> A large part of his sabbatical year 1891-2 was devoted to the Danish and Norwegian drama; it recurred with keen relish in his conversation; it colored his later studies.<sup>2</sup> Though he concerned himself little with the practically dramatic, the exigencies and craft of the boards, he had a sure sense of the essentially dramatic. Fortunately this part of his work may be estimated by his publication.

'The story of Lear as developed by the action of Cordelia, and the story of Gloucester as developed by the action of Edmund, had each, by itself and in itself, fine elements of tragical interest. Yet, from Shakespeare's point of view, the story of Lear, as it stood in the old books, was manifestly incapable of being converted, as a separate action, into a drama. For this, I think, the reason is obvious. The story of King Lear by itself, after the division of his kingdom and his quarrel with Cordelia, events that occur in the 1st scene of the 1st Act, is only a psychological study. It gives the result of an action, but not the action itself. It is the picture of an old man of splendid but disordered intellect, sinking stage after stage, by reason of one deed of surpassing folly and cruelty, into hopeless ruin of fortune, into madness and death. As a study of psychological condition, it does not represent the rise and progress of the dramatic emotion, and it does not give the culmination of that emotion in any decisive deed. In fact, after the fatal folly of laying down his royal power and driving Cordelia from him, Lear is incapable of any action at all. He is simply driven, by force of circumstances, as the result of the action already done, into deeper and deeper depths of humiliation and misery. In itself, therefore, the pitiful story of the mad king, after the 1st scene of the 1st Act, was, as Shakespeare rightly saw, devoid of the true dramatic quality, and incapable of shaping itself into a real drama. This was the reason that led him, as I think, to supplement the story of Lear and Cordelia by the story of Gloucester and Edmund. This happy combination of the two stories, on a plan never elsewhere attempted, produced the amazing grandeur of the result. For the story of Edmund had in itself just what the story of Lear lacked, the definite dramatic emotion and the definite dramatic action. It was capable, therefore, of absorbing into itself the story of Lear's calamities, and of carrying it along with itself to a dramatic conclusion. As the result of this fusion, it is the study of Lear's character and the picture of his mental decay that form the pathos and the vital charm of the poem; but it is the passion and the action of Edmund, the rise and downfall of his fortunes, that supply the form of the drama and its dramatic movement.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. The opening of the essay on *Solness*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Troilus and Criseyde*, p. 13.

'Such was, I think, Shakespeare's reason for combining the action of the Edmund-tragedy with the action of Lear and Cordelia. It was a reason that grew out of his consummate knowledge of construction ; and, in the details and method of that construction, it led to the highest achievement of constructive skill that the art of poetry has ever reached.'<sup>1</sup>

This study of *King Lear* bears all through the character of his teaching—its enthusiasm, its wideness of interest, its scientific method, its artistic presentation, its fructifying inculcation of the significance of literary form.

For in examination of forms and pursuit of form all his studies are seen to converge. The form itself, its capacity, its adaptation ; the form as a stage of progress, whether in linguistic consciousness or in artistic development ; the form as the revelation of the former ; —these are essentially aspects of one preoccupation. Sense of form—that is the dominant of his study, his teaching, his writing. His literary scrupulosity toward his own writing did as much, perhaps, as his inborn reserve, to stint his publication. But every lecture, were it for a class of three or for some student society, was artistically finished. He never lectured off-hand, though his conversation showed that no man could have done so more readily ; and he left no loose ends. So firm was the texture of his paragraphs that to read over once the notes of a whole term sufficed to fix the lucid order. Even indolent students at Columbia declared that no one else was so easy to learn. And if he made his work always logical, he could not help being always literary.

But, still more, sense of form controlled all his teaching of literature. It was his method of approach, his point of view. His biography was luminous, his consideration of historical environment careful ; but these were always held subordinate. His business was to teach literature. Steadily rejecting all concession to anecdotage and sociology, he read and taught, first and always, the poet through the poem. He interrogated the art, not the artist. It was scientific induction from technic, and thus the less popular, and the more useful. To a few kindred minds it was keenly and constantly suggestive. Even the trifling, the impatient, the doubters, were often moved as the patiently detailed evidence was capped by the insight of his feeling ; for he was always feeling his author, sounding for him, and loving the art because of his certitude that the art was the only true revelation.

<sup>1</sup> *King Lear*, pp. 10-11.

'It may be reckoned as the progress of the 20th century beyond the 19th, that it begins with a general confession of the futility of that criticism which has too long been exercised upon the sonnets of Shakespeare. The biographical theory may frankly be said to have failed. The "dark lady" whitens into a ghost. Students of the poet's life and achievement are not, it may be hoped, to be worried any longer by those fantastical legends of his personal weaknesses and abasements which bad critical method so long sought to draw from his poems.

'The gain is likely to be great. For, so long as the world ceases to seek in the sonnets for morbid details of the poet's biography, and for the revelation of his adventures and intrigues, those poems assume their true value as works of art. And, if the stages of a poet's artistic development be in truth the vital facts of a poet's life, then the sonnets become of monumental worth, stages in the attainment of his perfect art, the training-school of his transcendent genius for poetic form.' <sup>1</sup>

The value of this for teaching may be seen even from his few publications, as when in presenting Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* as a piece of narrative art, he suggests its essential likeness in general method to modern realism, and in detail of construction to modern drama. Passing silently into habits and correcting points of view, the consistent inculcation of form in all his courses was of large beneficence.

CHARLES SEARS BALDWIN.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

#### CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

- 1867-70. Collaboration on the first part of Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar.
1877. *The Study of English as Introductory to the Study of Latin and Greek*, read before the National Educational Association at Louisville, 14th August, 1877.
1883. *The Color-System of Vergil*, read before the Philological Association of the Johns Hopkins University, 14th April, 1882; published in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. 4, no. 13. Beginning with the Latin joy in color as distinct from the Greek joy in light, and passing to a vivid presentation of the Vergilian picturesqueness, this charming essay then distinguishes the ancient conceptions of color from the modern (which he derives from Young, Helmholtz, Aubert, and Rood). The method laid down is (1) to scrutinize through etymology the physical basis of each Vergilian color-term, (2) to determine its range on the spectrum and its variation in purity, (3) to determine its variation through the use of the term in contrast or combination. This study, the only one published, so far as I know, by Professor Price, is confined

<sup>1</sup> *The Technic of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, p. 363.

- to the first consideration. It anticipates by nine years Hugo Blümner's *Die Farbenbezeichnungen bei den Römischen Dichter* (*Berliner Studien*, vol. 13.)
1888. *The Construction and Types of Shakespeare's Verse as seen in the Othello*, read in outline before the Shakespeare Society of New York, 20th May, 1886; published as No. 8 of the Society's *Papers*, 1888.
1892. *Ibsen's Dramatic Method Compared with Shakespeare's*, read before the New York Shakespeare Society, 14th May, 1891; published in *Shakespeariana*, vol. 9, no. 1 (January, 1892). The text is Hedda Gabler.
1894. *King Lear; a Study of Shakespeare's Dramatic Method*, read December 28, 1893, at the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association of America; printed in the Society's *Publications*, vol. 9, no. 2.
- Christmas Eve, 1862*, *The Columbia Literary Monthly*, vol. 2, p. 255 (March, 1894).
- Solness: a Study of Ibsen's Dramatic Method*, *Sevanee Review*, vol. 2, no. 3 (May, 1894). Besides the published essay on *Hedda Gabler* and *Solness*, there are the following unpublished lectures in the Scandinavian field: *Danish Life in Danish Literature* (9th May, 1896); *Ibsen's Catiline, its Constructive Plan* (New York Academy of Sciences, 22d March, 1897); *Denmark* (University of Virginia, 1st May, 1897); *Ibsen's Method* (22d March, 1898).
1896. *Troilus and Criseyde, a Study in Chaucer's Method of Narrative Construction*, read at the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, December, 1895; printed in the Society's *Publications*, vol. 11, no. 3.
- Language and Literature, their Connection in Practical Education*, read April 10, 1895, at Columbia College, before the Association of English Teachers; published in *The Educational Review*, vol. 11 (1896), p. 12. It begins with destructive analysis of Churton Collins's *Language versus Literature* as promulgating 'the most deadly danger of our time to the successful teaching of either;' and goes on to urge that 'the true study of literature is the study, not of theories about relations of history and philosophy and aesthetics, but of the meaning and significance of the great works of literature themselves.'
1901. *The New Function of Modern Language Teaching*, presidential address to the Modern Language Association of America, 28th December, 1900; printed in the Society's *Publications*, vol. 16, No. 1.
1902. *The Technic of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, published in *Studies in Honor of Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve*.

(At the time of his death, Professor Price had long been occupied with a study of Marlowe.)

GUSTAV STORM.<sup>1</sup>

In Gustav Storm, late Professor in the University of Christiania, the study of old Norwegian history and literature has lost one of its foremost representatives, a man whose work has had influence not only in Norway and in the other Scandinavian countries but wherever Northern antiquities are studied.

Gustav Storm was born in 1845 in Rendalen, a parish in one of the eastern valleys of Norway, where his father was a clergyman. Among his brothers is the distinguished scholar Professor JOHAN STORM, the author of *English Philology* and other works on French and English language and literature. Gustav Storm was educated in Christiania where the historian and antiquarian scholar, the late Professor OLUF RYGH was among his teachers. Gustav Storm's interest in history was early awakened. Through RUDOLF KEYSER the scientific study of early Norwegian history and of the Icelandic sagas had been introduced. But its chief representative was P. A. MUNCH, the author of *Det norske folks historie*, Kristiania, 1852-63 (8 vols.) To Munch's circle also belonged the Philologist CARL UNGER, the editor of *Heimskringla* and a number of other Icelandic sagas, and the historian LANGE who was Keeper of the Public Records. Lange was an uncle of Gustav Storm and to his library Storm had free access. There he often found Lange and Munch in lively discussion concerning questions in early Norwegian history. It was the influence of these men that gave the direction to Storm's future studies.

Neither Storm nor Munch were historians in the same sense as f. i. Motley, Gibbon or Froude. They were both in an eminent degree investigators. Their aim was to throw light upon the ancient history of Norway, a period which until then had been utter darkness. They were both explorers, tempted especially by the dark and

<sup>1</sup> Owing to the illness of Dr. Alexander Bugge this necrology could not appear in the last number of the JOURNAL as intended. It is due chiefly to the kindness and ever-ready courtesy of Professor Dr. Sophus Bugge that we are able to print it now.—G. T. F.

unknown. In the company of Leif Erikssön Gustav Storm has sailed from the glaciers of Greenland to the shores of North America, he has followed the Norwegian Ottar on his way around North Cape to the White Sea, and he has been in the East, in Russia and Constantinople with King Harald Hardrada. He has resurrected Snorre Sturlason, the greatest Icelandic saga-writer and published and explained numerous ancient historical texts.

As we see, the studies of Gustav Storm included almost the same domain as those of P. A. Munch. They both mastered completely all the auxiliary sciences of history. Storm was, as Munch had been, a geographer, ethnographer, philologist and mythological scholar. And he knew the old Norwegian and Icelandic literature better than any other living scholar. But in his method Storm was the very opposite of Munch. Through his intuitive genius Munch guessed the truth and built far reaching combinations where others had only seen incoherent facts. But the task Munch had set himself was too great for a single man. The regions that he was travelling were unexplored and the ground he was working had not been prepared before him. Therefore Munch's great work, *History of the Norwegian People*, though the work of a genius, is still full of errors and mistakes. It prepared the way but did not offer final results. Munch's work was, and is still, the standard work on early Norwegian history. But what it lacked was especially a criticism of its details and results. The investigations of E. Jessen into Northern Antiquity (1862) which departed from existing opinions on many fundamental facts aroused a great deal of discussion at the time. This work, which also contained a severe criticism of several of P. A. Munch's theories, created a deep impression on Gustav Storm. His task became, as he saw it, to investigate the details and to clear the ground upon which the future writing of the history of Norway was to be built. And for this Storm was especially fitted. He had that thorough philological training so necessary to all students of early history, and he was endowed with a rare critical gift. In his weighing of sources he was always guided by his clear intellect and his never-failing love of truth.

After the death of the before-mentioned Rudolf Keyser, the posthumous works of this scholar were edited by Professor Oluf Rygh. (Kristiania, 1866). Among these one work especially, *Nordmændenes Videnskabelighed og Literatur*, gave rise to an animated discussion, chiefly among Danish and Norwegian scholars. Keyser's work was partial and one-sided in that it tried to vindicate



the greater part of the old Norwegian literature, the Eddic poems and even many of the Icelandic sagas as exclusively Norwegian. The Danish scholar Sven Grundtvig in a lengthy review of Keyser's work attempted to prove that the Eddic poems were not Norwegian or Icelandic, but the common property of the Scandinavian peoples, and that on the other hand the Icelandic literature was only Icelandic and not half Icelandic, half Norwegian. Against Grundtvig, Storm, in 1869, wrote his first treatise *Om den gamle norrøne litteratur* (Kristiania). In this work Storm takes an independent position against Grundtvig's theories on the Eddic poems as well as against Keyser's views on the Icelandic literature, and Storm's views have later been generally accepted. Storm, as we have seen, began his career with a work that lies on the borderland between history and the history of literature, and it is undoubtedly here that he has left his chief mark. The chief of the old saga-writers is undoubtedly Snorre Sturlason. Not only did Snorre possess greater learning and a more profound knowledge of the past than did any of his contemporaries, but his style is far more brilliant. He excels in fascinating characteristics and is among historians, it may well be said, one of the most dramatic writers that ever lived. He may as such fairly be compared with Macauley. Snorre's *Heimskringla* or Sagas of the Norwegian Kings is not only one of the chief sources of the early history of Norway; it has also always been one of the most popular works in Norse literature and may in our days be read with the same interest as in olden times. To the study of Snorre and of *Heimskringla* Gustav Storm turned as a young man and this study has ever since occupied much of his time. In 1871 he received the great gold medal of the Royal Danish Scientific Society (*Det Kongelige danske Videnskabernes Selskab*) for his work on the historiography of Snorre Sturlason, a work which in the future will probably always be the basis for the study of *Heimskringla* and of the other Icelandic Kings' sagas. In this work Storm throws light on the scientific method and critical principles of Snorre, his studies, his style and his method of working. He compares Snorre and his predecessors and shows from what sources he has drawn his information. The chief living authority on the history of Icelandic literature, Professor Finnur Jónsson of Copenhagen says: Through Storm's work, the question as to whether Snorre was the author of *Heimskringla* must be considered solved, and the authorship established forever.<sup>1</sup> Through his work on the

<sup>1</sup> *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie*, II, 698.

historiography of Snorre, Storm made Snorre himself and his literary character living to us, his translation of *Heimskringla* has again made this, the chief work of Snorre, in the truest sense a popular book. Not only is the translation masterly, but it is provided with notes and maps from Storm's own hand and with illustrations in the spirit of the saga times from the best Norwegian painters as Gerhard Munthe, Werenskjold and others. Besides his work on Snorre Storm has also in smaller treatises thrown light on many other Icelandic sagas bearing upon the history of Norway, such as *Agrip*, *Fagrskinna* and *Morkinskinna*. I may also mention his paper on *Jomsvikingasaga*<sup>1</sup> where he shows the relative value of the different recensions of this for the history of Norway in the later part of the 10th century so important a saga. Of still greater value is perhaps Storm's edition of the Icelandic Annals,<sup>2</sup> the first reliable and scientific edition of these important sources for the history of Norway and Iceland in the later part of the 13th and in the 14th century, from which period there are no sagas. In connection with this should also be mentioned Storm's edition of the few Latin historical writings, which are left bearing upon Norway in the Middle Ages—*Monumenta Historica Norvegiae*, Kristiania, 1880. These he has provided with notes and a valuable introduction, and he attempts to determine the age of the writings, the place where written, their original form, sources from which the authors have drawn, &c.

About the middle of the 16th century the last feeble waves of the renaissance found their way into Norway where at the same time the political conditions had made Danish the literary language of the country. There came a literary revival lasting for more than fifty years. The interest in the antiquity of Norway was again awakened, and several of the sagas of the Norwegian Kings and some of the old Norwegian laws were translated into Danish by scholars of the time, mostly clergymen and lawyers. In these men and their works Gustav Storm took great interest. Thus he collected the scattered fragments of information about Laurents Hanssøn who, in the middle of the sixteenth century, translated the first part of the Kings' sagas after the Codex Frisianus<sup>3</sup> and he published the work left in manuscript by the Norwegian clergyman Peder

<sup>1</sup> *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 1, 235–248.

<sup>2</sup> *Islandske Annaler*, by G. Storm, Kristiania, 1888.

<sup>3</sup> *Laurents Hanssøns Sagaoversættelse, udgivet af G. S. in Christiania Videnskabs Selskabs Skrifter*, 1898, Vol. 2, No. 1, Christiania, 1899.

Claussön Friis,<sup>1</sup> with a valuable introduction. Such works were more or less directly concerned with Old Norse history. Professor Storm's interest in Old Norse literature was not, however, limited to the historical portion of it. In 1874 he published a study on the traditions concerning Charlemagne and Theodoric the Great, found in the Scandinavian countries,<sup>2</sup> for which the degree of Ph. D. was conferred on him by the University of Christiania. Professor Konrad Maurer, who visited Christiania in the summer of 1872, suggested to some of the leading politicians of the day that something ought to be done to enable Storm to concentrate his work for a time on the study of Old Norse literature. His suggestion was followed, and for some time Storm was engaged in studies preparatory to a history of that literature. It is much to be regretted that such a work never came from Prof. Storm's pen. His historical training, his fine appreciation of literature and his critical method would have made him exceptionally fitted for such a task.

I have already spoken of Storm's thorough knowledge of the various branches more or less connected with history proper. Above all, he was an eminent geographer. Thus he has been able to identify many of the localities which have at various times played a role in Norwegian history,<sup>3</sup> and he has published several papers on maps and older works dealing with the old geography of the Northern countries, especially of Norway. His most important contribution to historical geography, however, is his *Studies on the Vinland Voyages*,<sup>4</sup> where he was able to identify, for the first time, the various places in North America visited by Leif Erikssön, the Norwegian sailor, who was the first to cross from the old to the new world. Storm has finally proved that Leif's 'Helleland' is the modern Labrador, his 'Markland,' Newfoundland and his 'Vinland,' Nova Scotia. He further showed that Leif found Vinland about the year 1000 A. D. and that Torfinn Karlsevne later went

<sup>1</sup> *Samlede Skrifter af Peder Claussön Friis*, Udgivne af Dr. Gustav Storm, Kristiania, 1881. Cf. Prof. Storm's paper, "Rettelser til Afhandlingen 'Om Peder Claussön Friis'" in *Historisk Tidsskrift*, Third Series, vol. 1, pp. 238-243.

<sup>2</sup> *Sagnkredsene om Karl den Store og Didrik af Bern hos de nordiske Folk. Et Bidrag til Middelalderens litterære Historie*, Kristiania, 1874.

<sup>3</sup> *Historisk-geografiske Studier i det nordensfeldske Norge*. Kristiania, 1877. Reprint from *Historisk Tidsskrift*, vol. 4, 1877.

<sup>4</sup> Copenhagen, 1889. Originally printed, in Norwegian, in *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 2nd series, vol. 2, pp. 293-372. The Norwegian title was, *Studier over Vinlandsreiserne, Vinlands Geografi og Etnografi*.

out to colonize the country but had to abandon that plan after several encounters with the natives, the so-called 'Skrælings.' All the tales about later voyages and a real colonization of the country Storm has proved to be later inventions. The results arrived at in Prof. Storm's Studies on the Vinland Voyages, are now accepted by all competent scholars. They aroused keen interest not least in America. I may mention as a proof of the appreciation of the importance of Prof. Storm's Studies in America that they induced Count Loubat of New York, to give the necessary funds for a prize to be awarded to the author of the most valuable contribution on American ethnography, history or numismatics, written in Norwegian, Swedish or Danish during the last five years. The prize was founded in 1889 and it was to be distributed by the Swedish Academy at Stockholm, which in 1892 awarded it to Storm for his Studies. Leif Erikssön was not the only Norwegian who, in olden times, went abroad and discovered new countries. Greenland was early colonized from Norway and remained a Norwegian colony until about 1400. The sailor Ottar from Haalogaland, who in the 9th century proceeded up as far as the lower part of the White Sea, was the first explorer in Arctic regions, the predecessor of Nansen and Sverdrup. Storm took a keen interest in all such topics as also in all questions pertaining to old Norwegian geography and topography.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Magnus Barfods Vesterhavstog*, Kristiania, 1880. Reprint from *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 2nd series, vol. 2.—*Om Forfættelsen af Beskrivelserne over Lofoten og Vesterdaalen (1591) og over Namdalen (1597)*, Kristiania, 1883. Repr. from *Hist. Tids.*, 2nd series, vol. 4.—*Harald Haardraade og Væringerne i de græske Keiseres Tjeneste*, Kristiania, 1883. Repr. from *Hist. Tids.*, 2nd series, vol. 4.—*Søfareren Johannes Scolvus og hans Reise til Labrador eller Grönland*, Kristiania, 1886. Repr. from *Hist. Tids.*, 2nd series, vol. 5.—*Om Kilderne til Lyschanders 'Grönlandske Chronica,' Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 2nd series, vol. 3, pp. 197–218.—*Om det gamle Hamar og den gamle 'Hamars Beskrivelse' fra 1553*, Kristiania, 1888; *Om de Hamarske Krøniker*, Kristiania, 1888. Both reprinted from *Hist. Tids.*, 3rd series, vol. 1.—*Eiriks Saga Rauða og Flatøbogens Grönlendingsþáttur samt Uddrag fra Olafssaga Tryggvasonar udgivne for Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur ved G. S., Kjöbenhavn, 1891.*—*Nye Efterretninger om det gamle Grönland*, *Hist. Tids.*, 3rd series, vol. 2.—*Om opdagelsen af 'Nordkap' og veien til 'det hvide hav,'* Kristiania, 1894. Repr. from *Det norske geografiske selskabs årbog*, vol. 5.—*Historisk-topografiske Skrifter om Norge og norske Landsdele, forfattede i Norge i det 16 de Aarhundrede. Udgivne ved Dr. G. S.,* Kristiania, 1895.—*Om Aarstallet for Trondhjems Grundlæggelse.* Repr. from *Det Kgl. norske Videnskabers Selskabs Festskrift*, Trondhjem, 1897.

As in so much else Storm became the successor of P. A. Munch also in continuing the edition of the old Norwegian laws, which Munch and Keyser had left unfinished. Munch and Keyser had published three volumes, and Storm added a fourth, and, together with Professor Ebbe Hertzberg, a fifth.<sup>1</sup>

The various works mentioned in the preceding deal with the criticism of historical sources and related branches of study. Several contributions to Norse history were the result of the studies connected with such work.<sup>2</sup> Our principal authorities on the history of the Viking age are Gustav Storm and the Danish scholar Prof. Johannes Steenstrup. In friendly appreciation of each other they often disagreed, but they have both awakened interest in those bygone times and they share the honor of having laid a solid foundation for a deeper and more correct understanding of that period.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Norges gamle Love indtil 1387, 4-5 Bind, indeholdende Supplémenter til de tre foregaaende Bind samt Haandskriftbeskrivelse med Facsimiler, udgivet efter offentlig Foranstaltning, Christiania, 1885-95.*

<sup>2</sup> *Om Ynglingatal og de norske Ynglingakonger i Danmark, Kristiania, 1873. Repr. from Hist. Tids., vol. 3, 1873.—Den hellige Kong 'Haakon og Falkevisen om hans Død, Christiania, 1877. Repr. from Hist. Tids., vol. 4.—Om den hellige Kong Haakon og Peder Syvs Psalterium, Christiania Videnskabs Selskabs Forhandlinger, 1879, no. 11.—Havelock the Dane and the Norse King Olaf Kvaran, Christiania Videnskabs Selskabs Forh. 1879, no. 5.—Om Lendermandsklassens Talrighed i 12. og 13. Aarh. Kristiania, 1882. Repr. from Hist. Tids., 2nd series, vol. 4.—Et byzantisk Bidrag til Harald Haardraades Historie in Hist. Tids., 2nd series, vol. 4.—Færøiske Studier, Kristiania, 1883. Repr. from the same volume.—Om Tidsforholdet mellem Kongespejlet og Stjórn samt Barlaams og Josafats Saga. in Arkiv för nordisk filologi, vol. 3, 83-88.—Een Tale mod Biskopperne, Et politisk Tidskrift fra Kong Sverres Tid, udgivet efter offentlig Foranstaltning ved G. S., Christiania, 1885.—Smaating fra Sverresaga, Christiania, 1885. Repr. from Hist. Tids., 2nd series, vol. 5. Udenlandske Beretninger om Kong Sverre, Christiania, 1885.—Om nordiske Stedsnavne i Normandiet, Kristiania, 1887. Repr. from Hist. Tids., 2nd series, vol. 6.—Om Amund Sigurdssøn Bolt og Urolighederne i det sydlige Norge 1436-38, Christiania, 1891. Repr. from Hist. Tids., 2nd series, vol. 2.—Om Amund Sigurdssøn Bolt i Sverige, Hist. Tids., vol. 4.—Norges gamle Vaaben Førver og Flag. In Christiania Videnskabs Selskabs Skrifter, 1894, 2, no. 1.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ragnar Lodbrok og Lodbrokssønnerne, Studie i dansk Oldhistorie og nordisk Sagnhistorie, Kristiania, 1877. Repr. from Hist. Tids., 2nd series, vol. 1.—Kritiske Bidrag til Vikingetidens Historie, 1. Kristiania, 1878.—I Anledning af Hr. Johannes Steenstrups 'Danske Kolonier i Flandern og Nederlandene i det 10de Aarhundrede,' Christiania, 1878. Repr. from Hist. Tids.—Vikingetogenes tidligste Udgangspunkter, Christiania, 1879. Repr. from Hist. Tids., 2nd series, vol. 2.*

In dealing with the Viking age and especially in his *Critical Contributions to the History of the Viking Age*, Storm shows a preference for those branches of research which aim at the investigation of the historical truth in old poems and folk-tales. He held it to be an important duty of the historical scholar to trace the real facts underlying historical ballads and traditional tales.

During the winter of 1895-96 Professor Storm went to Rome in order to search the Vatican Library for records and papers pertaining to Norwegian history in the middle ages. He had not been able to publish more than a portion of the results of those investigations when death overtook him.<sup>1</sup>

Another work which was left unfinished at his death was *Regesta Norvegica*, a chronological index to documents relating to Norway, which he began to publish in 1898.<sup>2</sup> It is much to be regretted that both of these important works were left unfinished. They show us Storm in his very best qualities as a sound critic of historical records.

Gustav Storm was not, however, only a learned scholar, writing for the learned. We also know him as a writer of fascinating popular books. I pass by his text-books in history, which are widely used in the schools in Norway, and shall only mention his interesting sketches of Queen Mary Stuart and of Christopher Columbus.<sup>3</sup>

It was, however, a consequence of his method and the subjects he chose to investigate that he seldom had occasion to address a larger public. His life's work was that of a pioneer. In the wide field to which he extended his studies, he has everywhere introduced order, light and clearness, distinguished between historical truth and fiction, shown what was of essential importance in the various records

<sup>1</sup> *Afgifter fra den norske Kirkeprovins til det apostoliske Kammer og Kardinalcollegiet 1311-1523. Efter Optegnelser i de pavelige Arkiver*, Christiania, 1897. Repr. from *Universitets Festskrift til H. M. Kong Oscar II i Anledning af Regjeringssjubilaet 1897. Romerske Oldbreve*, I, Kristiania, 1902. Ed. by G. Storm and H. J. Huitfeldt-Kaas.

<sup>2</sup> *Regesta Norvegica, Kronologisk Fortegnelse over Dokumenter vedkommende Norge, Nordmænd og den norske Kirkeprovins I, 991-1263*, Christiania, 1898.

<sup>3</sup> *Maria Stuart, Otte Forelæsninger*, Christiania, 1891. Translated into German by Dr. P. Wittmann, under the title *Maria Stuart*, München, 1894.—*Christofer Columbus og Amerikos Opdagelse*, Christiania, 1893, and Chicago, 1892. Cf. Storm's paper *Columbus på Island og vore forfædres opdagelser i det nordvestlige Atlanterhav* in *Det norske geografiske selskabs årsbog*, vol. 4, Kristiania, 1893.

and thus laid a solid foundation for historical research. In his methods and writings he differs widely from his friend and colleague, Prof. Ernest Sars, who in his outlines of the History of the Norwegian People, has given us the deepest and most spirited continuous sketch of the whole period. Sars aims chiefly at drawing the broad lines, pointing out the general trend of the development of Norwegian civilization. He draws the general conclusions and points out the moral of the raw materials. Storm, on the other hand, preferred to gather and analyze the materials themselves. Both kinds of historians are, of course, necessary, and it seems to me that especially in Norway, where so much still remains to be done, where so much new ground must be cleared, the historical critic is necessary. Such a scholar cannot, of course, expect to reach the same wider public as the historical philosopher. But there is something noble and exalted in the self-denial of a scholar who only tries to find the truth for its own sake and to lay the foundation for other writers.

It is not easy to clearly define Storm's position as a historian. I have already mentioned that his researches included the same field as those of his predecessor P. A. Munch and also wherein he differed from the latter. Munch's strength did not so much lie in critical analysis as in ingenious combinations, he could often make mistakes, but even then he inspires to further research. Those qualities which were wanting in Munch were strong in Storm. In quiet passionless objectivity he devoted himself to critical analysis of sources. Better than most others he was able to weigh and judge the old traditions and records, where the historical truth is so often overgrown and hidden by later additions and fiction. As a result of his critical appreciation of facts, he has arrived at great and important practical results, as in, perhaps especially, his work on Snorre Sturlason.

His scientific method was probably most influenced from Germany, where the critical study of historical sources has until quite recently been conducted in a much more methodical way than in France and England. In 1875 he spent a term at the Berlin University where he attended the lectures of Mommsen, Mietsch and Müllenhoff and took part in the training classes in history under Droysen. It seems to me that he can, in many respects, be compared with the late Professor Konrad Maurer. Maurer devoted himself chiefly to the study of the development of law and legal institutions in the northern countries, especially Norway and Iceland, but he thoroughly appre-

ciated the importance of the study of language and literary history for his work. Like Storm his view of the past was sober and positive. He was not an essentially synthetic scholar, and has only left us one comprehensive work on the history of legal institutions, viz., his work on the development of the Icelandic free state. But to quote Professor Ebbe Hertzberg, who has contributed a sketch of his life to the last issue of the *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, 'he was so much the more conversant with the whole apparatus of critical analysis. His ability in selecting and rejecting the materials was admirable, and his energy in procuring them and weighing them against each other, inexhaustible. His numerous studies in investigation of details, therefore, can be considered as so many hand-books on the topics in question.' These words apply equally well to Storm.

Storm was a born administrator and his abilities in that direction could not fail to be directed in the interests of the society in which he lived. Since he became connected with the University as professor he was one of its leading authorities and took a prominent part in everything connected with the administration. He was also keenly interested in the work of the high schools, and was a member and later the chairman of the committee organized for the inspection of the high schools of Norway. He was further an active member, and usually the leading spirit in numerous societies and committees. I shall only mention his important work for the Christiania Scientific Society, to which he was general secretary since 1884.

He was one of the founders, and for a long time the editor of the *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, and he was one of the principal contributors to the Norwegian historical journal. In short his name was intimately connected with almost every institution in Norway that has aimed at the development of historical and philological research.

Little remains to be said about his life. We have seen how the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred on him by the University. A short time afterwards he was appointed reader, and in 1877 professor of history. His studies have often taken him abroad, and he was also on several occasions, sent out as the official representative of his country, thus for instance at the ninth international congress of Americanists in Huelva, in the autumn of 1892.

His death is a heavy loss to Norwegian science. It is not easy to understand how he managed to accomplish so much. And still he always found time to help others, and often suggested and planned



large undertakings to be carried out by others under his guidance and direction. It is not, however, Norwegian science and the Norwegian University alone that have sustained a loss in the death of Gustav Storm, but the whole nation. The people at large, it is true, will not be able to appreciate the fact fully. They will in many cases, only know his translations of the sagas and his more popular works. Among students of history in the North, on the other hand, he will always be remembered with admiration. His works will stand out as models in method and accurate scholarship. And when the time comes to write the history of Norway, it will be found that he has been one of those who have laid most stones to the foundation upon which that building will have to be raised, one of those whose work does not only belong to the day but has brought results of lasting value which will stand the criticism of future generations.

In the preceding sketch I have had the opportunity of making use of a necrology written by my father, Prof. Sophus Bugge, and printed in *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, Vol. 18, pp. 377-384. I am also indebted to J. B. Halvorsen's standard work *Norsk Forfatter-Lexikon* 1814-1880. A complete bibliography of Prof. Storm's writings will be found in that work, Vol. v, pp. 476-486, brought down to the 8th of April, 1899.

ALEXANDER BUGGE.

UNIVERSITY OF CHRISTIANIA,  
June, 1903.

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C. G. O.





## VERSE AND PROSE.

### I.

#### THE TERMS POETRY AND PROSE.

THE vague general distinction most commonly implied by the terms 'poetry' and 'prose,' when all common factors have been cleared away, turns out to be based on a small and very unimportant difference in the things denoted. Poetry, we are told, must have emotion and imagination. But prose writings often have both of these; so neither can serve as the differentia. Nor can rhythm, simply as such, constitute the differentia, for brief rhythmic passages may be found in almost any piece of prose; while in prose of that higher, more imaginative, and more impassioned kind to which nearly every one accords the name of 'poetic prose' there is always rhythm. For instance, in De Quincey's *Dream Fugue*—to go no further—the grandeur and harmony of the ever-present rhythm is such as to entitle the piece indeed to be called a 'fugue'; but just because this rhythm is varied and indeterminate, those who hold out for the distinction would exclude the *Dream Fugue* from the class of 'poetry.' In that class of imaginative and impassioned utterance to which they restrict the name, the rhythm is determinate—methodized into regularity by the application of measuring-rods—short ones called feet, and longer ones, made up of feet, and called lines or verses. We are forced, then, to the conclusion that the reasons for the distinctive characteristics claimed for 'poetry,' as contrasted with the highest kind of prose, must be sought in the single element of verse or regulated rhythm.

'Wait!' I think I hear some one say; 'You are leaving out

of account alliteration, assonance in all its subtle shades, and all kinds of inversion and verbal arrangements common in poetry, but uncommon in prose.'

Assonance and alliteration are not peculiar to compositions in verse; they are natural to the human race, and some prose writers find it much harder to avoid than to practice the use of them. It is true, however, that the extensive employment of them in prose is liable to be regarded as a somewhat meretricious device. But it is also true that they do play an important part in much of our finest impassioned prose; and this fact merely proves that the use of them in prose, like the use of any other element of expression, is subject to the principles of good style. The extent to which they can be employed in any given case must be determined by their effectiveness for the purpose in hand: if they are effective, they are good; if not, they are bad. And what greater freedom in the use of them has the versifier? The fact is, we see them used far more profusely in verse than in prose, and we only too often uncritically accept this as a matter of course, without stopping to ask if there is a valid excuse for it. But, in the long run, it is true that the verse-writer, like the prose-writer, uses assonance and alliteration at his peril; if he uses them crudely, as many unskilful versifiers do, he loses more than he gains; we regard his use of them as a proof, not that he breathes in a loftier element of passion than ours, but rather that he is a superficial or insincere thinker and a bungling melodist.

Similar reasoning applies to the use of inversions and other unusual orders of words. Such orders are really more common in verse than in prose. But they are not an end in themselves; they are a means; and the legitimacy of any given instance depends solely upon its effectiveness as judged by good stylistic taste. So, too, as regards their use in prose. When the muse of rhythmic prose unfurls her wings, when she really frees herself and enters the realm of fine art, she knows no limits in

this matter except those imposed by good stylistic taste. 'Convention!' some one says. Very true; the Muse of prose does only too often think of convention; but when she is really free, she owes fealty to artistic taste alone, and uses any inversion or assonance or alliteration that her critical judgment approves as effective for the case in hand.

Thus, after all, verse remains the sole difference, or cause of difference, between the norms of poetry and prose, popularly so-called. What, then, are we to do with the contrasted terms, 'poetry' and 'prose'?

By the uncritical, these terms are commonly paired off in three distinct ways. First, they are used as names for contrasted essences, without reference to forms of expression. As regards this use, it is only necessary to point out that prose is not an essence, but a medium; and hence, in this case, the true antithesis is *Poetry vs. Non-Poetry*.

Secondly, the terms 'poetry' and 'prose' are used as names for contrasted modes, or media, of expression. Here it must be said that poetry is a matter of essence, and not of medium; the true antithesis in this case is *Verse vs. Prose*.

Thirdly, each of these terms is used to denote an essence and a medium in combination. This use ignores the original meaning of the word poetry, which includes any work of the creative imagination expressed in words. It is based on the assumption that the inevitable garb of all experience truly poetic is verse, or, conversely, that a garb of prose implies a content generically different from that which is proper to verse. The terms in this sense are so at home now in the language that it is doubtful if any exposition of the inconsistencies involved in this use of them will ever alter their meaning for the vulgar mind. The first and second ways of using them are simply unsuccessful attempts to avoid the laxity and vagueness of the third. The result is that we have one set of names, with three sets of meanings. What we need is two sets of names, with distinct meanings, Poetry and Non-Poetry, and Verse and Prose—the antithesis of essences, and the antithesis of media.

## II.

## THE CONTRIBUTION OF VERSE.

What is there in verse to render it so different from rhythmic prose that to many minds, in spite of the identical range of the two media as regards subjects, it seems to constitute a distinct genus, and to be entitled to reserve to itself the name of Poetry? Is the prestige of verse based upon some intrinsic superiority as a medium, or is it mainly adventitious and conventional?

Before we enter upon this consideration, it is necessary to determine what should be taken as the norm of verse. This norm I find in unrimed iambic pentameter, or blank verse. Blank verse contains in its simplest form that which our investigation has forced us to admit as the sole possible source of the differences supposed to exist between the genera of poetry and prose, namely regulated rhythm. To fix upon the classical hexameter as the norm would not alter the argument in the least: whatever difference there might be between its powers and those of blank verse could only be one of degree. And so, too, of any possible kind of unrimed verse. Rime is not essential to the distinction. It is a mere auxiliary of verse, a device for intensifying somewhat the effect of normal verse. In one aspect, also, it is but a form of assonance, and as such no longer germane to our study—unless, indeed, some one wishes to say that unrimed verse is not poetry at all, in which case rime itself would at once become the sole differentia.

Three reasons may be pointed out why verse might be capable of peculiar and higher effects than those possible to prose. It may be said: (1) The mere division of the composition into lines serves as a kind of external setting, which appeals to the eye and enhances the beauty of the content, as the setting enhances the beauty of the precious stone; (2) The division into lines, both through the eye and the ear, apprises the normal reader that he has to do with fine art; it challenges a becoming and peculiar attention, with the result of truer sympathy; (3)

The music or melody which results from the regulated rhythm, because it is simpler, in the sense that it is more formal than that of prose, is more noticeable and more grateful to the normal musical sense. If verse can transfigure thought, can intensify its beauty and its appeal, then it must do so through some one or more of these three factors, for these are the only ways in which the external form of verse differs from that of imaginative and impassioned prose. Let us consider them in the order in which I have defined them.

1. Does the divisions into lines heighten the beauty of the content by acting as a setting which appeals to the eye? Doubtless to some readers it does, but in proportion as the reader is critical—in proportion as he has learned to value poetry for what is essential in it—he regards the lines as a mere convention, or, at best, of value only in so far as they group or define thought and concentrate attention. For this reason alone, end-stopped lines have a certain advantage over run-on lines; but this advantage is more than counterbalanced by the superior continuity of thought in verse made up of run-on lines; and hence verse of this kind is the more satisfactory to the reader of trained taste. Acrostic verse presents an extreme case of the same kind of visual appeal which is made by the single line or pair of lines, but no one would hold that the external shape of an acrostic poem had anything to do with its real significance.

2. Does the division into lines fasten the eye and challenge the ear of the reader, and invite him to a more sympathetic attention than prose? Undoubtedly it does—granting that the reader is not one of that considerable class who shun verse. But this, again, as in the first case, is putting verse on the basis of a mere external device: it is a tacit admission that verse, as such, has no influence on the intrinsic value of the stuff it embodies. Such devices count for less and less as the reader rises in the scale of culture. Moreover, the appeal to the eye is absent in the case of a blind person, and the appeal to the outer ear in the case of a deaf person; yet both the blind

and the deaf enjoy verse. Again, the division into lines is in itself a source of monotony. The constantly recurring check which the flow of mental energy receives at the ends of the lines, slight though it may seem at first, soon wearies and dulls the attention. This is one reason why most persons prefer to read verse in brief sittings.

3. Does the regulated rhythm of verse afford a peculiar satisfaction to the musical sense? Again, undoubtedly, yes. But at once we must qualify, for if the regularity of the verse be strict, it soon ceases to please the musical sense, loses its hold upon the attention, and with this loses its magic. Knowing this, the skilful versifier has many shifts to secure variety. But each shift is more or less an approach towards the greater freedom and indeterminateness of prose rhythm.

It would seem, then, that verse as such has no intrinsic power to deepen and enhance thought, or, as some say, to transfigure thought; and if the thought we find in verse does sometimes really seem to have undergone some magic, we must look for the transfiguring agency, not in the fact of a regulated rhythm, but in elements of style which belong to verse no more peculiarly than to rhythmic prose, and the principles of effectiveness in the use of which are probably the same in the one form as in the other.

But are the principles of style the same for verse as for prose? In the nature of things they should be essentially the same, though custom and convention have made differences. These differences in style have arisen through the differences in the subject-matter of verse and of plain prose. The subject-matter being essentially different, the style must be different: this is a sound principle, an axiom, if one knows the meaning of style. But it has become more than a principle—it has become a convention—a rule, and as such, has lost its freedom. It is a mistake to apply conventions and restrictions of style based upon the difference between ordinary prose and poetry to the higher forms of prose—to imaginative and impassioned prose, which is essentially poetry, and should have all the

freedom of poetry. If critics had applied to the case, not a set of conventions, but the principle, or axiom, stated above—if they had said: Let each subject regulate its own style according to its essential mood and quality, let the style as a whole, and in each and every detail, be appraised by its effectiveness for the purpose in hand, then all would have been well; we should have no talk about the style appropriate in verse and the style appropriate in prose; subject, mood, and the untrammelled artistic taste of the writer would determine the whole matter. Then, in general, what was bad style in imaginative prose would be regarded as bad style in verse, though now, on account of custom and familiarity, we pass over things without notice when we are reading verse which we should look at askance if we met them in prose. Nevertheless, in many such a case a careful study would show us, blunted though our sensibilities are by custom, that the word, phrase, trope, order, construction, assonance, or alliteration which we admitted in verse, but shied at in prose, was neither better nor worse in the one setting than in the other. It is by no means true that all which the exigencies of verse permit is effective; nor is verse which is technically good necessarily good poetry. To repeat, in general what is bad in verse is likely to be bad in imaginative prose, what is bad in imaginative prose is likely to be bad in verse; and the reason is that the subject-matters of these two kinds of composition both belong in the realm of artistic material.

But can verse do nothing which prose cannot also do? Yes, but not necessarily finer or higher things. Effects can be produced in verse not possible in prose, though with the same general substance prose might get as high or higher effects. Prose can do things not possible in verse, though with the same general substance verse might get equally noble results, though necessarily somewhat different results. The only reason why they can thus do each what the other cannot, is because the rhythm of the one is regular, of the other irregular; were it not for this difference they would have equal, or rather

identical, freedom, and hence the same possibilities. Anapæstic verse has a different movement from plain iambic, and can do things not possible to iambic verse—not necessarily higher things, but different things. Music of one kind of movement can get effects not possible to music of any other movement. And so, too, of prose and verse in general, as related to each other.

But once more the champion of verse returns: 'If verse has no inherent advantage over prose,' he asks, 'how do you account for the fact that there are hundreds of compositions in verse which give pleasure of a purity and intensity not equaled by anything ever written in prose?'

I simply deny the fact: I do not believe there are hundreds of compositions in verse which surpass either in substance or style all that has ever been written in prose. Nay, name a single verse-composition, and I think competent critics might be found who get an intenser pleasure from some passage or whole composition in prose. This would, I think, certainly be true if we limited the contest to substance; but I should consider the chances good for my side even if we restricted the contest to beauty of rhythm, though it is hardly warrantable thus to separate beauty of substance and beauty of rhythm, since the latter certainly can have no particular value distinct from its proper function of interpreting and embellishing thought and emotion. Shelley, we remember, in his *Defense of Poesy* said of Plato, 'the truth and splendor of his imagery, and the melody of his language, are the most intense that it is possible to conceive.' For these reasons he reckoned Plato 'essentially a poet'; and Shelley certainly was a good judge of 'truth and splendor of imagery,' and of 'melody of language.'

'But, after all,' says the objector, 'isn't it a fact that, of the whole number of compositions which afford delight by beauty of expression as well as by intrinsic qualities of substance, by far the greater part are in verse? And, if so, doesn't it prove that verse is better adapted than prose for the expression of the



higher kinds of experience? Doesn't it show that, after all, verse has a kind of magic, a subtle and peculiar affinity with some fundamental fact in the constitution of the human soul, and that, as Wordsworth thought, in itself, without other embellishment, it can confer grace and dignity upon thought?'

Indeed, I do think it very probable that the number of masterpieces of style in verse is far greater than in prose, though I should by no means grant that, say, the hundred noblest things ever written are all in verse, or even the one very noblest thing. And I grant, also, that verse, or metre, has an affinity with something in the constitution of man—something in the constitution of the universe, namely the tendency to rhythmic action. But emotional prose has an even subtler affinity with rhythm. It is not true that metre of itself, without other embellishment, always confers grace and dignity upon thought. It very frequently does just the opposite—divests thought of its native grace and dignity. In any case, to put the matter as though it were merely one of metre is not to explain, but to befog the question. All depends upon what the thought is, and who is versifying it. When the metre is suited to the thought, it certainly helps; otherwise not. In one case the thought—including in the thought its accompanying emotional atmosphere, or mood, without which, properly speaking, it would not be the same thought—is best suited to one metre, in another case, to another metre; in still another case it cannot be molded to any regular rhythm without losing something of its integrity and charm. In other words, the thought itself, the thing to be expressed, is what should determine the expression, both in word and movement. If you fit that thought to a regular rhythm, you may embellish it, or you may cramp it till all its beauty is gone; in either case, as the word 'fit' implies, the natural rhythm of the thought is modified to suit a preconceived or conventional movement or rhythm, and in so far it is no longer the same thought. Nearly all versification is to some extent a process of fitting thought to a form of expression, instead of fitting

the expression in every detail to the thought. In so far, it is a reversal of the natural or true causal order of the process of composition. The number of lines of verse in English literature which seem inevitably to have dictated their expression—words, metre, and all—is relatively very small. In most verse we not only feel that the thought has been rouged and powdered, but that it has been laced into a shape which can seem natural and agreeable only to a highly conventionalized taste. In every case where the metre seems of itself to add grace and dignity to the thought, it does so not by molding the thought to its own movement, but because it accords with the best nature of the thought. What Coleridge says on the subject of rime applies equally well to metre in general: ‘Nothing can permanently please which does not contain in itself the reason why it is so and not otherwise.’ In short, the secret of the relation of metre to thought is essentially the secret of all style—namely, that expression is best which most directly flows from and mirrors thought. In one case this expression will have a regular or measured rhythm, in another case an unmeasured rhythm.

I am aware, however, that I have not yet explicitly accounted for the fact that our literature contains more really beautiful pieces of art in verse than in prose. I hinted at one aspect of the reason of this when I spoke of the greater freedom allowed the writer of verse as compared with the writer of prose, especially in such things as diction, order of words, assonance, alliteration, etc. Precisely how verse originated will probably never be settled, but no doubt it is a sufficient general explanation to say that it arose in connection with music as an outcome of the native impulse of man to rhythmic expression of whatever kind. Rhythm was the origin of it, as it is still the essence of it. Moreover, as primitive music was very simple and regular in movement, the rhythm of the verbal compositions connected with it had also to be simple and regular. Thus verse, as distinguished from the indeterminate rhythm of impassioned prose, probably arose almost as soon as the

uniting of words and melody began to be practised in music. With such an origin, it is easy to see how, from the first, verse would be regarded as peculiarly an artistic medium, in distinction to the less formal and less tractable rhythm of prose. To compose in prose would debar one from the realm of art, to compose in verse would be to challenge the attention due to art, and receive the praise due to art. Hence whoever felt that he had a message of peculiar importance would naturally express himself in verse.

Again, along with the convention thus established to withhold the name of art, or what would amount to the same thing, the attitude of artistic appreciation, from all verbal compositions not in verse, arose the convention to leave the artist untrammelled by any special rules except the mechanics of verse; with this exception, he should be free as air. This freedom, even though verse were not prescribed as the proper medium of artistic expression, would in itself serve as a powerful incentive to imaginative minds to make verse their mode of utterance. Again, though verse arose as a means of facilitating rhythmic utterance, in time this fact was forgotten, and verse came to be regarded as a more difficult, and hence a higher, medium than prose; and in proportion as this was so, to compose successfully in verse was regarded as a feat worthy of special praise, and artistic pride and emulation were correspondingly stimulated.

In convention, then, we have an agency which, of itself, without any assumption of an inherent superiority in verse, can account for the fact that the number of masterpieces in verse is relatively greater than in prose. Convention, however it arose, restricted art in language to compositions in verse, and denied the name and praise of art to all forms of prose; and convention, unreasonably enough, allowed the writer in verse a degree of freedom in fancy, as well as in all the formal devices of style, which it withheld from the writer in prose. The result has been that, with occasional sporadic exceptions, until within the last two centuries, possibly until within the last century, all conscious aspirants for a place in the temple of literary art

have written verse. Not only have a vast number of attempts been made, but in most cases, because these attempts were made with a deliberate artistic intention, great care was expended upon them. Thus, though the bulk of prose-writings greatly exceeds the bulk of verse-writings, probably the amount of time and energy spent in versifying since the art of verse was invented has greatly exceeded that spent in writing prose. And this is probably the true explanation of the fact that the number of compositions in verse which have reached a high point of condensation, finish, and general artistic excellence is so much larger than in prose. In short, it is all a matter of frequency and intensity of effort with conscious artistic purpose. And this, in turn, is due to the patronage of a persistent convention which was of adventitious rather than rational origin.

### III.

#### PROSE AS A MEDIUM.

The conclusions just reached may have an unpleasant sound, and yet a still more positive heresy might be maintained. Not only can the fact that there are more masterpieces in verse than in prose be explained without assuming that verse is the better medium, but there is reason to believe that prose, on the contrary, is a medium of altogether nobler possibilities. The main grounds for such a belief are as follows.

As indicated in the foregoing section, among the things that have operated to give verse its prestige as a medium of artistic expression, one of the most important is the fact that the naive and superficially cultivated ear is most readily pleased with regular and easily discernible rhythms. A second reason is the popular belief that verse is very much harder to master than prose. The artificial always seems hard to the uninitiated. And this belief that verse is hard reacts upon, and helps to sustain, its reputation as a nobler medium than prose. Out of such beliefs came much of the support which so long kept

supreme the convention that whoever aspires to be called an artist in language must write in verse. But, after all, there are no good reasons for believing that verse is harder to produce than prose. Indeed there is one excellent reason for believing just the opposite: verse of a fair degree of harmony should be easier to produce than prose of a similar degree of harmony, just because of its technical requirements. In writing, as in everything else, rules are in a sense helpful: though they hamper, they keep one within the limits of safety; they preclude doubts; they save time and energy. Verse becomes hard only when the writer aims at high artistic effects; and then the difficulty of his task is due far more to the stubbornness of his subject or thought than to the nature of verse. The artist's chief problem is essentially the same in verse and in prose: in each it is the shaping of his subject, and the transfiguring of it by the revelation of its inward light, that gives him trouble. Consider the large number of long poems of high finish in our language. The *Faerie Queene*, for instance, has over thirty thousand lines, and all in rime to boot. We think of that as an almost incredible feat, yet Spenser accomplished it in the leisure of a very few years. Does any one suppose it cost Spenser a greater effort to express himself thus in verse than it did Thackeray to get the style to suit him in *Henry Esmond*?

But verse has the weakness, as well as the strength, of its limitations. Regular rhythm is easy to produce, and it is striking and readily enjoyed; that is its strength; but it also soon becomes monotonous and defeats its own end. Hence poets of fine ear, sometimes deliberately, sometimes instinctively, vary the rhythm; and each variation, in so far as it is a variation at all, is a departure from the strict norm of verse, and an approach towards the rhythm of prose. At the best, composition in verse is to some extent a process of fitting and cramping thought and thought-rhythms to suit an outward musical shape or mold, and not, as it should be, a process of summoning thought to unfold in its proper form, and dictate its own musical garb.

In a certain sense, then, verse is an impostor. It is formally easy, and yet it has the reputation of being nobly difficult, and enjoys a corresponding license. It is supposed to transfigure thought, and yet it more often cramps and conventionalizes thought, and robs it of its natural bloom. It is supposed to produce a sweeter music than prose, and yet only by deviating from its own norm in the direction of prose can it avoid eventual monotony.

On the other hand, the chief advantages of prose over verse are summed up in saying that it has greater musical freedom than verse. The one thing it must not do is to encroach upon the field of verse-rhythms; to do that is to cease to be prose, and become verse. But the whole realm of indeterminate rhythms is its possession. What and how many these are no one knows; if we could describe or count them, they would no longer be indeterminate. All we mean by 'indeterminate' is 'unknown.' And yet if we could describe and name them all, they would be found to be far more complex than verse-rhythms. For this reason, if for no other, they are hard to describe, hard to imitate, and not so liable to monotony as verse-rhythms.

Every prose writer, in his moments of original feeling, tends to express himself in rhythm peculiar to himself. This is one of the main secrets of style. Style is to a considerable extent a matter of what we might call personal rhythm. This is why it is so inimitable. This is why an assumed style does not please; it does not become the wearer. But not only has every possessor of style his own peculiar rhythm; it is probable also that every genuine mood of sensitive writers, every distinct emotion, imparts its own becoming rhythm to the expression. Such a writer does not write constantly in one rhythm. He is free; he suits his music to his feeling, and his feeling varies with his thought.

Undoubtedly the same thing is true to some extent in verse. The music of a great verse-writer is forever different from that of all other writers. Who can imitate Milton's blank verse, or

Shakespeare's? Nevertheless, it is obvious that much of the variety and genuineness and peculiar fitness and expressiveness of music possible to prose in the hands of a writer of subtle and original power, is, by virtue of its primary convention, beyond the range of verse. To write in prose is to have the amplest scope, the most perfect freedom, for the natural rhythm of the soul in thought and emotion. Hence the music of fine prose is often so subtle that the untrained ear never notices it. For the same reason it is sometimes so complex that the untrained ear is entirely unequal to its appreciation, though conscious of some unusual effect. Simple and regular music is surest of its audience, but this proves only that popular taste is not up to the noble harmony of more complex compositions. Good workmen, we are told, do not quarrel with their tools; and yet to work patiently with a mediocre tool when one has to do so, and to be satisfied with it, are not the same. Probably no great poet ever found verse an entirely adequate medium. Probably the more completely verse answers for the expression of a writer's whole message, the more restricted in range and depth of thought and feeling is that author.

Prose is a freer and more natural medium than verse, but for this very reason it is also a more difficult medium, as well as a nobler medium. In its freedom lies its peculiar strength for some writers, and its weakness for others. Nothing is so hard as to be free and natural. Only great souls are fit for freedom. We say they make their own laws; rather, they discover laws and paths of safety where others cannot see them, and hence dare not venture. Freedom is both hard and noble; each partly because of the other. The violin is a harder instrument to master than the piano, because it is a less mechanical, a freer instrument; but once it is mastered, its possibilities are nobler than those of the piano. Its voice is more varied, more natural, and more vital than that of the piano; it answers more subtly to the master's feeling. Hence I call it a nobler instrument than the piano; it is freer, more difficult, and richer. And so

of prose. It is a freer, richer medium than verse. It is also a harder medium: it takes nobler powers to sound its depths. This is one reason why we have so few masters of prose; but a stronger reason, as said before, is the conventional prestige of verse.

D. WINTER.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

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## MURNER'S TRANSLATION OF TWO OF THE LETTERS OF ERASMUS.

THE following two letters of Erasmus Roterodamus, the one addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury in 1521, the other to Lord Mountjoy during the same year, were translated by Thomas Murner and attached to his translation of the *Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum*,<sup>1</sup> by King Henry VIII of England.

This was the reply to Luther's fiercest attack upon the Holy See, his *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae Praeludium*, which, strange to say, Thomas Murner also had felt called upon to translate into German.

King Henry's *Assertio* was published in London in July, 1521. It was well received by the adherents of the old faith and for it the pope rewarded him with the proud title 'Defensor Fidei.'

Murner's translation appeared in the following year and was printed by Grieninger in Strassburg.

The Latin original does not give the Erasmian letters. Murner no doubt appended them to his translation in order to give more weight to the king's arguments and his attacks upon the Wittenberg Reformer by showing the attitude of Erasmus, the acknowledged king of the humanists, towards Luther.

As is seen from his letter to his patron, Lord Mountjoy, Erasmus' position is by no means perfectly clear at this time, even to his friends and admirers. Murner hoped, in case anyone should still be of the opinion that Erasmus was secretly supporting Luther, as was rumored now and then, to destroy this illusion and to put an end to all visionary speculation by the publication of these letters.

The letters are, first of all, of interest to the student of

<sup>1</sup> Bekennung der süben Sacramenten wider Martinum Lutherum, gemacht von dem vnüberwintlichen künig zu<sup>o</sup> Engelland vnd in Franckreich einem herren zu<sup>o</sup> Hibernien, Henrico des namens dem achtsten. Doctor Murner hat es vertütscht. Getruckt zu<sup>o</sup> Straszburg von Johannes Grieninger vff den abent der geburt Marie. Anno 1522.

Erasmus, for they show very plainly Erasmus' position after the correspondence between him and Luther, begun in 1519, had come to a sudden standstill. The letters prove that Erasmus is no longer in sympathy with the work of the Reformer, that his hopes have not been realized; in short, that he has been thoroughly disappointed in him. His attitude towards him has undergone a complete change. He does not believe in the drastic and violent measures that Luther is advocating. He fears the revolution that must be the natural result of such radical measures will put an end to all humanistic studies on Germanic soil, for the only thing that he was really concerned about was the cause of learning, *i. e.*, classical culture.

Since the works of Erasmus are not generally available, it has been thought advisable, for the sake of ready reference, to print here, with the translation, the originals of the letters. A comparison of the classical Latin of Erasmus and Murner's awkward and cumbersome German, which, however, compares favorably with the best of his time, may prove interesting. A comparison with the originals will also reveal the fact that Murner's knowledge of Latin is not of the first order. As an illustration his translation of the following passage in Erasmus' letter to the archbishop of Canterbury may suffice: 'Lutherus veluti malum Eridis misit in mundum' is translated by 'Der Luther hat als dz bösz Eridis in dise welt gesent.'

Evidently he is not familiar with the apple of Eris, the goddess of strife and discord. The reference to Scylla and Charybdis a little further on, Murner omits entirely, apparently because he does not understand the mythological allusion in question. Incidentally this may serve as an example of the woeful ignorance of the monks, for if Murner, one of the most preëminent in his order, was not above such gross errors, what must have been the intellectual status of the ordinary friar?

The letters are after the copy of Murner's translation in the Royal Library at Berlin. (Cu. 3100. Leaves Yy, Yyii, Z, Zii, Ziii, Ziiii.)

ERNST VOSS.

Epistola DXC.<sup>1</sup>

Erasmus Roterodamus Gulihelmo Waramo,<sup>2</sup>  
 Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, S. D.

**V**BI cognovissem Card. *Eboracensem Brugis* cum *Caesare* congressurum, eo me contuli, quo complures amicos illic & viderem & complecterer: quibus mihi nihil in vita, neque charius, neque dulcius. Bona quaedam spes habebat animum meum, adfuturum & Episcopum *Roffensem*, sed ea fefellit. Librum, quem Rex *Angliae* scripsit adversus *Lutherum* vidi tantum, nondum accepi, tametsi jam saepe promisit Card. *Eboracensis*. Id suspicor ejus negligentia factum, cui datum erat hoc negotium. Quis non exosculetur ejusmodi Principis animum, qui sic & ornet nostra studia, & religionem defendat? Olim summa pietas erat, si Reges armis tutati fuissent tranquillitatem *Christianam*. Hic ingenio calamoque propugnat, satis declarans, quid praestaturus sit, si res arma postulaverint. Confido fore, ut hoc pulcherrimum exemplum, & caeteri Principes studeant aemulari. Ac tandem, opinor, pudebit, sacerdotes ac Monachos nihil scire sacrarum Literarum, posteaquam viderint tantum Principem in his studiis eo progressum esse, ut libris etiam editis Catholicae religioni patrocinetur. Ex Procerum praecipue *Montjoii* narratione, certo persuasum habeo, librum ipsius *Marte*, quod ajunt, confectum esse. Nec dubito quin illo felicissimo ingenio sit dignissimus, quod mire valet, quocunque sese intenderit. Qua de re plura scribam, ubi volumen perlegero. Video tempestatem esse multo periculosissimam, in qua mihi sentio cursum sic esse moderandum, ut nec *Christi* negotium deseram, hominibus adulando, nec me frustra in discrimen aliquod conjiciam. *Lutherus* veluti malum Eridis misit in mundum, cujus nullam

<sup>1</sup> Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami opera omnia ed. Johannes Clericus. Leyden, 1703-1706.

<sup>2</sup> Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury.

omnino partem non turbatam video. Nemo non fatetur vehementi quadam medicina fuisse opus Ecclesiae nimium collapsis moribus, sed video propemodum usu venire, ut pharmacum, parum dextre adhibitum, morbi vim exacerbarit, verius quam expulerit. Atque utinam verum esset, quod invictus *Danorum* Rex *Christiernus* mihi simile quiddam dicenti respondit, ludens opinor, levibus pharmacis nihil agi, sed illud esse remediorum efficacium, ut primum corpus omne concutiant. Ego certe nullum exitum video bonum nisi *Christus* ipse nostram temeritatem bene vertat, quem admodum ferunt *Minervam Atheniensium* δυσζυλίαν bene fortunare solitam. Mihi, cui semper placuit tranquillitas, non potest hic orbis tumultus non esse molestissimus. Accedit his, quod *Lutheri* negotium, tametsi longe semotum a bonis literis, tamen non mediocri invidia gravat nostra studia. Id casu quodam sic accidit, quod antequam *Lutherus* exoriretur, jam dudum acerrimum bellum esset cum hoc hominum genere, qui nunc potissimum oppugnant *Lutherum*. Hi sunt Monachi quidam ac Theologi jejunae illi ac perturbatae doctrinae nimium tribuentes. Ac nunc quidem certatim omnes impetunt *Lutherum*, velut olim *Hectorem* jacentem *Graeci*. Sed haec *Scylla* nobis ita vitanda est, ut ne deferamur in *Charybdim*. Urgent quidam, ut nonnihil scribam in *Lutherum*. Ubi me extricaro ab his, in quibus nunc mire distringor, id autem fiet brevi, accingar ad legendos omnes *Lutheri* libros, & eorum qui scripserunt adversus hunc. Neque enim temere res est tentanda. Hoc facto, conabor efficere, ut nec Pontificis *Romani* dignitati, nec *Christianae* religionis tranquillitati videar defuisse pro mea quidem virili. Nos hic magnis studiis apparamus bellum in *Gallos*. Pontifex totus in veteres amicos irritatus nobis sese adjunxit. Et interim *Turca Hungariam* populatur armis. Precor, ut *Christus Opt. Max.* servet amplitudinem tuam nobis incolumen. Reliqua cognosces ex *Thoma Halseio*, Episcopo *Elphinensi*, quem semper expertus sum ex animo mihi faventem. *Brugis* 23. Augusti, Anno 1521.

Erasmus von Rotterdam dem  
erwürdigen vatter Wilhelm waroam, Ertzbisch-  
off zu° Cantuaria, in gantzem Engelland  
dem ersten entbütet das heil. zc̃.

**A**Ls ich vernumen het den erwürdigen Cardinal von Burgis zu° dem Keiser zu° kumen, hab ich mich da hin gefügt, dz ich meiner fründ da vil sehe vnd empfieng, welcher mir in meinem leben nüt liebers noch süssers ist, vnd was in gu°ter hoffnung das auch dar kumen würd der erwürdig her Roffensis, doch hab ich vergebens gehofft. Das bu°ch das der künig vsz Engelland wider den Luther geschriben hat, hab ich allein gesehen vnd nit empfangen, wie wol mir das offt verheissen hat der erwürdig her Eboracensis, wer wolt aber nit erkiessen vnd loben eins solchen fürsten gemüt der solcher massen vnserere leren ziert, vnd den glauben beschirmpt. Vor zeiten was es die ho°chst miltikeit gelobet, so die künig mit waffen die ru°w vnd den Christlichen Friden beschirmpten. Aber diser künig verfiht mit vernunft vnd der federn, gibt damit gnu°gsam zu° verston, was er thu°n würd, wa es der waffen bedo°rfft. Ich hoff das solehem scho°nen ebenbild, auch andern fürsten leren nachfolgen, vnd werden nachgonds (als ich mein) die priester vnd münch schamen, das sie nichtz wissen

Y y

der heiligen geschriff, so sie sehen werden, das ein so groser fürst in solchen heiligen geschriften so weit vbertrifft das er auch mit gemachten bücheren dem Christlichen glauben zu° hilff vnd rettung schreibt. Vsz dem fürsten vnd vor ab von Montioio bin ich sicher beraten, vnd hab geglaubt das er dises bu°ch selber gemacht hat. Vnd zweifel auch nit, dz er desselben verstantz würdig sei, durch den er wunderbarlich vil kan vnd vermag, wa zu° er den bruchen wil, daruon ich noch vil me schreiben wil, wan ich das bu°ch durchlesen hab. Ich sihe dz vnserere zeit vnd tag fast sorgsam vnd schedlich sein, darin ich mein leben also messigen sol, das ich das Christlich geschefft

nit verlasz den menschen zu<sup>o</sup> lieblosen, vnd mich auch nit vmbsonst in ein ferlicheit werff. Der Luther hat als dz bo<sup>o</sup>sz Eridis<sup>1</sup> in dise welt gesent, des alle teil sein erweckt vnd vffürig worden. Niemand ist der das nit beken, das es der kirchen einer artzney not gewesen ist, die in sitten vnd berden verfallen was. Aber ich sihe durch brüchliche erfarenheit kumen, das die artzney nit geschickt erbotten, die macht der kranckheit erbittert vnd gemert hat mer dan vertriben. Vnd wolt got das es war wer, das der vnüberwintlich künig vsz dennenmarek Christiernus der gleichen mir ein mal (ich mein) in schimpff geantwurt hat, das mit schlechten artzneien nichtz geschaffen würt, sunder das wer die best artzney, das sie erstlich den gantzen leib zerschlugen. Sicher ich sihe keinen gu<sup>o</sup>ten vszgang, Christus verendere dan wol vnsern freuel, als man spricht. Minerua die go<sup>o</sup>ttin zu<sup>o</sup> athen offt wol vnd glücklich gethon hab, aber mir dem alwegen friden vnd stil geliebt ist, mag dise dorechte welt nit gefallen, sunder ist mir fast schwermütig. Da bei thu<sup>t</sup> auch darzu<sup>o</sup>, wie wol des Luthers geschafft fast weit ist von gu<sup>o</sup>ten geschrifften, doch beschwert es vnsz vnserere leren mit groser hindernisz, vnd ist on gefer geschehen, dan ee vnd der Luther entstu<sup>nd</sup>, vor langest, ein bitter zanck gewesen ist mit den menschen, die ietz aller meist den Luther bestreiten, das sein etlich münch vnd theologi, die der leren vnd der betriebten leren zu<sup>o</sup> vil achtung geben, die nun ietr alle den Luther an lauffen, einer vmb den andern, als voz zeiten die kriecken den verfallenden hectorem. Aber der schaden sol von vnsz der massen vermitten werden, das wir nitin ein gro<sup>o</sup>sern schaden fallen. Es zwingen mich etlich, das ich etwas wider den Luther schreib, wan ich mich m ssige von den dingen darin ich ietz hefftig verfasst bin, das doch bald geschehen würt, wil ich mich fertigen des Luthers bücher alle zu<sup>o</sup>lesen, vnd auch deren, so wider in geschriben haben, dann solchs ist nit vnbedacht an zu<sup>o</sup>greiffen, wil ich der massen vnderston zu<sup>o</sup>thu<sup>n</sup>, das ich des Ro<sup>o</sup>mischen bischoffs würdikeit vnd des Christlichen glaubens friden ansehen werd erschüzlich

<sup>1</sup> malum Eridis.

gewesen nach meinem vermügen, wir rüsten hie mit hohem fleisz ein krieg wider die Frantzosen. Der babst wider alle alten fründ bewegt, hat sich zu<sup>o</sup> vnsz gethon, da zwischen verheret der Thüreck mit waffen das Vngerland. Ich bit das

Y y ii

Christus der grosz vnd best dich alle zeit gesunt bewar, das vberig würdest du verston von dem erwürdigen vatter hern

Thomam Halseio einem bischoff elphineun; den ich alle

zeit erfahren hab mir von gemüt ein günstigen. geben

zu<sup>o</sup> bruck. In dem iar nach der geburt Christi

vnsers herren. Tausent fünff hundert

zwei vnd zwentzig.

Desiderii Erasmi, operum omnium tomus tertius,  
p. 681-83.

Epistola DCVI.

Erasmus Roterod. Guilielmo Montjoio, S. D.

(An. 1521.)

QVO sincerior est tuus in nos affectus, vir clarissime, quoque tu nobis es *Mecaenas* amicio, hoc magis doleo, me tibi non esse perinde felicem amicum quam animi tui candor iste promerebatur. Scribis isthic per nescio quos spargi rumorem, me *Lutheranae* factionis non solum fautorem, sed adiutorem etiam, ac propemodum auctorem esse: & hortaris ut me purgem, edito adversus *Lutherum* libro. Quod cum non minus impudens mendacium fit, quam si quis dicat *Erasmum* alatum esse, paucis aperiam fontem, unde rumor iste manavit. Sunt hic aliquot mihi plusquam capitaliter infensi quod linguas ac bonas literas credar in ipsorum regnum invexisse. Hi & antequam *Lutheri* nomen audisset orbis, undique telum aliquod quaerebant, quo suum dolorem ulciscerentur. Itaque qui rumorem hunc primi genuerant, nondum sibi persuaserant quod aliis persuadere conati sunt. Iidem *Hieronymum Aleandrum*, Nuncium Apostolicum, hominem apprime doctum, mihiqve vetere

ac jucundissima necessitudine conjunctum, miris mendaciis in me conati sunt irritare. Volitabant libelli nescio qui maledici hinc atque hinc. Horum suspicionem *Germani* quidam ut ab se depellerent, in me derivarunt. Quid multis? persuaserant homini, ut acri simpliciue ingenio praedito, ita credulo, me parum amice de ipso & sentire & loqui. Nec defuerunt qui coalescentem amicitiam novis subinde delationibus discinderent. Caeterum hoc habe tibi quovis *Sibyllae* folio certius, in omnibus *Lutheri* aut *Lutheranorum* libris, nec unam syllabam esse meam, aut me conscio scriptam. Nec favi, nisi forte favet, qui dehortatur ab instituto: qui pro viribus obstat, ne libri illius exeant in vulgus. Primus enim omnium praesagii futurum, ut haec res exiret in gravem orbis tumultum. Nec cum *Luthero*, nec cum ullo *Lutherano* foedus clancularium inii: & adeo non addidi cuiquam animos, ut omnes, quos potui, tum dictis tum scriptis deterruerim ab instituto periculoso. Tantum improbavam quorundam praecipites tumultus, praesertim apud populum, priusquam satis appareret quorsum iret *Lutherus*. Nemo non fatetur disciplinam ecclesiasticam longe prolapsam esse a sinceritate Evangelica, populum *Christianum* multis modis gravatum esse, conscientias hominum variis tricis illaqueatas. His malis *Lutherus* bonis ac doctis videbatur remedium aliquod allaturus. Et passim faventibus omnibus, solus exstiti monitor, ut stylum verteret, ac negotium tractaret Evangelica mansuetudine. Nemo te melius novit, quam mihi semper cordi fuerit pax, quam invisum bellum. Itaque si *Lutherus* omnia vere scripsisset, mihi tamen magnopere displiceret seditiosa libertas. Ego vel falli malim in nonnullis, quam tanto orbis tumultu pro veritate digladiari. Et in hujusmodi contentionibus, post cruentas rixas re discussa, tandem comperitur aliquoties eadem esse partis utriusque sententia, de verbis modo dimicatum fuisse. Evangelicae doctrinae, *Christique* gloriae semper favi, bonis literis hactenus favi, ut servirent gloriae *Christi*. Dolebam plus satis tribui Theologiae argutatrici: veterem prorsus aboleri molestum erat. Hic fuit scopus lucubrationum mearum. Nec hujus instituti me poenitet. *Lutherum* exoriturum, qui potui divinare,



qui meis scriptis abuteretur? Jactant enim illum quaedam e meis libris hausisse. At quo pacto queam praestare, ne quis meis scriptis abutatur, cum plurimi sint abusi libris Evangelicis? Et tamen si quis Deus mihi praedixisset, hoc seculum exoriturum, quaedam aut non scripsissem, aut aliter scripsissem: non quod perniciose scripserim, sed quod non omnia quovis tempore recte dicuntur. Atque ego sane hoc animo sum, ut ne *Turcas* quidem cupiam offendere, si liceat. *Germani* fremunt in me, quod adverser *Luthero*, & isthic, ut video, sum *Lutheranus*? Ita veluti *Mercurius* quispiam versatilis, alius sum hic, alius isthic. Nec technis quorundam, nec pollicitis, nec odiis aliorum unquam percelli potui, aut potero, ut alius sim quam *Christianus*. Male sit omnibus, qui gaudent dissidiorum vocabulis. Si *Lutheranus* est, qui tuetur quicquid *Lutherus* scripsit, aut scripturus est, quid me dementius, si *Lutheranus* haberi velim, quum illius libros non legam? Aut quid esset causae, cur me conjiciam in factionem tam periculosam? Risi vero satis censorem istum, qui ex colloquio deprehendit, *Lutherum* nihil aliud esse quam caudicem ac stipitem, omnis Theologiae rudem. Utinam vir ille tantum haberet moderationis, quantum habet eruditionis Theologiae. Et utinam tam studuisset concordiae *Christianae*, quam se declaravit aliquid posse in sacris Literis. Sed interim ubi iudicium illius qui apud vos habetur, & est, rei Theologiae callentissimus, qui palam in regia pronunciavit *Erasmum* non minore intervallo relinqui a *Luthero* in scientia sacrarum Literarum, quam ille ab *Erasmio* vinceretur eloquentia? Et qua fronte nunc me volunt committere cum *Luthero*, qui hactenus me blaterarunt nihil aliud esse quam Grammatisten? Sed finge, nihil scire *Lutherum*. Quid tum postea? Bellum vero enthymema illius, qui, ut scribis, placido vultu te intuens, subindicavit, si *Lutherus* esset indoctus, a me profectos illius libros. *Germania* tot viris eruditis & eloquentibus abundat, & ego tam longe semotus solus illi adfui scribenti. Quid opus erat ad ista tam stolidam respondere? Sed magnates sunt qui ista dicunt. Sed neque stemmata, neque torques addit sapientiam. Praestaret istos in conviviis de venatu loqui, potius

quam de his rebus, quas non intelligunt. *Lutherus* suos libros agnovit omnes apud Cæsarem. Ego nihil unquam edidi, cui non apposuerim nominis mei titulum. Nec unquam aliena mihi vendicavi, nec mea titulis alienis supposui. Ab obscoenitate, a seditione, a periculosa asseveratione semper abstinui, Ecclesiae iudicio mea semper submisi, doctorum hominum consiliis libenter auscultavi, paratus etiam nunc sarcire, si quid offendit doctos & graves viros. Excipio paucos, qui & impotentis odii, & parum integri iudicii sui, manifesta dederunt argumenta. Mihi nunquam fuit animus pugnare cum Ecclesiae primatibus. Si praescribent quae facient ad gloriam *Christi*, lubentes amplectemur. Sin erit quod nobis merito displiceat, modo ne sit palam impium, tolerabimus. Habent illi dominum suum, cui stant, aut cadunt. Et arbitror fas esse tacere quod verum est, si non sit spes fructus. Sic *Christus* tacuit apud *Herodem*. Nec sum tam temerarius, ut pugnare velim cum edictis summorum Principum, tantillus vermiculus. Si poscent a me consilium, & volent id licere tuto, dabo pro mea simplicitate, si non prudens, certe fidele. Non de nihilo est, quod hic affectus tot gentium animos occupavit, ac subinde repullulat malum. Fortassis magis expedierit, imitari prudentes Medicos, qui saniem omnem repurgant, priusquam vulnus obducant cicatrice, qui e venis ejiciunt morbi materiam, potius quam illos qui febrim vi depellunt mox recursuram. Si non poscent a me consilium, conquiescam, & quatenus licet serviam Evangelico negotio; & si quid secus agetur quam vellem, precabor *Christum*, ut animos illorum vertat ad meliora. Porro quod scribis, mihi in manu esse, totum hunc tumultum componere, utinam vera praedicaret tua celsitudo. Ne exorta quidem fuisset haec Tragoedia. Clamitant hic mihi non esse calamum. Imo calamus est, sed innumera sunt quae dehortantur. *Lutherum* vocare fungum, perfacile est; idoneis argumentis tueri causam fidei, mihi certe difficillimum. Et hactenus non ad modum successit aliis. Et tamen ad hoc negotium lubentius accingerer, si certus essem quosdam, qui sub praetextu fidei mundi causam agunt, usuros sua victoria in rem *Christianae*

religionis. Tametsi hoc animo petemus *Basileam*, ut absolutis quae sunt in manibus, aliquid moliamur quod conducat huic dissidio sopiendo, certe testemur animum nostrum. Nec tamen video quorsum attineat me tam arduum suscipere negotium, quum sint docti, magni, graves, summa auctoritate praediti, qui jam provinciam aggressi sunt. Argutum vero lemma proferunt isti, qui dicunt, *Qui tacet, consentire videtur*. Si tacent qui non scribunt, ingens consensus est. Et tamen ita tacui, ut *Lutheros* omnes in me concitarim. Sed ut finiam, optime *Mecenas*, nihil est quod dubites de tuo *Erasmio*, neque pietas, neque religio, neque mores, neque tranquillitas publica, meis literis laedetur. Innocentiam praestare possum, linguas hominum in manu non habeo. Qui talia blaterant reddituri sunt rationem Deo, vel temeritatis, vel malitiae. Si hominibus parum approbare possum meos conatus, certe confido me *Christo* approbatum. Et si hoc seculum parum erit gratum laboribus meis, posteritas erit aequiore iudicio. Postremo est aliquid vel unius *Christi* calculum tulisse. Haec scripsi raptim ex tempore, forte oblato tabellione. Scribam alias accuratius. Ex Anderlaco, Anno 1521.

Erasmus von Roterodam dem wolgebornen freiherrn  
Wilhelmen montioio heil. zē.

SO vil inniger ist dein gunst gegen vnsz wolgeborner her, bistu vnsz als Mecnas dester ein gro<sup>er</sup>serer fründt, allein trure ich, das ich der gleich dir auch nit kan ein seliger frünt sein, als dein günstig gemüt, dz vmb vnsz hat verdient. Du schreibst dz durch etliche, ich weisz nit wan ein gerücht vsz gespreit werd, dz ich der Lutherischen fürnemung nit allein ein günstiger sei, sunder auch ein helffer, vnd schier der anfinger, vnd ermanest mich des zu<sup>o</sup> verantworten mit einem bu<sup>ch</sup> durch mich wider den Luther gemacht, dz so es nit minder vnwar ist, dan so iemans sprech, dz Erasmus fettich het, wil ich kurtz den brunnen ero<sup>ff</sup>nen, vsz welchem dz geschrei geflossen ist. Es sein hie etlich, die mir me dan do<sup>t</sup>lich wider sein, dz ich

die zungen vnd gu<sup>o</sup>te latinische geschriften glaubt würt in ir reich sol bracht haben. Die selben ee vnd des Luters namen der welt erkant wz, su<sup>o</sup>chten allen thalben pfeil, da mit sie iren schmerzen rechten. Vnd also dz die ersten geschrei erweckt haben, haben inen selber noch nit geraten, dz sie andern zu<sup>o</sup> rat vnderstanden hetten. Vnd haben auch die selben Hieronimum Alexandrum den bebstlichen botten, ein gelerten man, vnd mir warlichen mit erstlichem gunst verfrünt, mit wunderbarlichen lügen vnderstanden wider mich zu<sup>o</sup> bewegen, also dz hin vnd

Erasmus

her flogen etlich geschriftliche anklagen, ich weisz nit wie doch vbel reden, deren arekwon, vff dz ich etlich tütschen entschütte, haben sie das vff mich *getrochen*<sup>1</sup>, haben dem man beraten, wie er eins einfaltigen gemütz ist, also hat er auch bald geglaubt, dz ich wenig früntlich von im red vnd halt, vnd sein da bei etlich gewesen, die vffgond liebe mit nūwen anklagen zertrenten. Aber dz glaub sicherer dan kein blat vsz der sibillen bücher dz in allen des Luthers, oder der Luterischen bücher nit ein sillaben mein ist, oder mit meinem wissen geschriben. Ich hab es auch nit begünstigt, der geb dan sein gunst zu<sup>o</sup> einem fürnemen, der daruon rat, vnd hoch daran ist, das seine büchlin nit vnder die gemein kumen. Dan ich der erst vnder allen hab dz geweissagt, dz solch ding vszgieng in ein grose vfru<sup>r</sup> der welt. Vnd ich bin auch weder mit dem Luther noch mit keinem lutherischen ie heimlichen bunt yngangen, hab auch darzu<sup>o</sup> nieman gereitzt oder geraten, sunder hab nach meinem vermügen iederman erschreckt von solchen fürnemen. Hab etlicher gehe vffrüen widerfochten vorab vor der gemein, ee vnd er erschein, wa hin noch der luther vsz wolt. Alle welt erkennt vnd vergicht, dz die *Kriechische*<sup>2</sup> brüch vnd lere ver fallen seien von der ewangelischen innigheit, vnd wie dz Christlich folck in vilerlei weg beschwert sei, vnd die gewissen der menschen mit mancherlei weisz verknipfft. Disen bösen dingen ward der Luther von etlichen gelerten ersehen ein

<sup>1</sup> derivarunt.

<sup>2</sup> disciplinam Ecclesiasticam.

besserung zu<sup>o</sup> reichen, vnd als im darin iederman günstig wz,  
bin ich allein ein warner gewesen,<sup>1</sup> dz er sein schreiben enthielt,

Roterodamus

XC

vnd die sach handelt mit Christlicher senfftmutikeit. Niemand weisz es basz dan du, wie mir allezeit der friden sei anmütig gewesen, vnd zenckt vnd heder gehessig. Darum wan der luther schon alle ding warhafft geschriben het, noch miszfiel mir an dem ho<sup>ch</sup>sten ein vffrürige freiheit. Ich wil lieber in etlichen dingen betrogen werden, dan mit solcher groser vffruren der welt von wegen der warheit fechten, vnd in solchen zencken, noch ero<sup>r</sup>terung der sachen erfint es sich offft, zu<sup>o</sup> letst dz sich nach schedlich ein krieg, dz beid parthen sein einer meinung gewesen, vnd allein ein zanck der wort halb gewesen. Ich bin alwegen der ewangelischen leren günstig gewesen, vnd der glori Christi, vnd hab gu<sup>t</sup>en geschrifften nit günstig gewesen, dan so fer sie zu<sup>o</sup> der eren cristi dienen. Es hat mich verdrossen dz man der schu<sup>l</sup>erischen theology zu<sup>o</sup> vil zu<sup>o</sup> geben hat, vnd wz mir schwer dz die alt so gar abgieng. Das ist dz gro<sup>o</sup>st fürnem gewesen meiner ler, vnd hat mich auch noch nit beruwen. Solt es mir getro<sup>m</sup>en, dz ein Luther vff gon würd der sich meiner geschrift miszbrücht, dan sie beriemen sich dz er vsz meinen geschriften etlichs erscho<sup>p</sup>fft vnd genumen hab. Wie kan aber ich dz weren, dz sich nieman meiner geschriften miszbruch, so sich vil des ewangeliums miszbrucht haben. Vnd wa mir dz ein got vor gesagt het, dz ein solch welt solt kumen, wolt ich etlichs antweders nit geschriben haben oder anders geschriben, nit dz ich bo<sup>e</sup>se ding geschriben hab sunder dz nit alle geschriften zu<sup>o</sup> ieder zeit rechtlich gesagt werden. Vnd ich bin warlich des gemütz, dz ich die türcken nit gern letzen

Z ii

Erasmus

wolt, wa es mir zimpt. Die tütchen zürnen vber mich dz ich dem Luther zu<sup>o</sup> wider bin, vnd dort als ich sihe, halt man mich für ein Lutheranischen, als ob ich der vmbkerende

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Erasmus to Luther, 1519.

Mercurius wer, anders hie vnd anders dort. Ich hab weder mit etlicher list, noch verheissung, noch hasz, ie anders mo<sup>o</sup>gen bezwungen werden noch mag diser zeit, dz ich anders sei dan ein Christ, vnd sei bo<sup>o</sup>szlich allen denen die ein fro<sup>o</sup>d haben in dem namen der zwitracht. Ist der Lutherisch der da beschirmpt wz der Luther geschriben hat oder würt, wer ist vnsinniger dan ich, das ich Lutherisch wolt geacht sein, so ich doch seine bücher nit liz. Vsz wz vrsachen wolt ich mich doch werffen in ein so schedlichs fürnemen, doch hab ich gnu<sup>o</sup>g verlacht den erachter, der vsz zamen red den Luther nichtz anders geschetzt hat, dan ein schlecht bloch in der heiligen geschriff. Wolt got dz er so vil messikeit het, als er hat erkantnisz der heiligen geschriff, vnd wolt got dz er auch also geflissen wer gewesen zu<sup>o</sup> Christlicher einikeit, als geflissen er sich erzo<sup>o</sup>gt hat in der erkantnis der heiligen geschriff. Aber da zwischen wa ist der spruch des der offentlich für küniglicher gegenwurt gesagt hat, dz Erasmus nit minder vnderscheit ist von dem Luther in erkantnis der heiligen geschriff, dan er von dem Erasmo vbertroffen würt in zierlicher reden. Mit was meinung wo<sup>o</sup>llen aber die ietz, dz ich mit dem Luther disputieren sole die mich bisz her nit weiters herusz geschwetzet haben, dan für ein gramatisten, das ist allein der latinischen sprachen bericht. Doch lasz sein, als ob der Luther nichtz

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künt, wz ist dz me. Es ist ein stoltze nachfolgend reden des von dem du schreibst, der dich gütlich hat an gesehen, vnd damit angezo<sup>o</sup>gt, ist der Luther vngelert, so sein seine bücher von mir vszgangen. Das tütsch land hat vberflüssig so vil gelert vnd künnder man, vnd ich so weit von im bin allein gewesen dabei, als er geschriben hat, was not was es solche dorechte reden zu<sup>o</sup> verantwurten. Aber es sein grosz herren die dz sagen, schilt vnd guldin ketten thu<sup>n</sup> nichtz zu<sup>o</sup> der weiszheit, es wer besser dz sie bei dem wein vom iagen reten, dan von den dingen die sie nit verstön. Der Luther hat alle seine bücher vor dem keiser nit verlo<sup>o</sup>cknet. Ich hab nie nichtz geschriben das ich meinen namen vnd titel nit darzu<sup>o</sup> gesetzt hab. Hab mir auch fremde geschriffen nie zu<sup>o</sup> gelegt,

oder das mein vnder fremden titelen für bracht. Vnd hab mich alwegen enthalten vor schno<sup>o</sup>den vffrüren vnd schedlichen reden, hab auch alles mein schreiben alwegen vnderworffen der erkantnis der kirchen, hab gern zu<sup>o</sup> geho<sup>o</sup>rt dem rat der gelerten menschen, vnd bin auch ietz bereit zu<sup>o</sup> gentzen wz ich zerbrochen het, schwer vnd gelerte lüt letzen. Wenig nim ich vsz die ires hasz nit sein mechtig gewesen, auch nit gantzer erkantnis sein, des sie ein offenlichs anzo<sup>o</sup>gen gethon haben. Es ist meins gemütz nie gewesen, die oberkeit der kirchen zu<sup>o</sup> widerfechten, haben sie etwas behaupt zu<sup>o</sup> der eren Cristi dienen, wo<sup>o</sup>llen wir dz gern annemen. Ist aber etwz an inen vnsz miszfallen, so fer das solchs nit offenlich vnd bekantlich vnmilt wer, wo<sup>o</sup>llen wir das dulden. Sie haben iren herren dem sie fallen oder

Z iii

Erasmus

ston, vnd ich mein dz es etwa zimlich sei zu<sup>o</sup> schweigen dz war ist, wa kein hoffnung da ist der frucht. Also hat Cristus bei Herode geschwigen, ich bin auch nit also freuel, dz ich widerfechten wil die gebot der oberisten fürsten, ein vnachtbarer. Begeren sie von mir ein rat, vnd dz ich den sicher geben mag wil ich den geben nach vermügen meiner einfaltigkeit, ist er dan nit fürsichtig vnd weisz gnu<sup>o</sup>g, sol er dannocht trüw sein. Es ist nit vmb sunst, dz die begirden dz gemüt so viler fo<sup>o</sup>lecker besessen hat, da her auch dz bo<sup>o</sup>sz entspringt, villeicht wer es nützer weisen ärtzten zu<sup>o</sup>folgen, die alle vnreikeit reinigten, ee vnd sie die wunden mit einem zeichen der wunden bedecken, die vsz den inwendigen adern dy vrsach der krankheiten vertreiben, me dan denen die bald vn gewaltig ein ritten<sup>1</sup> vertreiben, der dannocht bald wider kumpt. Erfordern aber vnd begeren sie kein rat von mir, wil ich zu<sup>o</sup> ru<sup>o</sup>we sein, vnd nach gebürlichkeit den ewangelischen geschefften anhangen vnd wa es anders gieng, dan mein wil wer, wil ich Christum bitten, dz er ir gemüt zu<sup>o</sup> besserm wend. Das du aber schreibst es sei in meinem gewalt vnd vermügen, alle dise vffru<sup>o</sup>r nider zu<sup>o</sup>legen, wolt got dz dein gnad war sagt, vnd das dise vffru<sup>o</sup>r nie wer erweckt worden. Hie rieffen sie mir zu<sup>o</sup> dz ich nit

<sup>1</sup> febrim.

schreib, ia ich künt wol schreiben, es sein aber vnzälliche ding, die mir dz nit raten lutherum zu<sup>o</sup> verachten, ist leicht zu<sup>o</sup>thu<sup>n</sup>, aber mit geschickten vrsachen vnd gnu<sup>o</sup>gsamen anzo<sup>o</sup>gen die sach des glaubens zu<sup>o</sup> beschirmen, ist mir sicher schwer, vnd ist bisz her den andern nit wol geraten. Vnd wolt doch dest lieber dz geschafft vnderston, wan ich sicher wer dz die vberwunden würden die vnder dem schein des glaubens die sach der welt handeln in cristlichen dingen. Vnd wo<sup>o</sup>llen dannocht des gemüzt gen Basel kumen, vff dz wir nach folendung deren ding so wir in den henden haben etwz für vnsz nemen, dz erschüzlich wer dise zwitracht zu<sup>o</sup> betreiben,<sup>1</sup> wo<sup>o</sup>llen darin vnsern gu<sup>o</sup>ten willen erzo<sup>o</sup>gen. Wie wol ich nit sih wz nutz es bringen mag, ein solch trefflich geschafft an zu<sup>o</sup> nemen, so doch sunst gelerte sein, schwer vnd fast kunstreiche, die sich der sachen vnderstanden haben. Aber die sprechen ein listigs sprichwort die da sagen, wer da schweigt der würt für ein verwilliger eracht. Schweigen die so nit schreiben, so ist hie ein groses vnd filer verwilligen, vnd hab aber ich also stil geschwigen, dz ich die luterischen alle wider mich bewegt hab, dz ich aber end mein bester frünt soltu an deinem Erasmo nichtz zweifeln, dan es sol weder miltikeit des glaubens, noch geistlichkeit, berden, friden oder gemeine rüw durch mein misz schreiben geletzt werden. Ich kan mein vnschuld dar thu<sup>n</sup>, aber der menschen zungen hab ich nit in meinen henden, die solchs von mir schwetzen, die werden got miessen rechnung geben des freuels vnd der boszheit. Mag ich den menschen mein fürnemen nit bewerlich machen, vertrüw ich es werd doch Cristo angemem sein, vnd würt mir dise welt wenig danckbar sein meiner arbeit, werden dannocht die nachkumenden eins bessern verstantz sein, zu<sup>o</sup>letst ist es etwz dz cristus allein für gu<sup>o</sup>t nimpt. Das hab ich ylends geschriben, dan ich vngefar ein botten het, wil aber nachgons geflissner schreiben, geben zu<sup>o</sup> Anderlach. zc.

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<sup>1</sup> sopire (quod conducat huic dissidio sopiendo).



TRANSLATION OF CYNEWULF'S *JULIANA*.1. *The Persecutions of the Christians.*

**L** O! we have heard heroes and judges, diligent in deeds, relate what befell in the days of Maximian, the ruthless king, the heathen prince of war, who enkindled persecution through the world, overthrew the Church, slew Christians, and 5 upon the grassy plain poured out the blood of saints, the workers of righteousness who glorified God. His realm was broad and spacious, far-famed among the tribes of men well-nigh through all the length and breadth of earth. From town to town fared 10 mighty officers, as he had bidden them. Perverse in deeds, they who in their malice despised the law of the Lord many a time and oft stirred up violence. They wrought hostility, setting up graven images; they slew the saints, and destroyed 15 those who were versed in Scripture; they burned the elect, afflicting God's champions with spear and flame.

2. *Juliana Rejects the Suit of Heliseus.*

One there was, a rich and powerful governor of noble race, who held sway over shield-defended towns. He guarded his domain without ceasing, and in the city of Nicomedia kept 20 watch over his treasure-hoards. In despite of God's word, he frequented heathen images and fanes with eagerness and constancy. Men called him Heliseus; great and splendid was the 25 sovereignty he held.

Then, spurred by eagerness, his heart began to love a maiden, Juliana. She in her soul bare sacred faith, and ardently purposed to keep her maidenhood pure of all sin, for the love of 30 Christ. But now, by her father's will, the damsel was betrothed

to the rich man ; he knew not full well the circumstance, how she, though young in years, shrank in spirit from nuptial love.

35 The fear of God was greater in her thoughts than all the wealth of treasure which the nobleman possessed. But he, though a man rich and abounding in gold, was greedy for the wedding-

40 dower, and eager that they should speedily array the maiden as a bride for his dwelling. She firmly set her heart against his love, although in his coffers throughout the earth he owned riches and innumerable jewels. All of that she scorned, and

45 before a throng of people spake this word : ‘I can say unto thee that thou needst not vex thyself further : if thou wilt adore and believe in the true God, wilt recognize the Shelter of spirits and exalt His praise, I am straightway ready to yield without

50 faltering unto thy will. This likewise I say unto thee, if, in thy devil-worship, thou truly puttest thy trust in a baser god and offerest heathen sacrifice, me thou canst not have, nor canst

55 compel to become thy wife. Never shalt thou in impetuous hate contrive such grievous harm of cruel torments that thou shalt ever turn me from these words.’

When the prince, all stained with sinful deeds, heard the damsel’s speech, he was swollen with rage. Savage and blind

60 of soul, he bade fleet messengers quickly fetch the holy maiden’s father to council. As soon as the warriors had leaned their weapons together, speech rose high between them. Both were

65 sin-sick heathens, father-in-law and son-in-law. Then the kingdom’s guardian, fierce in mood, the wielder of the spear, spake unto the maiden’s sire : ‘Thy daughter hath shewn dis-

70 honor unto me ! She telleth me once for all that she recketh not of my friendship nor of my nuptial love. In the thought of my soul most burdensome are these affronts—that she so bitterly reproached me with blame before this people, and that she bade me worship with my wealth, praise with my words,

75 and magnify in my heart, an alien god above those others we have known from old. Else may I not have her !’

At this speech dark grew the brow of the maiden’s father, stern of soul ; and he then unlocked the coffer of his mind : ‘If

these words be sooth which thou sayest unto me, thou most beloved of men, I swear by the true gods—so may I always 80 find grace with them, or with thee, my lord, favor in thy strongholds—that I will not spare her, but will deliver her for destruc- 85 tion into thy power, illustrious prince. Doom her to death if thou think it meet, or let her live, whichever may please thee more.'

Thereupon, with firm resolve, angered, swollen with rage, he 90 went in haste to speak with the maiden where he knew that she was abiding, youthful and blithe at heart. He said in words: 'Thou art my daughter, dearest and sweetest to my soul, mine only one on earth, the light of mine eyes, Juliana! Yet fool- 95 ishly, in thy vain opposition, hast thou taken thy course against the counsel of the wise. Too stubbornly dost thou, in thy self-will, renounce thy suitor. He is better than thou, nobler before 100 the world, richer in treasure. He is good as a friend. Therefore it is meet that thou forsake not this man's love and love's eternal joy.'

Then the blessed Juliana, who had firmly established an 105 alliance with God, gave him answer: 'Never will I consent to wedlock with this lord unless he worship the God of hosts 110 more zealously than he hath yet done, with sacrifices showing love for Him who created light, the heavens, the earth, the domain of ocean, and the round of space!'<sup>1</sup> In no wise else can he lead me to his dwelling. He shall seek for his possession the bridal love of some other maid; he shall have none 115 here with me.'

Then in his malice the father, who by no means offered costly gifts, wrathfully gave her answer: 'If thou dost not soon 120 abandon thine unwise course, but continuest worshipping strange gods, deserting those which are dearer unto us, and which stand for weal unto this people, and if thou wilt not consent to union with this noble, wilt not harken to his wooing, I shall bring it to pass, if my life lasts, that thou for thy guilty life shalt suffer 125 death ere long in the grasp of beasts. Great and calamitous is the venture for one like thee to scorn and spurn our master.'

<sup>1</sup> Meaning doubtful.

130 Then the blessed Juliana, prudent and beloved of God, gave him answer : ' I will say unto thee in very sooth, on penalty of my life—for I will not fashion a lie—that never will I dread  
135 thy decrees, never unto me shall the terrors of torment be grievous, the battle-horrors, which thou dost hotly threaten against me, thou worker of evil ; nor shalt thou ever bring it to pass through thy godlessness that thou shalt turn me away from the praise of Christ.'

140 Then the father, savage-souled, was raging and furious ; he was cruel and pitiless toward his daughter. He commanded her to be scourged, harassed with pains and chastened with torture. And he said : ' Change thy mind, and alter the words  
145 which thou didst unwisely utter of late when thou didst scorn the service of our gods.'

Juliana, undaunted, gave him answer out of her soul's depth :  
' Never shalt thou persuade me to offer tribute, with empty  
150 words, to deaf and dumb idols, the foes of spirits and the worst ministers of woe ; for I worship the glorious Lord of the world  
155 and of the heavenly host. I am wholly mindful of Him alone, in order that He may be my defense, my helper, my savior from the baneful dwellers of hell.'

### 3. *Juliana is given up to Torture.*

Thereupon Africanus, the father, in his wrath gave the maiden over into the power of her foes, delivered her unto Heliseus,  
160 who, at daybreak, after the coming of dawn, bade that she be led before his judgment-throne. The people gazed with wonder at the maiden's comeliness, all the folk together. At  
165 first her high-born suitor greeted her with winsome words :  
' My Juliana, thou sweetest beam of the sunlight, what radiance thou hast, what bountiful graces, the blossom of youth ! If  
170 thou wilt even now propitiate our gods, wilt seek protection of them who are so merciful, favor before the holy, there shall be turned away from thee a countless number of torments shamefully merited, bitter sorrows, which are prepared for thee if thou wilt not offer sacrifice unto the true gods.'

Then the noble woman gave him answer : 'Never shalt thou 175  
so overwhelm me with thy threats, nor devise torments so many  
and terrible, that I shall value a league of love with thee, unless  
thou forsake thy vain idol-worship, and wisely acknowledge the 180  
God of glory, the Author of spirits, the Maker of mortals, in  
whose power are all creatures, world without end.'

Then the folk-leader spake menacing words before the people, 185  
for he was fierce in mood, and swollen with violent rage. He  
commanded the maiden who was devoid of sin to be stretched  
out naked for punishment, and scourged with stripes. Then  
jeeringly the leader of armies laughed, and spake with words of  
taunting : 'So this is the outset of our warfare, taking its com- 190  
mencement. Even yet I will grant thee life, though thou didst  
of late utter many unwary words, with too great hardi-  
ness refusing to adore the true gods. If thou do not ere long plead 195  
with them for pardon, make firm thy peace with them, and vow  
unto them worthy thank-offerings after thy blasphemies, there  
shall be retribution hereafter in the terrors of torment for thee  
who art so obdurate. Let the struggle cease, the hateful strife ! 200  
If after this thou longer pursuest error in thy rashness, then,  
urged by the stress of the contest, I shall punish thee for thy  
most dreadful impiety, the malignant speeches of harm whereby 205  
with blasphemy thou didst begin to contend against the best  
and kindest gods which men may know, and which these people  
have long celebrated among themselves.'

The noble soul, unafraid, replied to him : 'I do not dread thy 210  
dooms, thy sin-stained foe accursed, nor the bale of thy torments !  
I have as my hope the Warder of the heavenly realm, the Ruler  
of nations, a most gracious Defender, who shieldeth me from  
thy snares, and from the grasp of the cruel foes whom thou 215  
deemest gods. They are void of all good—idle, empty, vain.  
A man shall find no profit in them nor true peace, though he  
seek their friendship for himself : he shall find no worth among 220  
demons. I firmly fix my mind on the Lord, the glorious Prince  
of victory, who holdeth sway over all the peoples for evermore :  
He is the true King.'

225 Then it seemed shameful unto the folk-leader that he could  
not swerve the mind, the purpose, of the maiden. He bade  
that she be lifted upon a high tree, and hanged by the locks of  
230 the hair. There Sunshine suffered blows, most bitter of trials,  
for six hours of the day.

#### 4. *Juliana is Cast into Prison.*

After a time her hateful enemy bade that she be quickly  
taken down, and led away to prison. The praise of Christ,  
235 that power unbreakable, was fast entwined with gentle thoughts  
within her soul's recesses. Then the door of the prison, the  
work of hammers, was closed with a lock. There within the  
240 holy maid dwelt in faith. Shrouded with murky gloom in the  
prison house, she continually lauded in her breast the King of  
glory, the God of heaven, the Redeemer of men. Her sole  
companion was the Holy Ghost.

#### 5. *The Colloquy with the Devil.*

But of a sudden there came into that grated place men's  
enemy, practised in evil. The guise of an angel he bare, that  
245 foeman of souls, the captive of hell, dexterous in harm. He  
said unto the holy maid: 'What dost thou suffer, dearest and  
most honored one, for the King of glory, our Lord? Thy  
250 judge hath prepared for thee the worst of woes, pain unending,  
if thou wilt not with prudent mind make offerings and appease  
his gods. When he commandeth that thou be led out from  
hence, hasten thou at once to proffer a gift, a sacrifice of  
255 deliverance, ere destruction seize thee, death before the multi-  
tude. Thereby shalt thou, a maid triumphant, escape the wrath  
of thy judge.'

Straightway then, unafraid, she who was pleasing to Christ  
260 inquired from whence was his coming. The outcast harangued  
her: 'I am an angel of God journeying from above, a pure and  
holy thane sent to thee from on high. Wondrous fierce and  
charged with fateful fury are the torments appointed unto thee

for thy death-throes. Christ, Son of the supreme Ruler, bade 265  
that thou be admonished to guard thyself.'

The maiden was stricken with terror at the dread message  
which the bringer of evil, the demon famed, pronounced in his  
words. But, youthful and free from guile, she began firmly to 270  
fortify her heart, and to cry aloud to God: 'Now will I pray  
unto Thee, Defense of mortals, who art eternal and almighty,  
by the noble creation which Thou, the Father of angels didst  
establish in the beginning, that Thou let me not be turned away 275  
from the praise of Thy benefactions in such wise as this bearer  
of tidings, who standeth here, bodeth unto me—a dreadful  
message of ill! Also will I implore Thee who art merciful,  
Glory of kings and Guardian of majesty, that Thou make 280  
known unto me what is this air-flying thane, who would lure  
me away from Thee along a hard and rugged road.'

Out of the clouds a beautiful voice replied, resounding with  
the words: 'Seize upon him, the wicked-hearted, and hold him  
fast until he truthfully tell the full aim of his journey from the 285  
beginning, and what is his lineage.'

Then gladdened was the heart of the maiden, who was  
joyed by this possession of power. She grasped the demon<sup>1</sup>

. . . . .  
. . . . .

'gave up to slaughter the King of all kings. Then again I brought 290  
it to pass that the soldier began to wound the Lord, while the  
multitude looked on, so that both blood and water together  
sought the ground. Moreover I moved the mind of Herod to  
order the head of John to be struck off, what time the holy 295  
man censured with words the love for woman in unrighteous  
wedlock. Also I enticed Simon, by my cunning wiles, to  
begin dispute with the chosen disciples of Christ, and, in deep  
error, to account for those holy men with blasphemy: he said 300  
that they were sorcerers. I ventured so far in deceitful arts  
that I beguiled Nero into ordering Peter and Paul, the servants  
of Christ, to be slain. Pilate ere that, led by my lore, had

<sup>1</sup> A considerable gap in the MS. occurs here.

305 crucified upon the cross the Ruler of the skies, the Creator  
almighty. In like manner did I impel Hegius foolishly to  
order that Saint Andrew be hanged upon a high tree. Thus  
310 from the gallows his soul was sent forth into the splendor of  
heaven. In such wise have I, with my brothers, committed  
many a baleful evil, many a black sin, which I cannot speak of  
nor openly divulge; nor do I know the countless number of my  
315 hateful and intolerable thoughts.'

Then the blessed Juliana replied through her spirit's grace :  
'Still further shalt thou tell the aim of thy journey, thou foe of  
mankind, and who sent thee to me.'

320 Then the bringer of evil, affrighted, dismayed with terror  
and despairing of peace, gave her answer: 'Lo! my father,  
king of the dwellers of hell, sent me hither from the narrow  
home on this journey to thee. In that mournful abode he is  
325 more diligent than I in every evil. When he sendeth us forth  
to lead astray with error the spirits of the righteous, and turn  
them from salvation, we are sad in soul and fearful at heart.  
By no means kind unto us is our lord, our terrible chieftain.  
330 If we have done naught of wickedness, we dare not thereafter  
go before his presence anywhere. When he sendeth us, the  
thanes of darkness, over the spacious world, he biddeth that we  
335 stir up strife, if we be met on the earth-way or discovered near  
or far, so that they bind us, and afflict us with torments in  
billows of flame. If the heart of the righteous, the thought of  
the holy, be not perverted with offense, we suffer the sharpest  
340 and worst of tortures through grievous blows. Now thou  
thyself canst truly know in thy breast that I was, time after  
time, urged and driven by necessity unto this presumption of  
visiting thee.'

345 Then the holy maid began once again to question with words  
the foeman of heroes, the worker of wickedness, the author of  
sins from of old: 'Thou shalt further tell unto me, thou enemy  
of souls, how, enringed in treachery, thou most sorely didst  
injure the righteous through their lapse into sin.'

350 Her the fiend answered, the perfidious wretch, saying in



words: 'I will tell unto thee, blessed maid, from the beginning forth to the end, all the evils which I have done, with wounds of sin, not a few times, so that thou thyself mayst perceive<sup>355</sup> more clearly that this is truth in no wise feigned. With confident thought I weened and counted as certain that I could turn thee away from salvation by craft alone, so that thou<sup>360</sup> should renounce the King of heaven, the Lord of victory, should bow down before baser gods, and should make sacrifice to the authors of sin. I change the souls of the righteous by means of an altering countenance in this wise: Whenever I find one establishing his heart according to God's will, I am<sup>365</sup> straightway ready to carry toward him full many a spiritual wantonness, through a multitude of errors, direful thoughts and hidden heresies. I sweeten for him sinful lusts, false affections of the heart, so that, given over to vice, he promptly hearkeneth<sup>370</sup> to my lore. So fiercely I inflame him with sin that, burning, he turneth away from prayer and steppeth forth brazenly. Because of the love of iniquity, he cannot long abide with<sup>375</sup> steadfastness in the place of supplication. Thus do I bring woeful perils unto him whom I deprive of life and the bright faith, for he will hearken to my counsel with yearning of soul, and will commit sin. Thereafter, bereft of all noble virtue, he<sup>380</sup> shall die. If I meet any valiant soldier of God, undaunted before the outset of arrows, who will not flee far away from the<sup>385</sup> battle, but, quite otherwise, sagaciously lifteth a buckler, a holy shield, a spiritual battle-dress, and will not desert God, but maketh a stand, confident in prayer and firm in the fight, I am obliged to depart far thence, cast down and deprived of com-<sup>390</sup>fort. In the grasp of the flames I bemoan my grief, that I could not meet the foe in the combat with power of strength. But dejectedly I must seek for a soldier more slothful, more wanting in courage under the shielding helmet, whom I may infect<sup>395</sup> with my leaven, and impede in the battle. Though in spirit he attempt something of good, I am straightway ready to scan all his secret thought, how his innermost heart is established,<sup>400</sup> and how that means of defense is fashioned. With destruction

do I break down the gate of the wall ; the tower is pierced, an entrance is opened, and then at once through the divers crav-  
405 ings of the heart I fling into his bosom, in arrow-showers, thoughts sin-envenomed, so that he deemeth it good to commit crimes and lusts of the flesh beyond God's tolerance. I am  
410 a diligent master ; hence he liveth in accord with my practices, openly estranged from the law of Christ, his soul entangled in the pit of sin through my might. More zealous heed do I give to the ruin of the soul, of the spirit, than to the ruin of the  
415 body, which, committed to the soil, shall in the grave become forever a solace to the worm.'

Once more the maiden spake : 'Thou miscreated unclean spirit, tell how thou, a dispenser of darkness, dost mingle with  
420 the company of the pure. Faithlessly didst thou in days of old carry warfare and strife against the Christ ; and thou didst direct thy mind against holy men. Below was delved for thee the pit of hell, whither thou, laboring of necessity because of thy presumption, didst come unto thy dwelling-place. I  
425 weened that thou wouldst be more wary, more timorous, among the righteous men of such a company as hath oft withstood thy will through the King of glory.'

Then the doomed and hapless demon of ill replied to her :  
430 'First do thou tell how thou, bold through deep meditation, didst become so brave in strife beyond all woman-kind that thou didst in fetters firmly bind me, who thus in every way  
435 was unfitted for the conflict. Thou didst confide in thine eternal God, the Creator of mankind, who sitteth enthroned in majesty, in such wise as I fix my hope upon my father, the king of hell's inhabitants. When I am sent against the  
440 righteous to turn from salvation their minds and hearts with wicked works, full oft by resistance I am withheld from my will, my intent against holy men. In such manner hath sorrow befallen me in my venture here. That do I learn by far too late ! Now long shall I, a weaver of crimes, endure  
445 disgrace for this. Therefore I beseech thee, through the might of the Most High, through the grace of the Heavenly King,

the Lord of majesty, who suffered upon the rood-tree, that thou have pity upon me in need, so that I may not perish all for-450  
lorn, though thus boldly and rashly in my way-faring I sought thee out where I had little looked for such a season.'

Then the radiant candle of glory said in words unto the recreant: 'Abject spirit of hell, ere thou mayest hence thou 455  
shalt confess more of thine evil deeds—what great works of wickedness thou hast brought to pass, through dark errors, as 460  
an affliction to the children of men.'

The demon replied to her: 'Now in thine utterance do I hear that I shall be driven by the stress of conflict to suffer a crushing fate, and uncover my heart, as thou biddest me. Full hard is this hour, measureless this calamity! I must endure and submit to everything in thy decree, must disclose 465  
the black deeds of shame which I have plotted from times afar. Oft with malicious thought I have blinded, have stolen away the sight of men unnumbered among the human race; I have 470  
covered the light of their eyes with a veil of mist through black showers of stinging venom. With deadly snares I have broken the feet of some. Some I have sent into the fire, between barriers of flame, until no trace of them was left to be seen. Some I have so treated that their flesh spat blood, and their 475  
souls were loosed of a sudden through the outflowing of the veins. Some upon the rushing waves, the driving sea, the floods of ocean, have been whelmed in the waters, under the 480  
raging stream, through wiles of mine. Some I have committed to the cross, so that, stained with blood, they have delivered up their lives upon the high gallows. Some I have drawn by my lore, and moved to strife, till, drunken with beer, they have suddenly awakened old-time hatreds. Dissension have I 485  
given them to drink from the cup, till, infested with wounds, and doomed to death through the onset of swords in the wine-hall, their souls have been loosed and sped from the body. Some whom I have found without a token of God, neglected, 490  
unblessed, I have unfaltering slain by my hands, with cunning art, through divers means of death. Though I were to sit for

495 a summer-long day, I could not recount all the treacheries  
which I have woven in guile early and late from the time when  
first the firmament was lifted aloft and the course of the stars,  
the time when the earth was established, and the first mortals,  
500 Adam and Eve. From them I wrested life, persuading them  
to abandon the love of the Lord, to forsake eternal blessedness  
and their bright home in Paradise, so that to them both, and to  
posterity beside, came woe unto all eternity : that was the black-  
505 est of wicked works. Why shall I longer enumerate evils unend-  
ing. All the deadly iniquities which have been throughout all  
time from the world's beginning I have borne through the  
nations unto the tribes of men, unto mortals on earth. None  
510 was there among them who durst lay hold upon me with hands  
as daringly as thou, holy maid, didst but now. No man was  
there upon the earth thus bold through holy might, not any of  
515 the patriarches nor of the prophets, though the God of nations,  
the King of glory, had disclosed to them the spirit of wisdom,  
grace unbounded. Despite that, unto them I was able to gain  
admittance. Among them there was none who thus daringly  
encompassed me about with bonds, with force repressing me, ere  
520 thou didst lately overthrow and firmly arrest the mighty power  
which my father, the enemy of mankind, gave me, when he,  
the prince of darkness, bade me fare forth to sweeten sin for  
525 thee. Here sorrow befell me, a heavy struggle. After that  
dire tribulation, I shall have no cause to exult over this journey  
among the bands of my kinsmen when I shall sadly pay tribute  
530 in my mournful home.'

Then the governor, that man of sullen heart, commanded the  
saintly-minded Juliana to be led from her narrow abode out  
before his judgment-throne for speech with the heathens. Fired  
535 in spirit, the holy maid drew after her the heathen, the demon,  
fast in fetters. Thereupon he, burdened with sad care, began  
to lament his lot, to weep over his pains, and to bewail his fate,  
saying in words : 'I implore thee, Juliana, my lady, for the  
540 love of God, do not work me disgrace, reproach before men,  
beyond what thou didst erewhile, when in the darkness of the

prison-house thou didst baffle the king of hell's inhabitants, shrewdest of those in the city of fiends. He is our father, the 545 lord of murder. Lo! thou hast chastised me with painful punishments. I know in sooth that never in the earthly kingdom have I found among womankind one like unto thee, one more courageous, more hardy of heart. It is manifest to me 550 that thou, wise in spirit, wast altogether blameless.'

Then the maiden released him, the foeman of souls, after his time of trial, that he might seek out the shades of the gloomy abyss in perdition and torment. Well knew he, that discloser 555 of evils, to tell his kinsman, the ministers of torment, how it befell him in his venture.<sup>1</sup>

#### 6. *The Martyrdom.*

..... fervently of yore did they praise in the highest 560 His divine glory. They said with truth that He alone throughout the bright creation was source of every victory, and of eternal joys.

Then came an angel of God, glowing in his splendor, and drove away the fire. He rescued and defended the sinless and 565 innocent maid, pushing back the flames which were greedy for slaughter, where stood the holy one, chief of women, unscathed in their midst. That for the rich man was woe to be suffered. He wondered how it might be altered before men, how he, all 570 stained with sin, might most cruelly devise her death through grievous torments. None too negligent was the infernal spirit, who directed him to order that an earthen vessel be fashioned with wondrous art to the sounds of war, and be closed about 575 with fuel, with wood from the forest. The ruthless prince bade them fill the earthen vessel with lead, kindle this greatest of funeral-fires, and set flame to the pyre. It was everywhere 580 compassed about with brands. The bath welled with the heat. Then the prince, swollen with rage, straightway commanded the guiltless and innocent maid to be thrust into the boiling lead.

<sup>1</sup> A considerable gap in the MS. occurs here.

585 Thereupon the flames became loosened and scattered. Far and wide leaped the lead, slaughter-greedy heat. The warriors were stricken with dismay before the onrush. Five and seventy of the heathen host were consumed in the breath of the fire. Yet ever the holy maid stood with her beauty unmarred. Neither  
590 hem nor garment, neither hair nor flesh, nor body nor limb, was flecked by the fire. She stood amid the flames altogether unhurt, and for it all gave thanks unto the Lord of lords.

595 Then her judge was wroth, and savage of thought. He tore his clothing; he grinned, and gnashed his teeth; he raged in his breast like a wild beast; he roared with fury, and cursed his gods because they could not withstand the might of a wo-  
600 man's will. Through the will of the Lord the maid of glory was resolute and undaunted, and mindful of her powers.

Then the judge, worn with his care, bade that the saintly-minded maid, the elect of Christ, be beheaded, be put to death  
605 through the bite of the sword. Naught did that murder avail him when he learned its consequence in a later hour. Quickened was the joy of the holy one, exceeding glad was the heart of the maiden, when she heard the warrior declare his purpose  
610 malign, for thereby her life would be redeemed, her days of tribulation would be at end.

Then he who was filled with crimes bade that the chosen maid, pure and void of sin, be led to her death. Thereupon of a sudden came that base spirit of hell, hapless and ever cursed,  
615 and chanted a song of woe—he whom she had erstwhile held in fetters, had vexed and scourged with torments. Abounding in mournful lays, he cried out before the throng: 'Requite her  
620 now with injuries for setting at naught the power of our gods, and most of all for degrading me till I turned an informer. Let her obtain bitter retribution by means of the weapon's point. Wreak now your ancient hate, ye who are infested by sin! Of my grief I am mindful—how in a single night I,  
625 who was fast in fetters, endured boundless ills, pains and afflictions unnumbered.'

Then the blessed Juliana looked toward her foe: she heard

the demon of hell chanting his sorrow. Thereupon the enemy of men began to hurry away in flight, seeking the place of torment; and he uttered these words: 'Woe to me, malefactor! Great now is my foreboding that she will again humiliate me, hapless one, with baleful miseries, as she did of yore.'

Then was she led out near the land's border to the place where they, fierce at heart, purposed to slay her with warrior-hate. Then she began to exhort, to urge the sinful people unto songs of praise; and she gave them promise of the way to glory for their refuge, uttering these words: 'Be ye mindful of the Joy of warriors, the King of heaven, the Hope of the holy, the God of the angels celestial! So worshipful is He that the tribes of men and all the race of angels in the firmament on high give praise unto Him, the Power supreme, in whom rests help for ever and ever unto him who shall attain. Therefore will I urge you, O beloved people, that, fulfilling the law, ye build securely your habitation, lest the winds overturn it with their terrible blasts; thereby shall the strong wall, the more stable, withstand the press of the storm, the devices of sin. Do ye, strong-souled in the love of peace and the light of faith, make firm your foundation upon the living Rock. With the thought of your minds cherish ye the sacred mystery, and in your hearts hold ye peace and faithful covenant with yourselves. Then will the Father almighty show compassion unto you when, after your time of sorrow, ye shall have greatest need of comfort from the God of hosts; for ye of yourselves know not your going hence, and what is the end of life. Prudent it seemeth unto me that ye vigilantly hold ward against the battle-terrors of your enemies, lest your adversaries close from you the way to the city of glory. Beseech ye the Son of God, the Prince of angels, the Creator of men, the Giver of victory, that unto me He be merciful! Peace and true love be with you alway!'

Then, by a stroke of the sword her soul was released from the body into ever-during joy.

7. *The Death of Heliseus.*

Thereafter, the sin-stained wretch, Heliseus, quailing at heart,  
 sought the streams of ocean in his ship, together with his band of  
 assassins. Long-while they flew over the floods along the swan's  
 675 road. But ere they reached land death snatched away with  
 violent force all that horde of warriors, along with Heliseus  
 himself. Four and thirty of the warrior-race, together with  
 680 their lord, were ingloriously robbed of life in the surging  
 billows. Bereft of comfort and void of hope, came they unto  
 hell. In that shadowy home, that steep abyss, the thanes, the  
 band of comrades, had no cause to look to their leader for  
 685 allotted treasure, though upon the ale-benches in the mead-hall  
 they had received bracelets and appled gold.

8. *The Burial of Juliana.*

Far differently was the corse of the holy maid borne to the  
 690 grave, with songs of praise, by a great host, when the vast and  
 mighty multitude carried it on through the towns. There ever  
 after throughout the circuit of the years unto this day, the praise  
 of God has been exalted among the people with great solemnity.

9. *The Poet Invokes Aid and Mercy.*

695 Much is my need that the holy one grant me aid when the  
 dearest of all things separateth from me. My soul shall part  
 700 from my body upon its way to an unknown land, I myself  
 know not whither, when that wedded pair shall rend in twain  
 their bond of union, strong attachment of the heart. Forth  
 from this land shall I go to seek another, advancing with mine  
 olden deeds wrought in days of yore.<sup>1</sup> Sadly shall depart C,  
 705 Y and N ; stern will the King be, the Giver of victory, when  
 E, W and U, all stained with their sins, shall await in dismay  
 what the Judge may decree to them as the reward of life after

<sup>1</sup> This rune-passage shows that Cynewulf was the author of the poem.



their deeds; L and F shall quake, and shall linger, worn with despair. I shall be mindful of all the woes, the wounds of sin, which I have wrought in the world early and late, so that I 710 shall mournfully lament with tears. It was a season of too great negligence of yore when I should have felt shame for my evil deeds, what time soul and body fared together on the earth, sound and hale. Need have I of help, need that the holy maid 715 make intercession for me with the King most high. This want doth impel great sorrow of soul. I implore every one of the race of men who may recite this lay that he with magnanimity carefully remember me by my name, and beseech the Creator, 720 the Guardian of heaven and the Lord of might, the Father, the Spirit of comfort, the Son beloved and the Judge of deeds, to 725 succor me in that awful time, on that great day, when the Trinity in One, enthroned in majesty, shall allot reward according to his works to every man of humankind throughout the bright creation. Grant us, O God of hosts and Joy of saints, 730 that we find thy face merciful in that dread hour! Amen.

HERBERT SPENCER MURCH.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

THE 'DRAM OF EALE' CRUX IN *HAMLET*.

THE New English Dictionary makes no mention of *eale* either as a separate entry or as a variant of *evil*. This seems all the more strange, inasmuch as *eale* is found in most of the well-known texts, such as the Globe, the Cambridge, the Variorum, etc., as well as in Bartlett's *Concordance*. Besides, as will be seen below, *eale* is the reading in the Second and Third Quartos. It is, then, not a ghost-word.

In the light of Professor Dowden's recent interpretation, a brief review of this difficult passage may not be without interest. To show more clearly the connection I will quote from Hamlet's speech some lines immediately preceding :

that these men,—  
 Carrying, I say, the stamp of some defect,  
 Being nature's livery, or fortune's star,—  
 Their virtues else—be they as pure as grace,  
 As infinite as man may undergo—  
 Shall in the general censure take corruption  
 From that particular fault ; the dram of eale  
 Doth all the noble substance of a doubt  
 To his own scandal.—Act 1, Sc. 4.

The last three lines have generally been regarded by English and American editors and critics as hopelessly obscure. Furness in his Variorum edition devotes six pages to the various emendations and interpretations of commentators—all unsatisfactory, for the most part silly. Not a ray of light shines through these pages, only 'darkness visible.' Rolfe attempts no explanation, but gives it up with this comment: 'A corrupt passage, not satisfactorily mended by any of the countless attempts to do it.' Hudson, by an unwarranted *tour de force*, makes the text read:

the dram of leaven  
Doth all the noble substance of 'em sour  
To his own scandal.

In the Critical Notes of his edition he remarks: 'This dreadful passage may, I think, be fairly said to have baffled all the editors and commentators. The Cambridge edition notes upwards of forty different readings which have been printed or proposed, all of them so unsatisfactory that the editors reject them, and give the old text, apparently regarding the corruption as hopeless. There is surely no possibility of making sense out of it as it now stands; and so far, I believe, all are agreed.'

So the matter stood until Dowden's recent edition of *Hamlet* appeared. He did succeed in 'making sense out of it as it stands,' simply by construing *scandal* as a verb, so used four times, at least, in the plays:

if you know  
That I do fawn on men and hug them hard  
And after scandal them.—*J. C.* 1. 2.

and Sinon's weeping  
Did scandal many a holy tear.—*Cymb.* 3. 4.

Her and her blind boy's scandal'd company  
I have forsworn.—*Tempest* 4. 1.

When corn was given them gratis, you repined;  
Scandal'd the suppliants for the people, call'd them  
Time-pleasers, flatterers, foes to nobleness.—*Cor.* 3. 1.

Dowden's interpretation, then, is as follows: 'The dram of eale (evil) Doth all the noble substance of (out of) a (mere) doubt (or suspicion) To his (its) own (substance) scandal (degrade).'

That 'eale,' as it stands in Quarto<sup>2</sup> (and Quarto<sup>3</sup>) is for *evil*, is proved by 'deale,' in the same Quarto, for *devil*, with which compare Scotch *deil*. And so Dowden prints 'evil' in the text.

The weakest part of this ingenious interpretation is the explanation of 'of a doubt.' If now for 'of a doubt' we read 'out of doubt' (undoubtedly), without doing violence to the text we get a clear and consistent meaning. 'Out o' doubt' was suggested by Keightley, though to the passage as a whole

he gives a different interpretation, and later in the *Shakespeare Expositor* (see the Cambridge Shakespeare, note VI) he conjectures 'out of a doubt,' which Dowden, it seems, has accepted.

'Out of doubt' (undoubtedly) is a common idiom. It occurs twice in the first scene of the *Merchant of Venice*, and twice in one scene of *Henry V* (4. 1):

And when the mind is quicken'd, out of doubt,  
The organs, though defunct and dead before,  
Break up their drowsy grave and newly move.

His fears, out of doubt, be of the same relish as ours are.

The passage would then read: 'The dram of eale (evil) Doth all the noble substance, out of doubt (undoubtedly), To his (its) own (substance) scandal (verb).'

EDWARD A. ALLEN.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI.

## THE INFLUENCE OF POPULAR CUSTOMS ON THE MYSTERY PLAYS.

**A**MONG students of comparative literature there is a marked tendency to connect the beginnings of certain literary types with popular customs, especially with those customs in which were united the song, the dance, and the game. Jeanroy<sup>1</sup> and Gaston Paris,<sup>2</sup> for instance, have discussed this origin for lyric poetry; our own Professor Gummere,<sup>3</sup> for the ballad and the epic. No one, however, so far as I know, has done the same for the drama. To be sure, there are many incidental and scattered references, and Professor Gummere has called direct attention to the matter in his book on "The Beginnings of Poetry";<sup>4</sup> but the subject has not been sufficiently developed and emphasized. I think there is reason for believing that these popular customs had quite as much influence on dramatic origins as did the puppet shows or the various entertainments of the jongleurs.

Unquestionably these popular celebrations had striking dramatic characteristics. Jeanroy is not too emphatic when he says:

"Ces chansons de danse étaient éminemment dramatiques: elles l'étaient d'abord par leurs façons brusques et vives de mettre en scène des personnages, et la suppression presque complète de la narrative au profit du dialogue: elles l'étaient plus encore par la manière dont elles étaient chantées, on pourrait presque dire jouées."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. Jeanroy, *La Poésie Lyrique en France au Moyen Age*. Paris, 1889.

<sup>2</sup> Gaston Paris, *Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France*. Paris, 1892.

<sup>3</sup> F. B. Gummere, *Old English Ballads*. Boston, 1894.

<sup>4</sup> F. B. Gummere, *The Beginnings of Poetry*. New York, 1901. Pages 424 ff.

<sup>5</sup> A. Jeanroy, *La Poésie Lyrique en France au Moyen Age*. Paris, 1889, p. 293.

The importance of action in the dance can be seen from a few illustrations. We read that the leader as he danced and sang tossed up and caught again a staff on which his gloves were hung.<sup>1</sup> We know that the game of ball was sometimes introduced into the dance, for an old medieval sermon, cited by Uhland, tells how a woman, while leading the dance, was hit on the head and killed by a bat that slipped from the hand of some ball-player.<sup>2</sup> Uhland has cited, also, an old German poem in which the game of ball is connected with the May Dance, and this may be worthy of mention although the poem does not distinctly state that the game was a part of the dance.<sup>3</sup> Hampson in his "*Medii Aevi Kalendarium*" refers to a dance game in the church in which "the deacon, receiving the ball, began an antiphone, or chant, suited to Easter Day; then, taking the ball in his left hand, he commenced a dance to the tune, others of the clergy dancing round, hand in hand. At intervals the ball was handed or tossed by the dean to each of the choristers, the organ playing according to the dance or sport."<sup>4</sup> Still more striking is the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis. On his itinerary through Wales, he was present at a religious festival at Brecheinock in honor of St. Almedha. Here men and girls, in the dance, moved by religious frenzy, acted before the people whatever work they had unlawfully done on feast days; one went through the motions of plowing, another of goading on the oxen, a third of spinning, and so on. The dance ended with the placing of gifts upon the altar.<sup>5</sup>

But action was not only an important part of the dance; it was also intimately associated with the words of the song. In the May season when the young people went in procession from house to house, singing and dancing and gathering donations for their sports upon the green, two young men, dressed to represent

<sup>1</sup> F. M. Böhme, *Geschichte des Tanzes in Deutschland*, p. 20, Note 3.

<sup>2</sup> L. Uhland, *Schriften*, III. p. 477. See also *Zeit. für Volkskunde*, II, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> L. Uhland, *Schriften*, III, p. 472.

<sup>4</sup> R. T. Hampson, *Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, p. 203.

<sup>5</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, Book I, Chap. 2.

summer and winter, frequently engaged in a contest symbolic of the two seasons. They fought until summer won. Winter was thrown down, his wrappings stripped off and scattered, and a summer's wreath was carried about.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the bystanders supplied the chorus by breaking out in praise of the conqueror<sup>2</sup> or during the duel kept singing :

"Stab aus, Stab aus,  
Stecht dem Winter die Augen aus." <sup>2</sup>

Often however, the characters themselves went through a taunting dialogue like the old Norse "flytings," pausing after each stanza to belabor each other about the head and shoulders. The old German song "Sommergewinn" is a dialogue of this kind and Böhme insists that it looks back to an actual performance.<sup>3</sup> Gaston Paris says the same of the debates between Summer and Winter in France,<sup>4</sup> and the "Debat de l'Yvre et de l'Esté," belonging to the fourteenth century, has an introduction which seems clearly to connect the piece with a popular performance :

"L'autrier par ung matin, sur la rive Sainne,  
Entre Mente et Meulent, tout parmy une plainne  
Trouvay deux damoyseaux et l'une vel se demainne ;  
Vestu fu d'une robe qui n'estoit pas vilainne :

Sa robe yert de sendal à oyseaux fu pourtraite,  
Li autre fu vestu d'une robe grisette,  
De gros agneaux fourrée mout rudement portraite ;  
Li autre lui disoit à basse voix simplette." <sup>5</sup>

Indeed popular survivals of the old customs have been pointed out. Grimm refers to Tobler as citing one from Switzerland in

<sup>1</sup> J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, ed. E. Hugo Meyer. Berlin, 1875, p. 637.

<sup>2</sup> J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 638.

<sup>3</sup> F. M. Böhme, *Altdeutsches Liederbuch*. Leipzig, 1877, p. 356. Böhme discusses the popular connections in an extended note and gives many references.

<sup>4</sup> Gaston Paris, *Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France*. Paris, 1892, p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Montaiglon et Rothschild, *Recueil de Poésies Françaises des XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècles*. Paris, 1875, vol. x, p. 43.

which Summer is acted by a man thinly clad, holding in one hand a branch decorated with ribbons and fruit, in the other a cudgel with the end much split. Winter is warmly clad, but has a similar cudgel. They lay on to each other's shoulders with loud thwacks, each praising himself and running down his opponent. At length Winter falls back and owns himself beaten.<sup>1</sup>

Survivals of similar scenes have been noted in many parts of France. Most noteworthy is the scene in which a woman, Marion, finds clever answers to all her husband's accusations. Victor Smith testifies that in Lorain, at Mardigras, this scene under the name of the "Chanson de la Bergère" is played by two young girls who go about with followers acting and taking up collections of food and money.<sup>2</sup> In Valay the lace-makers are said to make of it a kind of comedy. Arbaud says of it :

"En nous communiquant la musique et une version du dialogue M. Martini ajoute, 'Ce chante est très répandu ; je l'ai entendu dans toutes les communes que j'ai visitées. A Istres, pendant le carnaval, cette petite scène conjugale est mise en action : deux jeunes gens déguisés, l'un en grande dame de bon vieux temps, l'autre en seigneur et muni d'une longue rapière parcourent les rues et se font un malin plaisir de s'arrêter, pour débiter leur dialogue, devant les maisons habitées par certains maris trop hénévoles ou supposés tels.' . . . Cet usage n'est pas particulier à Istres et ce que notre obligeant correspondant raconte de cette localité se passe dans toute la Provence. . . . La chanson est d'ailleurs connue dans toute la France, la comité du ministère de l'instruction publique en avait reçu au moins vingt versions différentés." <sup>3</sup>

In England scenes of this kind seem to have been quite as highly developed as on the continent. The contest between

<sup>1</sup> J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*. Berlin, 1876, p. 641. Also Uhland, *Volkslieder*, Stuttgart, 1893, vol. iv, p. 5 ; Böhme, *Altdeutsches Liederbuch*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 356.

<sup>2</sup> Puymaigre, *Chants Populaires*, p. 215. Other versions are noted here.

<sup>3</sup> D. Arbaud, *Chants de la Provence*, II. pp. 155-6. See also Child's *Ballads*, Part IX.



Summer and Winter is not so much in evidence,<sup>1</sup> though the custom has been noted,<sup>2</sup> and the riding to the May,<sup>3</sup> especially the shooting in connection with the English maying<sup>4</sup> suggests the idea of a battle with the powers of Winter. Possibly too the jousting referred to by Hall in his chronicle is a survival of the old custom.<sup>5</sup> At any rate England had the same traditional Maytree, May Queen, and May dances, which developed into little pastoral plays. By the middle of the fifteenth century they contained much of the Robin Hood material in dramatic form. Tollet's painted window, assigned by Douce to about 1460-70, represents the morris in connection with the May games and contains a fool, a piper, and six dancers, a May-pole, a hobby-horse, a friar, and a lady; and the lady being crowned is to be taken as queen of May.<sup>6</sup> We have fragments of a well-developed Robin Hood play, which dates as far back as 1475.<sup>7</sup> The sword dances<sup>8</sup> and sword plays<sup>9</sup> are doubtless survivals of the same class of popular comedy.

A further dramatic characteristic of the popular celebrations was the custom of disguisings, especially in skins of beasts with masks of beast heads. Caesarius of Arles relates how the heathen and even believers "dress themselves in forms of women and beasts and perform other devilish buffooneries."<sup>10</sup> Two sermons attributed to St. Augustine but belonging to the sixth or seventh century<sup>11</sup> recount that even the baptized put on the dress of women or wrapped themselves in skins of beasts, masked them-

<sup>1</sup> Hone's citation (Day Book I. 359) from an old English poem by Barnaby Googe is not significant, because Googe's poem is a mere translation from the *Regnum Papisticum* (Basle, 1553, see p. 143) of Neogeorgus (Thomas Kirchmaier), a German protestant of the sixteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> Brand, *Popular Antiquities*. Ellis's edition, 1883, vol. I, p. 246.

<sup>3</sup> Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*. Berlin, 1875, p. 367.

<sup>4</sup> Hall, *Chronicle*. London, 1809, pp. 515, 520.

<sup>5</sup> Hall, *Chronicle*. London, 1809, p. 520.

<sup>6</sup> F. J. Child, *English and Scottish Ballads*, vol. v, p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p. 44.

<sup>8</sup> Lockhart, *The Life of Scott*, 1837, vol. III, p. 162.

<sup>9</sup> J. M. Manly, *Specimens of the Pre-Shakspearean Drama*, vol. I.

<sup>10</sup> Marbach, *Die Heilige Weihnachtszeit*. Frankfort, a. M., 1865, p. 111.

<sup>11</sup> For authorship, see Eckart, *Francia Orientalis*, I, p. 433.

selves with beast-heads, and sang lascivious songs.<sup>1</sup> On the continent many councils of the church forbade the practice.<sup>2</sup> In England, Theodore of Canterbury raised his voice in protest and decreed that those who disguised themselves in the hides and heads of beasts should do penance for three years.<sup>3</sup> The custom was wide spread and must have added much to the dramatic nature of the popular celebrations.

Finally, the whole matter is confirmed and illustrated by the customs of savage people in our own time. Lyngbye long ago pointed out in connection with the singing and dancing of the Farøe Islanders that "the song is not like dance music simply to order the steps, but at the same time, by its meaning and contents, to waken certain feelings. One can notice by the demeanor of the dancers that they are not indifferent to the tendency and spirit of the song, for by their gestures and expressions they take pains while they dance to show the various contents of it."<sup>4</sup> The American Indians sometimes appear at their dances in the full disguise of animals, by which means they think in some way to be assimilated to their totems which the disguises represent.<sup>5</sup> Animals are often imitated in a pantomime representing the expected death of the game.<sup>6</sup> The snake-dance among the Hopi Indians, in which the snake-youth and the snake-maiden play important parts, is said to dramatize portions of an old national legend of Tijo, the youth who went to the lower world and brought back as his bride the snake-maiden.<sup>7</sup> Roth says of the dance among the Northwest-Central Queensland aborigines: "I have known when the climbing of a tree after honey, the stealing of cattle by blacks with the tracking and shooting of the marauders, or again the rescue of a European

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patrologia*. Series Latina. Vol. 39. Sermones cxxix. cxxx.

<sup>2</sup> Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, under Kalendae; Alex. Tille, *Yule and Christmas*. London, 1899, p. 98, Note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutions of England*, 1840, vol. II, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> F. B. Gummere, *Old English Ballads*. Boston, 1894. Introduction, p. lxxxvi.

<sup>5</sup> J. G. Frazer, *Totemism*. Edinburg, 1887, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> J. G. Frazer, *Totemism*. Edinburg, 1887, p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> J. Walter Fewkes, *Journal of Eth. and Arch.* 1894, vol. IV, p. 106.

by three aboriginals in the late flood (which had actually occurred) was staged with full histrionic powers and accoutrements.”<sup>1</sup>

I have dwelt upon the dramatic nature of the early popular customs for the purpose of showing their influence on the drama which grew up in the medieval church. From the beginning the people insisted on bringing these customs into connection with the religious celebrations. The clergy complained of it and church councils were continually prohibiting it.<sup>2</sup>

The exact situation is shown by the case of the dancers of Kölbigk<sup>3</sup> in the eleventh century. One who claims to have been among the dancers relates that, at his place, eighteen people, fifteen men, and three women, under the instigation of the devil, were performing their dance songs in the church-yard while the mass was being celebrated. The presbyter, much disturbed by their noise, warned them to desist, and when his admonition was unheeded called down upon them the following curse “*Utinam potentia Dei et merito sancti Magni Mirtinis sic iniquitate annum cantando ducatis.*” They were forced to dance without ceasing and in much distress through the entire year. At the end of that time they were mercifully released from the curse by the prayers of the bishop.

A similar story is related by Étienne de Bourbon. Certain young men were accustomed basely to disguise themselves and perform their dance songs in both the church-yard and the church. The priest forbade it; but one rash youth, calling down a curse on all who desist from sport on account of the prohibitions of the church, came to the church while the congregation was at prayer and attempted to enter. At the very entrance of the church a fire sprang up at his feet and consumed him.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Walter E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the Northwest-Central Queensland Aborigines*, p. 117, Sec. 190.

<sup>2</sup> D'Ancona, *Origine del teatro italiano*. Turin, 1891, pp. 50, 51.

Alex. Tille, *Yule and Christmas*. London, 1899, p. 125. Notes 1, 2, 3.

F. M. Böhme, *Geschichte des Tanzes in Deutschland*, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> E. Schröder, *Die Tänzer von Kölbigk, ein Mirakel des 11 Jahrhunderts. Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1896-7.

See also Giraldus Cambrensis, *Gemma Ecclesiastica*. Part I. Chap. XLIII.

<sup>4</sup> Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historique legendes et apologues*. Paris, 1877, pp. 168-9. Société de l'Histoire de France.

Stubbs tells how the custom flourished in England :

"Then have they their Hobby-horses, dragons and other antiques, together with their baudie Pipers and thundering Drummers to strike up the devil's daunce withall, then, marche these heathen company towards the Church and Church-yard, their pipers piping, their drummers thundering, their stumps dauncing, their bells iygling, their handkerchiefs swinging about their heds like madmen, their hobbie horses and other monsters skirmishing amongst the route ; and in this sorte they go to the church (I say) and into the Church (though the Minister be at praier or preaching) dancing and swinging their handkerchiefs over their heds in the Church like devils incarnate, with such a confuse noise that no man can hear his own voice. Then, the foolish people they looke, they stare, they laugh, they fleer, and mount upon fourmes and pewes to see these goodly pageants solemnized in this sort. Then, after this, about the Church they goe againe and again, and so forth into the church-yard ; where they have commonly their Sommerhaules, their bowers, arbors, and banqueting houses set up, wherein they feast, banquet and daunce al that day and (peradventure) all the night too."<sup>1</sup>

In the end popular custom proved stronger than ecclesiastical decree. In many cases the church found it wise to withdraw opposition, and, in connection with church-ales, actually utilized the custom for money-making purposes. An entry in the convocation books of the corporation of Wells, Somerset,<sup>2</sup> refers apparently to returns from a play of Robin Hood, exhibitions of dancing girls, and church ales. The entries in regard to the "Kingham" or King-game in the church warden accounts of

<sup>1</sup> Phillip Stubbs, *Anatomy of Abuses in England*. New Shak. Soc. Pub. Series VI, Nos. 4, 6, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> "Et insuper in eadem Convocatione omnes et singuli burgenses unanimi assensu ad tunc et ibidem dederunt Magistro Nicolao Trappe potestatem generalem ad inquirendum in quorum manibus pecunie ecclesie ac communitatis Wellie sunt injuste detentae : videlicet, provenientes ante hoc tempus de Robynhode, puellis tripudiantibus communi cervisia ecclesie et hujusmodi. Atque de bonis et pecuniis dictae communitati qualitercumque detentis, et in quorumcunque manibus existentibus. Et desuper, eorum nomina scribere qui habent hujusmodi bona, cum summis, etc."—Child, *Ballads*. Part VI, p. 518.

the parish of Kingston-upon-Thames probably refer to the May-day game since "Kingham and Roby hode" appears as a single entry. Perhaps all references in church-warden accounts to returns for Robynhode refer to these popular performances.<sup>1</sup>

One of the chief reasons for the triumph of popular custom over ecclesiastical decree was the general confusion between pagan and christian customs, a confusion which goes back to the Roman time. The Saturnalia, Brumalia, and Kalends of January had become practically a single mid-winter celebration<sup>2</sup> and, on the advent of the Roman calendar among the Germanic peoples, had attracted to itself many of the customs which formerly belonged to the Germanic New Year in the middle of November.<sup>3</sup> All this had resulted in one great pagan festival at the New Year season. When Bishop Liberius in 354 A. D. fixed Christmas day on the 25th of December, the church endeavored to keep the christian festival distinct from the pagan and hoped it would win preeminence over the heathen feast and gradually displace it. But, from the beginning, the people, half-heathen, half-christian, confused the two. A popular Gnostic legend of the birth of Christ contains pagan acts of worship in the dancing of men and women and speaks of Mary as being beloved of Helios.<sup>4</sup> The neoplatonic sect, the Manichaeans, identified Christ with the sun.<sup>5</sup> Augustine had to insist with emphasis in his reply to Faustus: "We celebrate the 25th of December not as the birthday of the sun like the unbelievers, but as the birthday of him who created the sun."<sup>6</sup> In vain did church council after church council forbid believers to take part in the heathen festivals. When the popular conceptions of the two feasts were so closely associated it was impossible to keep the two celebrations apart.

<sup>1</sup> Child, *Ballads*. Part VIII, p. 496.

<sup>2</sup> Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 268.

<sup>3</sup> Tille, *Yule and Christmas*. London, 1899, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> Usener, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*. Bonn, 1889, I, p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Paulus Cassel, *Weihnachten Ursprung, Bräuche, und Aberglauben*. Berlin, 1862, p. 71.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted from Sermon 190, by Tille in *Die Geschichte der deutschen Weihnachten*. Leipzig, 1893, p. 4.

In time, even the churchmen, especially clerks and subdeacons, yielded to the temptation and made many of the pagan customs part of the religious festivities extending from Christmas to Epiphany. Thus originated within the church the famous Feast of Fools, to which, in the Twelfth century, Belethus undoubtedly refers when he tells how the clergy of his time entered into the sports known as the "Liberties of December"<sup>1</sup> Belethus takes pains to identify the feast with the Old Roman saturnalia, and the analogy is certainly very close. The saturnalia was distinctly the feast of the slaves. On those days they wore the badge of freeman, dressed in their master's clothes, and were waited on at banquets by the masters themselves. They also elected a mock king, who presided over the festivities. There were disguisings and masques.<sup>2</sup> In the Feast of Fools there was the same overturning of authority, the same feasting and rioting. The clerks elected a mock-bishop to preside over the festivities, parodied the divine service, and introduced dancing and disguising into the church itself.<sup>3</sup>

The extent to which the impieties of this feast were carried is well illustrated by a letter of the Archbishop of Sens in 1445. "Larvatos et monstrosos vultus deferendo cum vestibus mulierum, aut lenonum vel histrionum, choreas in ecclesia et choro ejusdem ducendo, cantilenas inhonestas cantando, offas pingues super cornu altaris juxta celebrantem missam comedendo, ludum taxillorum ibidem exercendo, de fumo fetido et excorio veterum sotularium thurificando, per totam ecclesiam liguriendo, saltando turpitudinem suam non erubescendo nudos homines sine verendorum tegmine inverecunde ducendo per villam et theatra in curribus et vehiculis sordidis ad infamia spectacula pro risu astantium et concurrentium se transferendo, turpes gesticulationes sui corporis faciendo, verba impudicissima atque

<sup>1</sup> I. Belethus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*. Chaps. 72 and 120. See Migne's *Patrologia*, Series Latina, vol. 202.

<sup>2</sup> Marquardt u. Mommsen, *Römische Alterthümer Staatsverwaltung*, III, 2, p. 286.

<sup>3</sup> Du Cange, *Glossarium*, under Kalendae. Cf. R. T. Hampson, *Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, p. 203.

scurrilia proferendo et multas alias abominationes, quarum pudet reminisci, faciendo, et quod recte vocatum est hoc flagitiosum coagulum, Festum fatuorum, videlicet coagulatio malorum hominum exultantium in rebus pessimis.”<sup>1</sup>

Nor was this feast confined to the continent; it early made its way into England. About 1240, Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, called it “Execrabilis consuetudo” and prohibited it within his diocese. Rex stultorum was prohibited at Beverley in 1391.<sup>2</sup> The inventory of St. Paul’s (1402) mentions the staff and copes for the Feast of Fools.<sup>3</sup> The Abbot of Unreason mentioned in a law of the time of Mary, and the Lord of Misrule, the grand-captain of the rioters mentioned by Stubbs,<sup>4</sup> probably have reference to the same custom. United with the feast of the Boy-bishop, it became so offensive that Henry VIII, in 1541, by royal proclamation, forbade its performance.<sup>5</sup>

Another illustration of the tendency under popular influence to burlesque serious religious services is founded in the Feast of the Ass. This celebration was at first altogether serious and dignified. Eastern tradition had made the ass a very noble animal.<sup>6</sup> The Christians looked upon Christ’s triumphal entry into Jerusalem on the ass’s colt as the fulfillment of prophecy and gave to it a symbolic meaning.<sup>7</sup> The ass has the honor of worshipping the baby Christ in the manger and of warming him with his breath, a tradition which Prudentius celebrated in a famous hymn.<sup>8</sup> When Balaam’s ass was first introduced into

<sup>1</sup> Du Cange, *Glossarium*, under Kalendae.

<sup>2</sup> *Archeologia*, xv, p. 231.

<sup>3</sup> *Archeologia*, I, pp. 346, 448, 472, 480.

<sup>4</sup> Phillip Stubbs, *Anatomy of Abuses in England*. New Shak. Soc. Pub. Series VI, Nos. 4, 6; p. 147.

<sup>5</sup> Brand, *Popular Antiquities*. Edition of 1849, vol. I, p. 422.

<sup>6</sup> Judges x. 14; Job. xxxix, 5-8; Genesis XLIX, 14-15.

Plutarch, *Symposium*, Bk. iv, Chap. 5.

<sup>7</sup> St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*. Bk. XII, Chap. 42.

St. Chrysostom, *Hom. St. Math.* 67.

<sup>8</sup> “In praesepe ponitur  
Sub foeno asinorum  
Cognoverunt dominum  
Christum regem coelorum.”

the Prophet's Play there was probably no thought of comic effect. The early Rouen version, for instance, shows nothing necessarily comic. Even the famous "prose" of the ass was probably serious originally. The oldest known version—It is in the missal of Sens and was written by Pierre de Corbeil before 1222—was conceived apparently in the spirit of the noble eastern tradition, and does not contain the burlesque verses to be found in the version of Beauvais. These portions of the Beauvais version, indeed, are clearly after thoughts, for they are not consistent in tone with the other parts.<sup>1</sup>

Still, this custom, however serious in its origin, was easy to burlesque, and to sub-deacons who elected mock-bishops and parodied the divine office, irresistible. The ceremony of Beauvais was burlesque of the broadest kind. It took place on January 14th, and celebrated the escape of the holy family into Egypt. A beautiful girl holding a child at her breast was seated upon an ass and led in procession by the clergy through the principal streets to the parish church. Here the girl and the ass were placed near the high altar and the mass performed. The Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, etc., were concluded by a general braying. A rubric states that at the end of the mass the priest instead of saying to the people "*Ita missa est*," shall bray three times, and the people, instead of saying the "*Deo gratias*" shall bray three times in response.<sup>2</sup>

When we see to what an extent the popular customs, so rich in dramatic suggestions, had been adopted by the clergy and made part of various religious festivities, often transforming the serious into the burlesque, we can realize how natural it was for the Mystery plays, as soon as they became separated from the liturgy, to take on similar comic aspects.

It was especially easy for comic scenes to grow up around the character of the devil. Of all the personages in the story of re-

<sup>1</sup> R. T. Hampson, *Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, p. 143 ff.; also *Annales Archéologiques*, xvi, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> "In fine Missae Sacreos versus ad populum vice. *Ita missa est*, ter Hinhamnabit; populus verso vice, *Deo gratias*, ter respondebit, Hinhan, Hinhan, Hinhan." Du Cange, *Glossarium*, under *Festum Asinorum*.



demption he was the most real to the medieval mind, for he was not a figure of the remote past, like other Bible characters, but most emphatically a contemporary, busy in the daily life of men. Indeed he was a comic figure even before he found his way into the religious plays. To be sure the churchmen conceived him primarily as the great principle of evil, the adversary of God and the enemy of man, strong in the battle for souls, and delighting to torture those who, through his wiles, lost their hope of bliss.<sup>1</sup> The popular imagination, however, had greatly modified this conception. The necessity that the works of the devil should eventually be brought to naught or made to work for good, brought him into frequent discomfiture.<sup>2</sup> Legends arose of how divine mercy had intervened to snatch the sinner from the very clutches of the fiend. Theophilus, for instance, sold himself for ecclesiastical power and seemed lost if ever man could be, but the Virgin intervened and even took from the devil by force the written contract in which Theophilus had bargained away his soul. Even Virgil outwitted the fiend, making him an object of ridicule and scorn. The devil had promised to reveal his hidden wisdom if Virgil would set him free from a narrow hole in which he was confined. Virgil did so; but, having secured the secret, expressed doubt that the devil could really have been confined in so small a space: whereupon the devil crawled back into the hole to prove it and Virgil shut him in once more.<sup>3</sup>

Besides all this, the devil was confused with the various heathen divinities, large and small, and the same popular stories were told of him as of elves, dwarfs, and giants.<sup>4</sup> Pictures on the old block-books like the Poor Man's Bible show him as a beast demon with horns and tail and cloven feet, exhibiting all the grotesque and sportive characteristics of the classical satyrs

<sup>1</sup> Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*. Leipzig, 1869, p. 363.

<sup>2</sup> Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*. Leipzig, 1869, pp. 317, 274.

<sup>3</sup> Schindler, *Der Aberglaube des Mittelalters*. Breslau, 1858, p. 33; Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*. Leipzig, 1869, p. 385.

<sup>4</sup> Jos. Jacobs, *English Fairy Tales*. London, 1892, p. 1;

Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, pp. 547, 548.

and fawns.<sup>1</sup> Under such guises as Friar Rush all the pranks of the popular sprites were attributed to him. He was a veritable Puck, a Robin Goodfellow.

Especially significant was his connection, as a beast demon, with the beast disguisings and beast-transformations. The men who performed in beast-masks were the devil's own servants.<sup>2</sup> They were even transformed into beasts by the power of the fiend,<sup>3</sup> and the same pranks are told alike of these transformed men and of devils. Olaus Magnus tells the following story: "In festo enim Nativitatis Christi sub noctem, statuto in loco, quem inter se determinatum habent, tanta luporum ex hominibus diversis in locis habitantibus conversorum copia congregatur, quae postea eadem nocte mira ferocia cum in genus humanum, tum in caetera animalia, quae feram naturam non habent, saevit, (?) ut majus detrimentum ab his, istius regionis inhabitores, quam unquam a veris et naturalibus lupis accipiant. . . . Cellaria cervisiarum ingrediunter, ac illic aliquot cervisiae, aut medonis tonnas epotant, ipsaque vasa vacua in medio cellarii unum super aliud elevando collocant, in quo a nativis ac genuinis lupis discrepant."<sup>4</sup>

Wright tells the same story of demons: "A great man's cellar was once haunted by demons, who drank all his wine, while the owner was totally at a loss to account for its rapid disappearance. After many unsuccessful attempts to discover the depredators, some one, probably suspecting the truth, suggested that he should mark one of the barrels with holy water, and next morning a demon was found stuck fast to the barrel."<sup>5</sup>

The devil was connected also with the popular dance. It was considered the devil's own sport. Pious churchmen

<sup>1</sup> Thos. Wright, *History of Caricature and Grotesque*. London, 1865, pp. 62, 70, 71.

<sup>2</sup> P. Cassel, *Weihnachten*. Berlin, 1862, p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> Cassel, *Weihnachten*, p. 280.

R. T. Hampson, *Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, p. 111 ff.

Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hibernica*. Dist. II. Cap. XIX.

<sup>4</sup> Olaus Magnus, *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*. Bk. 18, Chap. 45, 47.

<sup>5</sup> Thos. Wright, *History of Caricature and Grotesque*. London, 1865, p. 62.

thought of him as "the inventor, the instigator, the leader of the dance." An old sermon informs us, "Der ummegende tantz ist ein ring oder cirkel, des mittel der teufel est."<sup>1</sup> Jacques de Vitry says that "just as the wether preceding the flock wears a bell about the neck, so the woman who leads the song and dance has, as it were, the bell of the devil about her neck."<sup>2</sup> Étienne de Bourbon tells the story that when a certain woman was leading the dance, a holy man saw a devil dancing above her head and controlling her movements."<sup>3</sup>

Now, this grotesque and mirthful conception of the devil was better suited to dramatic adaptation than the old theological conception, because it was more concrete and picturesque. Then, too, the people naturally demanded in the drama their own familiar fiend. Consequently the devil entered the Mystery plays, at once, as a comic personage and naturally brought with him much of the popular comedy with which he was already associated. Stage directions tell us how he regaled the audience with song and dance and pantomime, performing much more than the lines which he spoke indicated, and often appearing for his foolery when he had no regular part in the dialogue.

The Norman play "Adam,"<sup>4</sup> belonging to the twelfth century is comparatively rich in these directions. Here we read that "while Adam and Eve are enjoying themselves in paradise, devils shall rush across the scene performing appropriate actions." When Adam and Eve are bound with chains and carried away into Hell, many devils gather about hellmouth and perform a great dance (*magnum tripudium*) while others make a fume to arise out of Hell and shout for joy, beating on pots and kettles.<sup>5</sup>

In both the German and French plays the devils dance. In the first scene of the Alsfeld play, for instance, when Satan

<sup>1</sup> L. Uhland, *Schriften*, III, p. 477, from *Altd. Blüt.*, I, 52.

<sup>2</sup> *The Exempla of Jaques de Vitry*, ed. T. F. Crane. London, 1890, p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques legendes et apologues*, publiés pour la Société de l'Histoire de France. 1877, p. 397.

<sup>4</sup> *Adam, Mystère du XII Siècle* ed. Leon Palustre. Paris, 1877, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *Adam*, ed. Leon Palustre. Paris, 1877, p. 84.

mounts his throne, the other devils gather round dancing and singing :

Lucifer in dem throne / ryngelyn ryss  
Der was eyn engel schone / ryngelyn ryss.<sup>1</sup>

In the French passion play by Greban, Lucifer calls upon his devils to entertain him and they dance and sing before him in an extended scene.<sup>2</sup>

The devils indulged also in recrimination and fighting after the fashion of the old "flytings" and the contests between Summer and Winter. In the Alsfeld play, when Lucifer laments his fate, the devils tell him he is preaching and beat him till he changes his tone. In "*Le Mystère du Viel Testament*" nearly a hundred lines are given to the abuse of Lucifer. In Greban's play recrimination abounds throughout and punishment is invariably meted out to devils who return from their missions unsuccessful. In the York "*Harrowing of Hell*" the devils abuse one another in their alarm at the approach of Christ. There is a quarrel in the Chester play on "*The Fall of Lucifer*." The York play on the same subject contains a hand to hand fight. These devils in their grotesque beast costumes pummelling one another were highly comic. The people enjoyed them much as the modern small boy enjoys a dog-fight. The same kind of effect was produced as in the popular contests between Summer and Winter.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lines 139-40.

<sup>2</sup> Arnould Greban, *Le Mystère de la Passion*, ed. Paris and Raynaud. Paris, 1878, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> In connection with the "*Harrowing of Hell*" a set debate grew up. The Alsfeld play has a perfect example of a "flyting." The "*Quis est rex glorie*" of the original antiphona becomes in the mouth of the devil :

"Wer is der Konigk der eren sso rich  
der do sso geweldiglich  
cloppet on vor myner thore?  
Uff myne pyn ! Komme ich hervor  
Ich gebe ein eynen Kulenslagk  
hie fellet middler uff synen sagk."

The English York Play (No. 37) however, and the 12th century "*Harrowing of Hell*" are theological and literary.

Of course this popular comedy soon spread within the religious plays. The devils danced with the Jews<sup>1</sup> and with Mary Magdalene,<sup>2</sup> Joseph and the servant danced about the cradle of Jesus singing, "In dulce jubilo,"<sup>3</sup> and later danced with the boy, singing, "En trinitatis speculum." Jesus is forced to dance with the Jews at his trial.<sup>4</sup> In the Vienna Easter Play the Jews dance on their way to Pilate and sing in Jewish<sup>5</sup> and the soldiers dance on their way to the grave. In the crucifixion scene of the Alsfeld play (l. 6352) the Jews dance about the cross, and in the English Coventry play, just after Christ has been nailed to the cross, a rubric tells us "Here xule thei leve of and dauncyn aboute the croos shortly."

Fighting became a common incident. When Noah's wife refuses to enter the ark Noah attempts to bring her by force and they have a bout at fisticuffs. In the various plays on the "Slaughter of the Innocents" the soldiers are frequently beaten by the women, as in the Digby play where Watkyn, Herod's coward servant, who has been dubbed knight and sent on this adventure, is soundly beaten with the distaff.<sup>6</sup> Especially noteworthy are the merchant scenes in the German resurrection plays, where the wife of the mountebank objects to the price at which the ointment has been sold to the three Maries, and a quarrel results in which the wife receives a sound beating. This scene is very widespread in the German passion plays and is particularly significant because the same scene occurs frequently in the carnival plays, the Fastnachtsspiele. Indeed, many striking verbal resemblances have been pointed out showing that one must have borrowed from the other.<sup>7</sup> The significance

<sup>1</sup> Dr. R. Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*. Stuttgart. *Das Alsfelder Passionsspiel*, l. 897.

<sup>2</sup> *Das Alsfelder Passionsspiel*, l. 1770.

<sup>3</sup> Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*. *Das Hessische Weihnachtsspiel*, l. 181.

<sup>4</sup> F. J. Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, Karlsruhe, 1846. Vol. II, p. 290.

<sup>5</sup> Hoffman von Fallersleben, *Fundgruben für Geschichte deutscher Sprache und Litteratur*. Breslau, 1837. Vol. III, p. 300.

<sup>6</sup> *The Digby Mysteries*, E.E.T.S., 1896.

<sup>7</sup> Ludwig Wirth, *Die Oster- und Passionsspiele*. Halle, 1889.

lies in the fact that the Fastnachtsspiele are directly connected with the popular customs. Indeed Creizenach believes that they grew directly out of the popular song and dance.<sup>1</sup> A close connection between the popular dramatic customs and the comedy of the mystery plays is certain.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the further development of this comedy within the religious plays, when secular literature and popularized church legend were drawn upon for comic material. Enough has been said for my present purpose. The popular customs were highly dramatic. In the general confusion between pagan and christian celebrations, these customs forced their way into the church and became part of the religious festivities. It thus became natural and easy for the mystery plays, as soon as they became separated from the liturgy, to take on comic aspects. And this was especially easy in the devil-scenes, for the devil was already a comic figure intimately connected with these popular customs. The incongruous mixture of the story of redemption with horse-play and farce, so shocking to modern taste, is thus seen to be the natural expression of medieval life and thought.

FREDERICK MONROE TISDEL.

<sup>1</sup> A. Creizenach, *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas*. Halle, 1893. I, p. 408 f.

ÜBER DIE ZWEITE AUFLAGE (A<sup>1</sup>) DER ERSTEN  
COTTASCHEN AUSGABE VON GOETHE'S  
WERKEN.

DIE erste direkte Hindeutung auf einen zweimaligen Druck der Ausgabe *A* (Goethe's Werke. Tübingen, in der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1806–1810. 8°. 13 Bände. Vgl. Goedeke's *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*,<sup>2</sup> Bd. 4, I. Abt., SS. 624, 625) in der neuesten Zeit ist wohl die von v. Loeper im ersten Bande der Weimarer Ausgabe (1887) S. 382, wo er zu dem Gedicht *Die Freude* bemerkt: "Überschrift *Die Freude* zuerst *A* (nicht in allen Exemplaren . . .)." Im 2. Bande derselben Ausgabe (1888) bringt er die Sigle *A*<sup>1</sup> bei folgenden Worten (S. 298): "*A*<sup>1</sup>: Dieselben in einem zweiten, anscheinend nicht authentischen Abdrucke. Der Band 2 dieser Ausgabe \* ist an mehreren abweichenden Lesarten kenntlich, s. zu *Anakreon's Grab* S 124 V<sub>2</sub> [d. h. Weimarer Ausgabe 2, 124(a),<sub>2</sub>], *Zeitmaß* S 125 V<sub>3 u. 4</sub>, *Warnung* S 125 V<sub>1</sub>, *Heilige Familie* S 131 V<sub>2</sub>, *Der neue Amor* S 135 V<sub>3 u. a. m.</sub>" Die hier angedeuteten (aber nicht angegebenen) Varianten sind bei weitem von nicht so grossem Interesse wie eine beträchtliche Anzahl, die v. Loeper nicht anführt.

Auf Seiten 341–342 des 8. Bandes der Weimarer Ausgabe (1889) gab Professor Jakob Minor (nicht ganz vollständig) die von Strehlke in seiner Hempelschen Ausgabe von *Egmont* (Band 7) aus "*A*" stammenden Lesarten wieder und fügte hinzu: "In einem halben Dutzend von Exemplaren, welche ich von deutschen Antiquaren kommen liess, habe ich keine

\* Die Worte "Band 2 dieser Ausgabe" sind augenscheinlich verschrieben: von Loeper will jenen Teil des ersten Bandes von *A*<sup>1</sup> andeuten, welcher den Text zu Band 2 der Weimarer Ausgabe geliefert hat. Die Gedichte nehmen bloss den ersten Band in *A* und *A*<sup>1</sup> ein.

der hier verzeichneten Lesarten gefunden und muss also die Möglichkeit der Existenz eines zweiten Druckes offen lassen, falls die Angaben Strehlkes richtig sein sollen."

Goedeke's *Grundriss* (2. Ausgabe von Goetze, Bd. 4, Erste Abt., Dresden 1891, S. 625) hat  $A^1$  mit dem im *Intelligenzblatt zum Journal des Luxus und der Moden* 1809 angezeigten 12-bändigen Druck von Goethes Werken identifiziert. Für einzelne Teile des 12. Bandes der Weimarer Ausgabe machte v. Weilen beschränkten Gebrauch von zwei Drucken des 7. Bandes von "A" (*W* 12, 369 ff.), scheint aber  $A$  und  $A^1$  unter sich verwechselt zu haben, wie unten bei der Beschreibung vom 7. Bande von  $A^1$  auseinandergesetzt wird. Im *Goethe-Jahrbuch* 16, 261 ff. (1895) versucht Erich Schmidt in Verbindung mit B. Suphan und A. Fresenius die Bände 5, 6, 7 von  $A^1$  zu identifizieren, beweist, dass der von Strehlke gebrauchte 5. Band eigentlich  $A^1$  war, zeigt, dass, für den 6. und 7. Band von  $B$ ,  $A^1$  und nicht  $A$  Druckvorlage und Fehlerquelle gewesen ist und weist auf die Möglichkeit hin, dass auch andere Bände eine ähnliche Entstehungsgeschichte gehabt haben könnten. In den *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (1899 : S. 121) machte Professor Hewett auf einige Ungenauigkeiten in den Jahreszahlen, die im obengenannten *Goethe-Jahrbuch* vorkommen, aufmerksam.

In den Lesarten zum 21. Band der Weimarer Ausgabe (1898) sagt Carl Schüddekopf (S. 335): "Die zweite Auflage der ersten Cottaschen Ausgabe [Bde. 2. 3] . . . ist bisher unauffindbar geblieben. Dass sie existiert, beweisen die Druckfehler des 3. Bandes, die Riemer in Goethes Tagebuch von 1809 (IV, 374) verzeichnet." Ähnlich in *W* 23, 315 (1901), wo Riemers Angabe für Band 3: "§. 348. §. 8 von oben: jedem lies jenem" citiert wird mit der Anmerkung: "beruht auf einem Schreibfehler." Wie es mit diesem Schreibfehler beschaffen ist, wird unten bei der Beschreibung von  $A^1$  Band 3 erörtert.

Schliesslich hat August Fresenius im Jahre 1901 in *W* 13 (2), 113–115 eine längere Behandlung der Theorie der  $A^1$ -Aus-



gabe gegeben: es habe den Anschein, als ob von allen zwölf Bänden von *A* ein zweiter Druck (*A*<sup>1</sup>) existiere. Fresenius war überzeugt, dass die Bände 5 und 6, die als Druckvorlage zu *B* Band 6 und 7 gedient haben, die Sigle *A*<sup>1</sup> führen sollten und zu dem Abdruck aus dem Jahre 1808 gehörten. Er erwähnt auch den 7. Band, den v. Weilen benutzt hat und fügt hinzu: "Mehr als dieser drei Bände der zweiten Auflage haben wir bis jetzt nicht habhaft werden können."

Eine Mitteilung von Professor Collitz im Jahre 1903, wonach er den 5. Band von *A*<sup>1</sup> besitzt, führte mich zu einer eingehenden Untersuchung desselben Bandes, sowie der übrigen zwölf Bände, die zusammen mit dem eben erwähnten Bande in der höchst wertvollen Schneider-Sammlung der Northwestern-Universität eine Reihe bilden. Mit der Hilfe meiner Seminaristen, Minna Harter, Hedwig Hochbaum, Walter Roloff, Charles Schreiber und Ellen Barrows, wurde ein Vergleich dieser 13 Bände mit der Ausgabe *A* angestellt, sodass wir imstande sind, einen jeden von den zehn Bänden, die sich von *A* unterscheiden, leicht zu identifizieren. In der folgenden Beschreibung dieser Bände mache ich keinen Versuch, den kritischen Apparat erschöpfend darzustellen, noch die volle Tragweite der uns neuen Tatsachen auf den massgebenden Text (mit Ausnahme von *Egmont*) zu bestimmen. Vorläufig sei es genug, wenn solche Varianten angegeben werden, welche die eine Auflage von der anderen klar unterscheiden. Nebenbei wird hier und da etwas Licht auf kleinere bis jetzt ungelöste Probleme geworfen.

#### DIE EINZELNEN BÄNDE DER *A*<sup>1</sup>-AUSGABE.

*A*<sup>1</sup> Band 1, 1806: Seite 35, Überschrift (*Weimarer Ausgabe*, Band 1. Seite 62, Überschrift) Die Freuden] Die Freude  
*A* 45, 11 (*W* 1, 71, 11) dein liebeß Bild] das liebe Bild *A*  
 106, 14 (*W* 1, 111, 14) Sage] Sag *A* 106, 20 (*W* 1, 111, 20)  
 Pa, pa, pa, papaß] Pa, pa, papaß *A* 107, 4 (*W* 1, 112, 28)  
 lange] lang *A* 107, 14 (*W* 1, 112, 38) Wäre] Wä'r' *A*  
 123, 22 (*W* 2, 61, 22) Reichen] Reiher *A* 126, 4 (*W* 2, 64,  
 81) ahndende] ahnende *A* 140, 9 (*W* 2, 83, 9) ahnden]

ahnen *A* 145, 1 (*W* 2, 124(a), 1) Lorbeer] Lorbern *A*  
 145, 2 (*W* 2, 124(a), 2) ergöht] ergeht *A* 152, 2 (*W* 2,  
 127(b), 2) eueren] euerer *A* 165, 15 (*W* 2, 92, 15) Heerds]  
 Herds *A* 201, 11 (*W* 2, 183, 34) Schmaragd] Smaragd *A*  
 211, 27 (*W* 2, 26, 82) Myrthenhaine] Morgenhaine *A* 237,  
 13 (*W* 1, 179, 40) Possirlicher] Possierlich *A* 283, 5 (*W* 1,  
 233, 5) flistert] flüstert *A* 289, 20 (*W* 1, 239, 112) Da] Daß  
*A* 341, 10 (*W* 1, 290, 10) bilde] bildet *A* 359, 5 (*W* 1,  
 307, 5) Gymbelntrommeln] Gymbeln, Trommeln *A* 398,  
 8 (*W* 1, 348, 44) du] du *A*

Im Vergleich mit *A* zeigt Band 1 durchgehendere Abwei-  
 chungen in Form und Text als jeder andere Band der Reihe,  
 und doch sind diese Abweichungen von geringem Interesse, da  
 sie keinen Einfluss auf die weitere Textgeschichte ausgeübt: als  
 Grundlage zu den Bänden 1 und 2 von *B* hat *A* Band 1  
 gedient. Für die Titel zu den Gedichten hat Cotta ganz andere  
 Typen gebraucht; Buchstaben, die in den Titeln in *A* zusam-  
 mengesetzt vorkommen, sind oft gesperrt gedruckt, auch in dem  
 Text der Gedichte in *A*<sup>1</sup> sind die Worte bedeutend weiter von  
 einander getrennt. Vielleicht sind diese Änderungen durch  
 Goethes Kritik in seinem Briefe vom 25. November 1805 (*Br.*  
 19, 75) an Cotta veranlasst, wo er sich ein "moderneres und  
 lustigeres Aussehen" der Seiten seines ersten Gedichtbandes  
 wünscht. Der Text von *A* wird öfters dadurch verbessert—  
 oder verschlimmbessert—dass man (vermutlich in Cottas Offizin)  
 zu den älteren Lesarten in *S* und sonstigen früheren Quellen  
 zurückkorrigierte. Von Loepers Kollation von *A*<sup>1</sup> war höchst  
 flüchtig und der Text dieser Ausgabe spielt so gut wie gar keine  
 Rolle in seinem Apparat.

Ich verzichte auf ein durchgehendes Verzeichnis der endlosen  
 Abweichungen von *A*, die durch diesen Band gehen. Typisch  
 sind: das systematische Weglassen von einer grossen Zahl in  
*A* vorkommender Kommata; die weibliche Endung = *inn* wird  
 in der Regel (nicht immer) in = *in* geändert; das Ausrufungs-  
 zeichen erscheint oft als Periode; || (*A*) wird oft § gedruckt;

die Worte ahnen, ergeben, Herd, gib in *A* kommen in der Regel als ahnden, ergößen, Heerd, gieß in *A*<sup>1</sup> vor.

*A*<sup>1</sup> Band 2, 1806: 3, 6 (*Weimarer Ausgabe*, Band 21, 3, 7) Ungedult] Ungedult *A* 20, 11 (*W* 20, 13) verlor] verlorh *A* 27, 13 (*W* 27, 15) weiteres] weiteres *A* 53, 13 (*W* 53, 17) Unreellste] unreellste *A* 61, 2 (*W* 61, 7) abholen] abhohlen *A* 145, 4 (*W* 145, 4) unsere] unsre *A* 146, 7 (*W* 146, 6) gestehen] gestehn *A* 174, 14 (*W* 174, 15) Perücke] Perrücke *A* 182, 22 (*W* 182, 24) daß andere] daß andre *A* 233, 6 (*W* 233, 7) Dahin! Dahin!] Dahin! Dahin *A* 256, 13 (*W* 256, 15) ungeheure] ungeheure *A* 261, 3 (*W* 261, 4) anhieng] anhing *A* 280, 16 (*W* 280, 19) erstreuen] zerstreuen *A* 318, 5 (*W* 318, 7) edeln] edlen *A*

In der *Weimarer Ausgabe* 21, 335 berichtet Schüddekopf, dass der 2. Band der Ausgabe *A*<sup>1</sup> "bisher unauffindbar geblieben" sei. Dagegen scheint ihm das Gute näher gelegen zu haben, als er vermutet, da er selbst für seinen Apparat *A*<sup>1</sup> und nicht *A* ergriffen hat. Seine Lesart zu 182, 24: daß ändern ist augenscheinlich Druckfehler für daß andere.

*A* und nicht *A*<sup>1</sup> hat als Druckvorlage zum 3. Bande von *B* gedient. Der betreffende Text bedarf also einer neuen Revision.

*A*<sup>1</sup> Band 3, 1806: 5, 12 (*W* Band 22, 137, 13) mannigfaltigen] manigfaltigen *A* 8, 26 (*W* 140, 23 f.) Ursache,] Ursache *A* 10, 10 (*W* 142, 11) holten] hohsten *A* 12, 2 (*W* 144, 1) Spaziergänge] Spaziergänge *A* 26, 15 (*W* 158, 16) genauesten] genausten *A* 29, 23 (*W* 161, 23) schiffen] schiffen *A* 35, 4 (*W* 167, 4) reizender] reizender *A* 83, 26 (*W* 215, 27) magst] machst *A* 191, 1 (*W* 322, 5) habe] hatte *A*

Dieses ist endlich der bisher umsonst gesuchte Band, der von Riemer in Goethes Tagebuch von 1809 (*W* III, 4, 374) erwähnt wird. Die daselbst aufgezeichneten Lesarten magst und habe kommen in der Tat vor. Die mystifizierende Angabe: "S.

348 3. 8 von oben: jedem ließ jenem" wird klar, wenn "348" als Schreibfehler für "208" angesehen wird. Es ist die Zeile in den *Bekenntnissen einer schönen Seele* (W 22, 338, 25): "Sie [d. h. die Bücher] waren in jenem [vgl. W 22, 337, 27] Sinne gesammelt." Die Lesart jedem, die in allen zu Goethes Zeit erschienenen Ausgaben wie auch in der Weimarer Ausgabe vorkommt, ist dementsprechend zweifelsohne zu korrigieren, wie es wohl schon einige Herausgeber seit 1840 auf eigne Hand gewagt haben.

Als Vorlage zu B Band 4 hat A und nicht A<sup>1</sup> gedient.

A<sup>1</sup> Band 4, 1806: 13, 3 (*Weimarer Ausgabe*, Band 9, 13, 150) daß] Daß A 15, 3 (W 15, 196) zu heftig] so heftig A 46, 2 (W 48, 124) größer] größer A 58, 6 (W 61, 328) genießen] genießen A 60, 17 (W 63, 365) zubürderst] zufürderst A 62, 7 (W 66, 397) Rendezbouß] Rendezbouß A (ähnlicherweise 103, 1 = W 109, 914) 62, 7 (W 66, 397) gesezten] gesezten A 71, 19 (W 75, 519) jeßt] jezt A 104, 2 (W 110, 922) zuleßt] zuletzt A 110, Personen (W 118) Mariane] Marianne A 126, 1 (W 134, 5) Spazirgang] Spazirgang A 144, 8 (W 280, 78) fordre] fordre A 163, 15 (W 299, 534) Stätte] Stäte A 212, 21 (W 349, 1500) forbert] fodert A

Die Herausgeber der entsprechenden Weimarer Texte haben A und A<sup>1</sup> gebraucht. Otto Hoffmann, der *Mahomet* bearbeitet hat, wird wohl A<sup>1</sup> benutzt haben, denn die Lesart fordre (280, 78) führt er als in A befindlich an, während es in Wirklichkeit in A fordre aber in A<sup>1</sup> fordre heisst. Hingegen hat wohl Gustav Roethe, der *Die Laune des Verliebten* herausgab, A benutzt (vgl. W 9, 15, 196 und AA<sup>1</sup> 15, 3).

Der Setzer von B 5 hat A<sup>1</sup> benutzt.

Wie bei dem ersten Bande von A<sup>1</sup>, gehen auch hier einige Verschiedenheiten (e. g. 15, 3; 163, 15) auf frühere Quellen als A zurück.

A<sup>1</sup> Band 5, 1807: 108, 25, 26 (*Weimarer Ausgabe*, Band

8, 110, <sup>5,6</sup>) Elisabeth—können.] In *A* fallen diese Zeilen auf Seite 109, 1.2. Ähnlich ist es mit den Zeilen <sup>25,26</sup> am Ende von Seite 109 in *A*<sup>1</sup>, die den Anfangszeilen von Seite 110 in *A* bilden 171, <sup>17</sup> (*W* 173, <sup>16</sup>) [schon so] so [schon *A* 173, <sup>10</sup> (*W* 175, <sup>8</sup>) Herrn] Herren *A* 180, <sup>21</sup> (*W* 182, <sup>20</sup>) [hol =] [höhl = *A* 182, <sup>13</sup> (*W* 184, <sup>11</sup>) Sinne] Sinnen *A* 192, <sup>10</sup> (*W* 194, <sup>1</sup>) Herz] Herze *A* 199, <sup>17</sup> (*W* 201, <sup>5</sup>) reizt] reizt *A* 199, <sup>27</sup> (*W* 201, <sup>15</sup>) ausgezehrt] aufgezehrt *A* 209, <sup>26</sup> (*W* 211, <sup>1</sup>) mir] mit *A* 212, <sup>3</sup> (*W* 213, <sup>3</sup>) Tisch] Tische *A* 213, <sup>12</sup> (*W* 214, <sup>13</sup>) geschwind!] geschwind, *A* 213, <sup>13</sup> (*W* 214, <sup>15</sup>) Relation,] Relation! *A* 214, <sup>7</sup> (*W* 215, <sup>9</sup>) hingehen] hingehn *A* 218, <sup>2</sup> (*W* 219, <sup>3</sup>) [spazierte] spazierte *A* 233, <sup>5</sup> (*W* 234, <sup>7</sup>) ehemals] ehemals *A* 234, <sup>22</sup> (*W* 235, <sup>24</sup>) sehen] sehn *A* 236, <sup>14</sup> (*W* 237, <sup>19</sup>) doch] noch *A* 238, <sup>19</sup> (*W* 239, <sup>21</sup>) Zubürderst] Zuförderst *A* 248, <sup>15</sup> (*W* 248, <sup>12</sup>) Gehe] Geht *A* 250, <sup>22</sup> (*W* 250, <sup>20</sup>) recht [achte] [achte *A* 256, <sup>4</sup> (*W* 255, <sup>25</sup>) Vertraue] Vertrau *A* 256, <sup>14</sup> (*W* 256, <sup>8</sup>) bleiben] bleiben *A* 267, <sup>18</sup> (*W* 267, <sup>16</sup>) Zutrauen] Zutraun *A* 277, <sup>5</sup> (*W* 277, <sup>5</sup>) ich] ihr *A* 282, <sup>12</sup> (*A* 282, <sup>13</sup>) niedrig] widrig *A* 283, <sup>9</sup> (*W* 283, <sup>10</sup>) von] vor *A* 284, <sup>23</sup> (*W* 284, <sup>25</sup>) kleinste] kleine *A* 286, <sup>6</sup> (*A* 286, <sup>8</sup>) weil] will *A* 288, <sup>8</sup> (*W* 288, <sup>12</sup>) verlangtest] du verlangtest *A* 289, <sup>11</sup> (*W* 289, <sup>14</sup>) Abgrundeß] Abgrundß *A* 292, <sup>13</sup> (*W* 292, <sup>11</sup>) ließt] ließt *A* 292, <sup>21</sup> (*W* 292, <sup>19</sup>) Hochverrathß] Hochverrathß *A* 295, <sup>1</sup> (*W* 294, <sup>23</sup>) einem] einen *A* 296, <sup>12</sup> (*W* 296, <sup>6</sup>) sehn] sehen *A* 298, <sup>14</sup> (*W* 298, <sup>7</sup>) dich] mich *A* 300, <sup>20</sup> (*W* 300, <sup>11</sup>) Abgeschiedene] Abgeschiedne *A* 303, <sup>6</sup> (*W* 302, <sup>26</sup>) entfernt] entfernt *A* 304, <sup>28</sup> (*W* 304, <sup>19</sup>) war] ward *A*

Diesen Band habe ich zu einer eingehenderen Untersuchung der Lesarten für meine soeben erschienene Ausgabe von *Egmont* benutzt. Wie schon erwähnt, ist dieser der von Strehlke seiner Ausgabe von *Egmont* zu Grunde gelegte Band von *A*<sup>1</sup>, der von Minor umsonst gesucht wurde (*W* 8, 341–342). Er enthält eine Anzahl Lesarten, die entschieden schlecht sind, wie z. B. *W* 283, <sup>10</sup> von für vor; 286, <sup>8</sup> weil für will; 298, <sup>7</sup> dich für

nich) u. s. w. und hat einen unheilsamen Einfluss auf den Text ausgeübt, indem er zur Quelle von Lesarten in *B* und *C* und dadurch in *W* wurde. Ich bin zur Ansicht gekommen, dass in den folgenden Stellen in *W* 8 die in *A*<sup>1</sup> vorkommenden Lesarten zu verwerfen sind und durch die in *A* befindlichen Formen zu ersetzen: 175, 8; 184, 11; 213, 3; 215, 9; 234, 7; 235, 24; 250, 20; 255, 25; 267, 16; 283, 10; 288, 12; 289, 14; 292, 11; 292, 19; 294, 23; 296, 6; 300, 11; 302, 26. Unter diesen sind wohl die interessantesten: 250, 20 *sachte weg* statt *recht sachte weg*; 283, 10 *die Mauer stürzt vor* (statt *von*) *ihren Händen ein*; 288, 12 *du verlangtest* statt *verlangtest* und 294, 23 *Reulschläge auf einen* (statt *einem*) *Helm*. Wahrscheinlich ist es auch, dass genaue Kollation von *Götz*, *Stella* und *Clavigo* zu ähnlichen Schlüssen führen würde.

*A*<sup>1</sup> Band 6, 1808: 33, 14 (*Weimarer Ausgabe*, Band 10, 33, 749) *handeln*,] *handeln*; *A* 63, vor der ersten Zeile (*W* 63, vor 1457) *Arfaß*] *Arfaß* fehlt *A* 64, 10 (*W* 64, 1486) *Wiederholung*] *Wiederholung* *A* 75, 8 (*W* 75, 1751) *Tinannen*] *Titanen* *A* 123, 16 (*W* 132, 654) *Nepoten*] *Nipoten* *A* 124, 17 (*W* 133, 676) *Namenszug*] *Nahmenszug* *A* 127, vor 11 (*W* 135, vor 746) *Antonio*.] *Alphonse*. *A* 211, 6 (*W* 219, 2829) *wiederhole*] *wiederhole* *A* 220, 18 (*W* 228, 3051) *wiederhole*] *wiederhole* *A* 231, 12 (*W* 239, 3315) *letzten*] *letzten* *A* 232, 20 (*W* 240, 3350) *Reizen*] *Reizen* *A*

Die in den Überschriften vorkommenden Buchstaben sind in *A*<sup>1</sup> grösser als in *A* und von anderer Form. Der Herausgeber des 10. Bandes der Weimarer Ausgabe hat nur *A* gekannt. Textvorlage zu *B* 7 war aber *A*<sup>1</sup>. Der fehlende Name *Arfaß* am Anfang von S. 63 in *A* wird in Goethes Tagebuch für 1809 (*W* III, 4, 374) erwähnt.

*A*<sup>1</sup> Band 7, 1807: 6, 23 (*Weimarer Ausgabe*, Band 11, 202, 74) *eigner*] *eigener* *A* 54, 13 (*W* 250, 1044) *Freude*] *Freunde* *A* 55, 14 (*W* 251, 1064) *Solet*] *Sohlet* *A* 83, 13 (*W* 281, 1592) *euren*] *euern* *A* 112, vor 5 (*W* 310, vor 510) *andere*]

andre A 115, 13 (W 313, 578) Ach wehe!] Ach wehe! weh!  
 A 161, 9 (Weimarer Ausgabe, Band 12, 28, 27) ich] i c h A  
 185, 12 (W 55, 15) darauf] drauf A 295, 2 (vgl. 13) (W  
 164, 97) Drückt] Druckt A 236, 17 (W 106, 1) gern] gerne A  
 243, 3 (W 112, 6) Sie küßt ihn, und er geht] Sie küßt ihn, er  
 geht A 322, 15 (W 190, 161) laßt uns] laß uns A 335, 7  
 (W 203, 3) Bewahret] Bewahrt A

Band 7 von A<sup>1</sup> trägt das Datum 1807, während Band 7 in A die Jahreszahl 1808 hat. Wie das geschehen ist, ist schwer zu erklären; wenn man die Benennung der ganzen Reihe nicht ändern will, sehe ich nicht ein, wie man diesem Schlusse aus dem Wege gehen kann: dieser Band entspricht der A<sup>1</sup>-Reihe, nicht derjenigen der A-Bände. Diese auffallende Verschiedenheit der Daten hat zu diversen Mystifikationen geführt, z. B. im 11. und 12. Bande der Weimarer Ausgabe. Zu den vier ersten Stücken (*Claudine*, *Erwin und Elmire*, *Jery und Bätely*, *Lila*) wird A als die Ausgabe von 1808 bezeichnet und A<sup>1</sup> wird nicht erwähnt. Zu der *Fischerin* (12, 369) heisst es, A (unsere A<sup>1</sup>) ist 1807, A<sup>1</sup> (unsere A) 1808 erschienen. Zu *Scherz, List und Rache* (12, 373) wird A als aus dem Jahre 1807, A<sup>1</sup> als Abdruck vom Jahre 1809 angeführt; zu *Der Zauberflöte Zweiter Theil* werden die Ausgaben "A 1807, A<sup>1</sup> 1808" wieder citiert.

Als Vorlage zu B 8 hat A<sup>1</sup> (1807) und nicht A (1808) gedient.

A<sup>1</sup> Band 8, 1808: Identisch mit A.

Die volle Identität dieser zwei Bände lässt sich durch eine überzeugende Reihe von den sprechendsten Zufälligkeiten beweisen.

A<sup>1</sup> Band 9, 1808: 8, 15 (Weimarer Ausgabe, Band 17, 124, 12) der] d e r A 12, 11 (W 128, 6) zerbrochenen] zerbrochnen  
 A 12, 22 (W 128, 17) verstofften] verstoßen A 18, 20  
 (W 134, 12) [o] [o A 26, 23 (W 142, 24) indem] indeß A  
 27, 19 (W 143, 20) ihn] ihm A 29, 5 (W 145, 3) Haßbände]  
 Haßband A 36, 5 (W 152, 5) könnte?] könnte. A 36, 21  
 (W 152, 23) Eigenschaften] großen Eigenschaften A 42, 24

(W 158, <sup>25</sup>) So] So A 43, <sup>13</sup> (W 159, <sup>13</sup>) der Hand] dem Arm  
 A 44, <sup>3</sup> (W 160, <sup>1</sup>) anvertraut] anvertrauet A 44, <sup>5</sup>  
 (W 160, <sup>3</sup>) und ich eilte] und eilte A 44, <sup>19</sup> (W 160, <sup>17</sup>)  
 erholen] erhöhlen A 45, <sup>2</sup> (W 160, <sup>27</sup>) verloren] verlohren  
 A 45, <sup>20</sup> (W 161, <sup>17</sup>) wie ich sie] wo ich sie A 47, <sup>19</sup>  
 (W 163, <sup>15</sup>) spazieren] spazieren A 47, <sup>21</sup> (W 163, <sup>17</sup>)  
 beyde.] beyde! A

Der Redakteur des entsprechenden Theiles von Band 17 in der Weimarer Ausgabe hat bloss A benutzt. Vorlage zum 10. Bande von B war A<sup>1</sup>.

A<sup>1</sup> Band 10, 1808: 7, <sup>14</sup> (Weimarer Ausgabe, Band 50, 7, <sup>62</sup>) gewänn] gewänn' A 7, <sup>29</sup> (W 7, <sup>77</sup>) Da steht er] Da steht er! A 10, <sup>11</sup> (W 9, <sup>140</sup>) vertheidgen] vertheid'gen A 11, <sup>1</sup> (W 10, <sup>159</sup>) sollt] sollt' A 11, <sup>26</sup> (W 11, <sup>184</sup>) Straßfuß] Straßfuß A 14, <sup>6</sup> (W 13, <sup>247</sup>) Seht hier] Seht, hier A 14, <sup>20</sup> (W 13, <sup>261</sup>) war] ward A

Der Herausgeber vom 50. Bande der Weimarer Ausgabe hat A benutzt. Die bestehenden Differenzen finden sich sämmtlich im ersten Gesang des *Reineke Fuchs*, also im ersten Bogen. In den andern Druckbogen zeigen sich gar keine Variationen, und die Drucke sind überhaupt identisch.

Band 11 von B rührt von A<sup>1</sup> her. Im Weimarer Apparat zu 50, 13, <sup>261</sup> wird die Lesart war als Druckfehler in B B<sup>1</sup> C<sup>1</sup> C berichtet. Zu W 50, 11, <sup>184</sup> wird Straßfuß aus B citiert; in unserer Ausgabe von B aber steht, wie in A<sup>1</sup> Straßfuß.

A<sup>1</sup> Band 11, 1808: 26, <sup>11</sup> (Weimarer Ausgabe, Band 19, 25, <sup>23</sup>) Gesellschafterin] Gesellschafterinn A 43, <sup>21</sup> (W 43, <sup>1</sup>) Pfarrererin] Pfarrerinn A 47, <sup>26</sup> (W 46, <sup>27</sup>) treffliche] treffliche A

Diese Liste scheint wirklich alle Varianten im ganzen 11. Bande zu erschöpfen. B. Seuffert hat wahrscheinlich A für den 12. Band der Weimarer Ausgabe benutzt, obwohl er die weiblichen Endungen in -inn nicht berichtet hat. Seite 347 schreibt er: "A<sup>1</sup> ist mir nicht zu Gesicht gekommen." Die



kleinen Varianten, die er auf S. 345 notiert, sind nicht mit obigen Lesarten zu verwechseln. Unser Exemplar von *A* gibt in jedem Falle Seufferts zweite Lesart.

Aus unserer ganzen *A*<sup>1</sup>-Reihe ist nur Band 11 ein wenig verdächtig, da er allein einen besonderen Einband hat und auf größerem Papier gedruckt ist. Alle anderen 12 Bände sind von entschiedener Einheit.

*A*<sup>1</sup> Band 12, 1808: Der Text ist durchaus identisch mit *A*. Nur stehen die Noten zu der Romanze "Ghiurighiuma te, ghiurighiu!" in *A*<sup>1</sup> zwischen den Seiten 130 und 131 und haben keine Seitenzahl. In *A* dagegen sind sie am Ende nach Seite 342 eingeklebt und tragen oben rechts die Angabe: S. 116.

*A*<sup>1</sup> Band 13, 1810: Identisch mit *A*

Der bedeutende Einfluss von *A*<sup>1</sup> auf den Goetheschen Text lässt sich leicht erkennen, wenn man daran denkt, dass sieben aus den ersten vierzehn Bänden von *B* (1815–1817), welche eine so grosse Rolle in der Herstellung des Textes der Ausgabe letzter Hand gespielt hat, auf *A*<sup>1</sup> zurückgehen. Es sind *B* 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12. Im allgemeinen ist *A* reiner als *A*<sup>1</sup>—in *Egmont*, den ich genauer untersucht habe, sogar bedeutend. *A* und *A*<sup>1</sup> werden sehr oft von Herausgebern verwechselt.

Obwohl die verschiedenen Bände der *A*<sup>1</sup>-Reihe in der Northwestern-Universität eine gewisse Individualität in ihrem Verhältnis zu *A* an den Tag legen, darf man doch behaupten, dass sie unter sich so viele Übereinstimmung sowohl in Ausstattung wie in Typen haben um als Einheit (mit der möglichen Ausnahme von Band 11) betrachtet werden zu dürfen: es ist höchst unwahrscheinlich, dass man es hier mit einer willkürlich zusammengesetzten Reihe zu tun habe.

Zum Schlusse glaube ich noch erwähnen zu sollen, dass für mich bei den mir jetzt zugänglichen, immerhin etwas beschränkten Quellen die entfernte Möglichkeit bestehen bleibt—wenn ich auch jetzt diese Theorie verwerfe—dass die bisher als *A*<sup>1</sup> bekannte Auflage doch schliesslich die Originalausgabe sein mag

und dass die gewöhnlich "A" genannte Reihe der zur Michaelismesse 1808 erschienene zweite Druck ist.

Professor Hewett verdanke ich die freundliche Übersendung von zwei Exemplaren des ersten Bandes. Ich spreche auch meinem Kollegen Georg Edward meinen Dank für die gütige Durchsicht dieses in fremder Sprache verfassten Artikels aus.

JAMES TAFT HATFIELD.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY  
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS.

ERKLÄRUNGEN EINIGER ISOLIRTER WORT-  
FORMEN IN NOTKERS WERKEN.<sup>1</sup>

**N**EBÍNGET I. 232. 24. úbe der uuillo dâr neíst sô  
nebínget sâr der mán des er únuuillig íst. Eine ähn-  
liche Form begegnet in der Wiener Psalmenübersetzung, pigín-  
get III. 11. 5, wofür an derselben Stelle in den S. G. Psalmen  
pegínnet steht, sô dísiu uuérlt hinauuirt unde daz éuúiga táges-  
lieht pegínnet chomen II. 12. 12. Bínget und pigínget können  
nur Verschreibungen für begínnet sein.

*Geuéutemo* I. 24. 12. Hattemer hat an derselben Stelle  
ebenfalls geueutemo während Graff geveitemo schreibt, ahd.  
Lesebuch; ahd. Sprachschatz III. 450. Welche Form ist die  
richtige? Da keine verwandten Wörter in demselben oder in  
anderen Dialekten belegt sind, ist wohl anzunehmen dass beide  
falsch sind. Die verschiedenen Formen sind ein Beweis dafür  
dass die Handschrift an betreffender Stelle nicht ganz deutlich  
sein kann. Was kann nun ursprünglich gestanden haben?  
Wir können aus dem Zusammenhange mit einiger Sicherheit die  
Bedeutung des Wortes ersehen. Die Stelle heisst: Philosophi  
hábetôn éin brét fóre ín dáz sie hîezen mensam súmelige hîezen  
iz abacum dáz uuas pezétet mît elésínemo puluere chléino ge-  
málnemo únde gnôto geuéutemo. Die Stelle ist ein freier Zusatz  
Notkers, keine Übersetzung aus dem lateinischen. Ich über-  
setze, Die Philosophen hatten ein Brett vor sich, welches sie  
mensa nannten, manche nannten es abacus, das war mit Glas-  
pulver bestreut, fein gemalen und vorsichtig, gleichmässig —.  
Der Passus bezieht sich auf die Weise, in welcher die Philoso-  
phen ihre Schüler in der Geometrie und Astronomie unterwiesen,  
indem sie Figuren in Sand zeichneten. Die Masse wurde auf  
eine Fläche gestreut, worin die Figuren mit einem Stabe (virga)  
geritzt wurden. Man kann nun leicht schliessen, welche Bedeu-  
tung das Wort haben muss, eine feine sandähnliche Masse wurde  
sorgfältig auf die Fläche ausgestreut, so dass sie dieselbe gleich-

<sup>1</sup> Die citate nach Piper's Ausgabe.

mässig bedeckte. Mit dieser Bedeutung, ausstreuen, spargere kommt das Verbum *fēhen* bei Notker vor, welches ich auch an diese Stelle setze, also *gefēhtemo* und alles ist in Ordnung. *Fēhen* ist factitivum zu *fēh* got. *fāih*s. Die Formen welche bei Notker begegnen sind, *gefēhtemo* I. 741. 29; *gefēhet*, *jōh tīu corona dīu indiskēn blōmen gefēhet ist dīu glānzta sīh* = hoc quoque sertum quod ardet sparsum nisiacis floribus I. 770. 29; *māht tū geuēhet uuērdēn nāh tien blōmōn* I. 91. 3; *kefēhtiu* I. 742. 1; *gefēhta* I. 742. 23. Der lange Vokal wird bei Notker regelmässig vor einfachem *h* gekürzt (S. Braune, ahd. Gram. § 154 Anm. 7a).

*Neuēhet* II. 301. 20; *u* wird in den Psalmen oft für *uu* vor *u* geschrieben, vereinzelt ist *u* anstatt *uu* vor *e* belegt; *uūrdin* II. 41. 8, *uūndere* II. 44. 28, *uūnsch* II. 46. 19 u. s. w., *ufenintuegenemo* III. 139. 2, *ettisuenne* III. 404; *neuēhet* = *neuuēhet* nach Notkers Schreibweise. Das Verbum gehört zu *uuāhen* st. v., welches als Simplex nirgends glossiert steht. Das Compositum *geuuāhen* kommt bei N. vor I. 465. 24 *geuōg*. Es bedeutet erwähnen, gedenken, eingedenk sein, und wird mit dem Genitiv construiert wie hier: *ube ir sūndig sint per cupiditatem des nefersagent iūh per elationem*. *Dēr is neuuēhet der ist pēidiū joh iniquus joh exaltans cornu*. II. 578. 4 steht, *der sīna sūnda bīrget unde iro neuēhet*.

*Éichelôn* I. 44. 8 bei Graff als subst. compositum, *hólzéchelôn* = *quernis arboribus* verzeichnet, ist wohl als Verbum aufzufassen mit der Bedeutung *Eichelu sammeln*, *tér dô dô diu sūnna in cancro méistūn hízza téta filo sâta in únuuillígen ácher uuánda iz únzit uuás tér gänge be dīu chórnlôsēr ze hólz éichelôn únde dero nére sīh* = *qui tum credidit larga semina negantibus sulcis cum grave sydus cancri inaestuat radis phoebe elusus fide cereris pergat ad quernas arbores*. Notker übersetzt nicht wörtlich. Verbale Neubildungen auf—ôn sind sehr beliebt bei Notker. Eine Zahl solcher Verba ist nur bei N. belegt, vgl. auch *blōmon*, *Blumen sammeln* im nächsten Satz, und mhd. *nuzzēn*, *Nüsse sammeln*.

IDA FLEISCHER.

# EIN FASSRITT UND EIN DANTEBILD BEI HARSDÖRFFER.

AUERBACH'S Keller enthält bekanntlich neben seinen modernen Faustillustrationen auch zwei ältere Bilder, Faust's Fassritt und sein Gelage mit den Studenten darstellend. Dass die Unterschrift 1525 nicht die wirkliche Entstehungszeit dieser Bilder angeben kann, war längst bekannt. Auerbachs Hof wurde erst um oder bald nach 1530 von Stromer erbaut. Kiesewetter, in seinem trotz aller occultistischen Tendenz überaus lehrreichen Buche *Faust in der Geschichte und Tradition*, Leipzig 1893, kommt zu dem Schluss, dass die Bilder im Jahre 1636 gelegentlich eines Umbaus gemalt wurden, besonders da auch die Tracht der Studenten genau jener Zeit entspreche. Das falsche Datum 1525 erklärt er als eine Spekulation des Wirtes, der eben durch den Schein der Altertümlichkeit seinem Keller mehr Ansehn und Anziehungskraft verschaffen wollte, sowie auch als Anlehnung an Widmann's Bericht, wonach sich Faust gerade im Jahre 1525 in Leipzig aufhielt.

Neuerdings ist Kroker, ebenfalls auf Grund trachtengeschichtlicher Erwägungen, zu dem Ergebniss gelangt, dass die Bilder aus dem Jahre 1625 stammen, wo der Hof gründlich umgebaut wurde, und dass sie die Bedeutung von Säkularbildern haben.<sup>1</sup>—Vielleicht bezieht sich gar das Datum 1525 geradezu auf die abgebildeten Vorgänge?

Im Anschluss an diese Erörterungen sei hier auf einen anderen Fassritt hingewiesen, der, in ganz verschiedener Auffassung oder Deutung, im dritten Band von Harsdörffers

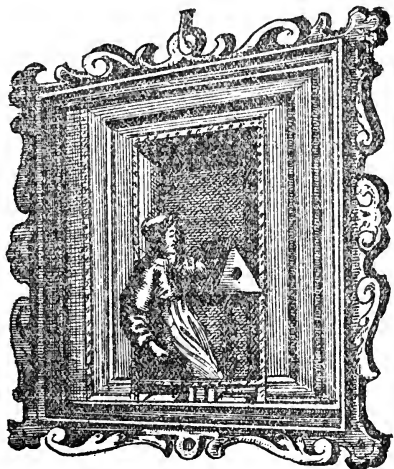
<sup>1</sup> Kroker, *Doktor Faust und Auerbach's Keller*. Das Buch ist mir nicht zugänglich; ich berichte hier nach dem Referat im *Lit. Centralblatt* 1904, p. 73.

*Gesprächspielen*, Nürnberg 1643, auf Seite 266 abgebildet ist. In einem Gespräch über den Geiz wird dort erzählt, dass ein Geizhals seinem Sohn sechs Tafeln hinterlassen hat 'in welchen die Gesparsamkeit (denn also nennet man mit Glimf den Geitz) auf unterschiedliche Weise fürgebildet zu ersehen.' Die dritte Tafel nun, unser Bild, zeigt 'einen Saufbruder, der auf einem Weinfass gegen einen Spital reitet, auf welchem ein Schuncken gemahlet ist, zu verstehen, dass Fressen und Sauffen der Weg zum Spital oder der Armut sey.'



Wie unser Abdruck zeigt, ist das Bild sehr verschieden von demjenigen in Auerbach's Keller. Das schliesst aber durchaus nicht die Möglichkeit eines Zusammenhanges zwischen beiden aus. Dass zunächst das Harsdöffersche Bild nicht eigene Schöpfung ist, sondern auf einer Vorlage beruht, ist *a priori* mit Sicherheit anzunehmen, und dasselbe gilt wohl von fast allen 'Kupferblättchen' mit denen das ganze Werk so reichlich ausgestattet ist. Die Freiheit aber, die sich Harsdörffer mit seinen Quellen genommen haben mag, die Ungenauigkeit der Wiedergebe, sowie besonders die unsäglich abgeschmackte Art und Weise, auf die er seinen Bildern die gewünschte Interpretation angedeihen liess, ersehen wir aus einer andern der eben

erwähnten sechs Tafeln. Dieselbe,—es ist die fünfte, auf Seite 268,—zeigt die bereits von Sulger-Gebing, *Zs. f. vergl. Lit.* 8. 472 erwähnte Nachbildung von Dantes Grabdenkmal zu Ravenna. Die Nutzenanwendung, durch die der Sohn zur ‘Gesparsamkeit’ angeregt werden soll, lautet hier: ‘der Welsche



Poet Dantes, vielleicht auf das Lateinische absehend, es wäre der *Geber* gestorben?’ Zum bequemerem Vergleiche mit dem Original, wie es bei Kraus, *Dante, sein Leben und sein Werk*, p. 117, zugänglich ist, fügen wie hier auch Harsdörffer’s ‘Dantebild’ bei. Wer sich in so widerwärtiger Weise an des Dichters Grabmal vergehen konnte, der mochte es wohl mit einem Fassritt erst recht nicht genau nehmen.

Vielleicht dürfen wir hoffen, dass unsere Wiedergabe des Bildes einen deutschen Forscher dazu führen wird, seine Herkunft oder Örtlichkeit zu bestimmen.

G. E. KARSTEN.

## REVIEWS.

*Concerning the Unwritten History of the Modern Language Association of America:* The President's Address, delivered on the 30th of December, 1902, at the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Association, held at the Johns Hopkins University. By James Wilson Bright. [Reprinted from the Publications of the Association for 1903.]

The indefatigable Secretary of the Association, on becoming its President, took occasion to comment, from his breadth and accuracy of knowledge concerning its history, on some of the lessons of its experience. In place of giving an abstract of his views, we prefer to let him speak for himself, and therefore subjoin a few of the significant passages culled from different parts of his address.

'But let it be repeated that the purposes to be served in the founding of this Association were not involved in an assault upon the classical traditions of the college, in an indictment of a fetish-worship of the Greek language; nor were those purposes either helped or hindered by the comparative tests applied to the 'modernist'-education of the *Realschule* and the 'classicist'-education of the *Gymnasium*. . . .

'In every department of literature the formula of modernity mediates between the mediæval and modern periods and that of antiquity. Mere chronology fails as surely to carry us from Vergil to Dante as it fails to carry us from Plutarch to Montaigne, from Martial to Herrick, from Lucian to Landor, or from Theocritus to Tennyson. The modern drama has its formula of a distinctly new beginning, and a history that is unrivaled in human interest. What is the formula of the *Völuspá*, of the *Muspilli*, and of the *Beowulf*? The "Western hypothesis" challenges the profoundest knowledge of classical antiquity and the exercise of the scientific imagination in the reconstruction of the processes by which cosmographical, mythological, and ethical elements may be transmit-



ted and transformed into new systems. What expression have we for the relation between the Orient and the Occident in fable and story? How do we pass from the *Panchatantra* to the *Decameron*? from Æsop, who has himself become a myth, to Marie de France, who has almost become one? The formula of modernity must also comprise literary art, and the systems of criticism; and it must be enlarged to include the systems of philosophical thought. In its most comprehensive reaches the formula of modernity for both history and philology must represent the blending of the great systems of civilization; the Germanic, the Slavonic, the Celtic, the Greek, the Semitic, and the Latin, these systems in different combinations constitute the fundamental elements of the great European nationalities. From the point of view that might be gained from the just consideration of the formula of modernity, is not modern philology also a profoundly great and worthy science? . . .

‘The truest philological insight will be required to compose those chapters that may adequately make manifest what classical philology bequeathed to modern philology, and what modern philology gave in return. There will be a record of inheriting from the classical side the technicalities of systematization and the product of the wisdom of generations in grammar, rhetoric, palæography, archæology, the arts, and criticism. Modern philology will be rewarded for verification of technicalities and traditions by observation of vernacular phenomena. The science of phonetics and the study of living dialects will be described as bringing sheaves to the richly stored old garners. The hegemony of literary centres rising and falling in the midst of dialectal rivalry will be illustrated for Greek by modern European parallels; and the modern literatures will be acknowledged to give additional breath to the view that perceives that the canon of literary art-forms is not closed, that it probably never can be closed. . . .

‘Surely knowledge, and culture, and conduct will more and more be established, and more and more generally acknowledged and felt to be established, upon the work of the exact scholar, the specialist, who silences all narrow questioning by the wide-reaching paradox of the poet’s query :

How fail

To find, or, better, lose your question in this quick  
Reply which nature yields, ample and catholic?

The scientific specialist will contribute for conduct a code of honesty, modesty, caution, and tolerance; on the other hand, the new manner will more and more require that the culture-subjects be brought under the law of accuracy: literature, æsthetics, the arts, criticism, and religion, will more and more become scientific. And thereby the duties and the joys of life will be made deeper and broader, and they will be filled with truer significance; citizenship, too, will then be no less a profound duty, and it will surely be a profounder joy. . . .

‘At no time has the philological future promised such rich rewards as it now holds in its generous hands. In modern philology the recent past has had its enthusiasms, and many of the keen delights and prompt rewards of pioneering; these experiences, not unaccompanied by hardships and beset by hindrances, have necessarily preceded the fuller life of more complete cultivation. We are upon the eve of that fuller life. Ampler provision for the future of modern philology could hardly have been made in so brief a period. No more inviting conditions for the profound study of problems in the history of the human mind could easily be imagined than those which are now provided and which unite and interlock the different philologies.

‘National progress, too, requires the profound study of these problems; for the philological sanity and strength of a nation is the measure of its intellectual and spiritual vitality. Here is high service for state and nation. No statesmanship is higher than that to which the philologist may attain. He legislates for the activities and behavior of mind and spirit; he must therefore share in the “work of guiding the destinies of the country.”’

These sentences will bear pondering by the novice in philology, and they may even inspire renewed enthusiasm and courage into here and there a veteran. It is encouraging, when such views are held by those in authority, for it is an assurance that their successors will not grope their way in darkness for lack of a guiding word. To the pioneers has fallen an arduous task; those who follow should have ampler results to show, for they will march in a plainer path toward goals more clearly defined.

ALBERT S. COOK.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

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*An Old English Grammar*, by Eduard Sievers. Translated by Albert S. Cook. Third edition. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1903. Pp. xxii, 422.

Sievers's grammar, in the original and in Professor Cook's translation, is so well known to all cis-Atlantic teachers and students that the present reviewer deems himself at liberty to dispense with generalities, and restrict his remarks to the distinctive features of this third edition.

In typography and presswork the American translation is superior to the German original; the Niemeyer fount is too thin-faced. On the other hand, the German paper takes pen-and-ink insertions somewhat better.

In one other feature the translation is a decided improvement. Sievers's numerous 'Berichtigungen,' pp. 317-318 (see his note of explanation p. ix), have been scrupulously inserted by his translator in their respective places in the body of the text. Thus the American book is easier and safer to use than the German. As a specimen of the care with which this tedious process has been conducted, I would call the reader's attention to § 100.1 and 2. Only two oversights have I detected. The first is in § 389, note 4, where the sentence: 'For North. weak forms see 416, note 11.e,' should go to the end of the note, after the remarks on *spurnan*; see 'Berichtigungen.' The second is in § 415, second line; the reference should be to § 398.3 (instead of 389.3).

A different question is this: Has the translator always rendered his original with perfect accuracy? I give a list of passages over which I hesitate more or less.

§ 31. 'In the older WS. documents, as well as in the other dialects, the letter <i>y</i> originally denoted a sound resembling the Germ. <i>ü</i> ,' etc.	'Das zeichen <i>y</i> drückt in den älteren ws. denkmälern und in den nichtws. dialecten stets ursprünglich einen dem deutschen <i>ü</i> ähnlichen laut . . . aus.'
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Sievers's wording is not happy; still, after a little reflection, one sees that he is merely contrasting the elder *y* and the younger. We might render succinctly: 'In the older documents, in WS. and in the other dialects, the letter *y*,' etc.

§ 47. 'The mutation of the vowel,' etc.	'die wandlung des vocals,' etc.
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In view of the circumstance that 'mutation' is used by some English scholars as a rendering of the German 'Umlaut,' it seems to me undesirable to speak of the OE. change of *ai* to *ā*, *au* to *ēa*, as 'mutation.'

§ 75, note 2. 'The *e* . . . is substituted for *ie*,' etc. 'wie . . . *e* für *ie* erscheint,' etc.

Again Sievers is unfortunate in his wording, though his thought is correct. At any rate, 'substitute' injects a wrong notion into the matter. Put bluntly, the only correct theory is that the original OE. vowel is *e*, of which *ie* is a specific WS. variant. Consequently, if we are to speak of 'substitution' at all, we should apply the term to the WS. only.

§§ 138, 139: 'auxiliary vowel.' 'secundärvocal.'

The phenomenon in question is OE. *fugol*, *tācen*, versus Gothic *fugl*, *taikn*-. *Secundär* is certainly better than 'auxiliary;' but 'epenthetic' or Brugmann's 'anaptyctic' is the term which I should prefer.

§ 213, note. 'For (palatal) *g* after *r*, *l* the digraph *ig* is not infrequently employed.' 'Für (palatales *g*) nach *r*, *l* wird nicht selten . . . *ig* geschrieben.'

Sievers having avoided the term 'digraph' for this phenomenon, there was no need of it in the translation. I notice that in § 6 both Sievers and his translator call the *æ* a 'ligature.' Is the *æ* a ligature? I have been in the habit of calling it a digraph.

§ 218.2. 'If two vowels thus collide through the loss of *h*,' etc. 'Treten durch den ausfall des *h* vocale zusammen,' etc.

One scarcely speaks of vowels as 'colliding.' For English readers the phenomenon would be better described in a formula like this: 'When, through the dropping of the *h*, vowels are brought together, they are contracted into one syllable.'

§ 230, note 1: 'without any assignable reason.' 'ohne deutlich sichtbaren grund.'

Sievers implies that there may be a reason, but it is not obvious. At bottom there is a tendency of the language to shorten the vowel and geminate the consonant in certain forms. For example, *usser* for *ūser*; *gesīððas* for *gesīðas*, Gen. 2067; *geliccost*, *Elene* 1271;

*mereþissan* for *-þisan*, *Andr.* 257 ; *attor* for *ātor*, *Past.* 449.27. As may be seen from these few examples, the phenomenon is not peculiar to weak verbs ; neither is it restricted to the spirant consonants.

§ 239*b* : ‘*hop*, recess.’

‘*hop schlupfwinkel*.’

The same ‘recess’ is found in the second edition. ‘Lurking-place’ would be a better definition. By the way, is *hop* found except in such compounds as *fenhop*, *mōrhop*?

287 : ‘*londbūend*, female settler.’

‘*londbúend colonia*.’

The mistake has been retained by the translator from his second edition. *Londbūend* means ‘settlement ;’ see Toller-Bosworth. The word is interesting as an addition to the list of *-end* formations which are not *nomina agentis*.

§ 396, note 5 : ‘*ēaden*, born.’

‘*ēaden geboren*.’

The history of this curious blunder in both German and English is interesting. Sievers in his second edition, § 396, note 2, printed ‘*ēaden geboren*,’ an evident slip for *geboden*. This was corrected in the translation of this second edition : ‘*ēaden*, given, granted.’ Yet in the third edition both original and translation repeat the old blunder. *Habent sua fata*, etc.

§ 403, note : ‘*ōrettan* battle.’

‘*ōrettan kämpfen*.’

Is not this definition of *ōrettan* at fault? The primary meaning can only be *herausfordern*, ‘challenge ;’ the idea of fighting is secondary. This primary sense survives in the ‘*infamare georrettan*’ of the *Wr.-Wülker Glosses* 425.29 ; 523.29.

In § 1, note 1, the translator departs intentionally from Sievers in justifying the superiority of the term Old English over Anglo-Saxon. Without seeking to discuss the question here, let me remark that the *N. E. D.* is wrong in giving 1783 as the earliest date for the use of the term Anglo-Saxon to designate the language. The language was called Anglo-Saxon as early as 1589. We may expect soon from Professor Strunk a note on the point.

The foregoing criticisms, compared with the work itself, sink into insignificance. In truth, Professor Cook’s translation is a model of painstaking accuracy.

Now a few words upon the German original. Sievers’s Preface, to one who reads between the lines, sounds almost the note of an

*apologia*. To me in particular it suggests a reluctant excuse—may the reader pardon the abrupt change of figure—for pouring new wine into old bottles. Since the stirring days when the first edition was overturned by the *Miscellen*, and both were superseded by the second edition, seventeen years have passed, years of intense activity in all the fields of Indo-European and Germanic linguistics. At many points we have been forced to throw overboard or at least reconstruct our quondam theories. For example, how much remains of the old ablaut-system? As a purely practical matter, then, it seems to me no longer possible to squeeze a working outline of OE. phonology and morphology into Sievers's 430 sections. Some of these sections remain pretty much as they were twenty years ago; others are distorted out of all shape, more foot-note than text.

Further, despite the deftness of Sievers's *remaniement*, OE. phonology is not presented as satisfactorily as it should be. For instance, § 45, the well known *pons asinorum* of beginners, is in need of reconstruction, certainly in subsection 8 :

‘The Indo-European *ej* + vowel has been split into *i* + vowel and *j* + vowel : for example, in present stems like \**dōmia-*, \**nazja-*,’ etc.;

and in § 46 :

‘The latter [the West Germanic vowel-system], however, agrees with the Germanic system in every essential particular,’ etc.;

in connection with § 410.2 :

‘In the forms which have *i* in the ending, that is, the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing. and the imp. 2 sing., the *j* of the suffix was lacking as early as West Germanic, and therefore could produce no gemination.’

The student ought not to wait until he comes to the weak verbs before learning that in West Germanic the *j* is retained only before the guttural vowels *a*, *o*, *u*. And why incur the imputation of applying the syncope of *j* to gemination only? The syncope is of equal significance for the understanding of English palatalization. In fact it is our sole means of accounting for the more puzzling phenomena. I have come over to the doctrine that whereas *k* (OE. *c*) is palatalized to *tsch* before either *j* or *i*, the guttural spirant *g* (Kluge's *γ*) is palatalized to *dzh* only before *j*; before *i*

it becomes merely  $\gamma$  ( $y$ ). The paradigm of the causative 'to lay' is: *\*laȝion*, OE. ME. *lēcȝean* (*dzh*); *\*laȝiu*, *\*laȝis*, *\*laȝið*, OE. ME. *lēcȝe*, *lēcȝis*, *lēcȝið*. Of this distinction and its underlying principle I fail to see any mention in §§ 206–216, although in § 416 the paradigms of *secȝean*, *hȝecȝean* (not to speak of *biddan*, § 367) show plainly that the facts were present to Sievers.

Another point is the inconsistent treatment of the relation between *a* and *æ*. In § 49 we are told, most correctly, that 'short *a* is regularly converted into *æ*,' etc. That is, *a* is primary, and *æ* is derivative. Yet in § 240 we read that such words as *dæg*, *hwæl*, etc., 'change the *æ* into *a* throughout the plural.' No, they do nothing of the sort! Primitive *\*daȝ* is 'changed' to *dæg*, and *\*daȝum* 'remains' *dagum*. Further, in § 52. 2–6, Sievers speaks of *a* as undergoing *i*-umlaut, breaking, and the like, when surely he must have in mind the *æ*. Every theory of the phenomenon *\*au* > *ea* assumes an intermediate *æa* sharpened to *ea*.

One more observation. At p. 85 of his translation Professor Cook has inserted a note of his own upon ablaut; it is based upon Professor (now President) Wheeler's article in Johnson's *Encyclopedia*. At the risk of seeming ungracious, I would remark: first, that the ablaut-theory here presented is scarcely adequate to our present knowledge; secondly, that it is hardly worth while to introduce the ablaut-question in treating unstressed syllables, while ignoring it in stressed syllables.

These are the more general criticisms which I have to offer. A fair number of minor points occur to me; but I will not inflict them upon the reader, nor incur the charge of being captious with a scholarly genius whose every utterance I ponder with thankfulness. Still, I should like an interpretation of the remarks on *tygen*, *tigen*, *togen*, § 383, note 3. Why is not *glōwan*, *glēow* given in § 396.2? (see § 192, note 4). In § 266 *ðyrst* is entered in the list of *i*-stems. The form is not found in OE.; see Zupitza, *Engl. Stud.* 13. 394.

I hope most earnestly that Sievers will be moved before many years to give us an entirely new grammar, in which the Lautlehre at least shall be rewritten. He is the only man to do the work with entire adequacy.

J. M. HART.

*König Eduard III von England in Lichte Europäischer Poesie.*  
By Gustav Liebau. (*Anglistische Forschungen* VI.) Heidelberg, 1901. Pp. 100.

In an earlier work called *König Eduard III von England und die Gräfin von Salisbury*, Berlin, 1900, Dr. Liebau had already traced the literary development of a romantic episode of history from the *Novelle* of Bandello through Boisteau and Painter to the pseudo-Shakespearian drama entitled *The Raigne of King Edward the Third*, and in the course of his study had noticed the other appearances of the story in the various literatures of Western Europe down to the present day. It is the aim of the monograph now before us to supplement the earlier investigation by showing how Edward, apart from his romantic relations with Dame Alice, has, as a ruler and a soldier, found a place in the literature of his own and other lands.

The plan of treatment is very simple. After a few pages of introductory remarks, we find five chapters labeled England, Frankreich, Niederlande, Deutschland, Italien, in each of which is given a *catalogue raisonné* of the literary works dealing with Edward III which have appeared in each country from the fifteenth century to the nineteenth. The list of English works, which is naturally the longest, begins with the collection of political poems and songs edited by Thomas Wright, and ends with Walter Scott's dramatic sketch of *Halidon Hill*. It is supplemented by an exhaustive list of the allusions to Edward III which occur in English works dealing primarily with other subjects. At the end of the volume is a somewhat irrelevant appendix entitled: 'Gestalten aus der Englischen Geschichte und Litteraturgeschichte als Dichterische Vorwürfe in der Deutschen Litteratur.'

The investigation has involved a considerable amount of work, and the work has been done, so far as we can determine, thoroughly and accurately; but one fails to discover any real significance in the book, either for the student of history or for the student of European literature. With Dr. Liebau's other volume the case is different. There we have a real problem of development, and, what is equally important, a focusing of the investigation on a single and important literary monument. Here the several works treated are almost wholly unrelated—each author going independently for his



material to the historic facts themselves—and are intrinsically of the slightest literary importance. As a result, the book, though not without a certain interest, is lacking both in continuity and in singleness of purpose.

ROBERT K. ROOT.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

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*The Laud Troy Book, a Romance of about 1400 A. D.* Now first edited from the unique MS. (Laud Misc. 595) in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by J. Ernst Wülfing, M. A., Ph. D. Part I (lines 1–10876). London: Published for the Early English Text Society by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1902. Pp. 320.

Though quite untouched by any breath of true poesy, and extended to the weary length of 18664 verses of halting octosyllabic couplets, the *Laud Troy Book* is, nevertheless, so important a document for the English development of the great Troy cycle that students of Middle English will gladly welcome this edition of the poem, especially as it comes from the hands of so good a scholar as Dr Wülfing. The present volume contains a little more than half the poem; 'the rest of the text is in active preparation for the press, and will, together with the Notes, fill the second part; the third part will contain the Introduction and full Glossary.'

Since the volume before us contains no apparatus save a brief Temporary Preface and a list of forty-four words 'for the explanation of, or other quotations for, which the editor will be thankful to any scholar,' it is, of course, impossible to pass any judgment on the work. In volume 29 of *Englische Studien*, however, on pp. 374–396, Dr Wülfing has, in answer to an article on the *Laud Troy Book* contributed by Miss Dorothy Kempe to an earlier number of the same volume (pp. 1–26), given us a foretaste of what we may expect in his introduction. His investigations show that the English romance-writer had the Latin text of Guido's *Historia* before him, though in all probability he also had occasional recourse to the *Roman de Troie* of the hardly used Benoit de Sainte More, and to the alliterative *Gest Hystoriale* already edited for the E. E. T. S.

by Messrs. Panton and Donaldson. Though the editor assigns the poem to about the year 1400, the very slight prominence accorded to the Troilus and Cressida episode shows that its author cannot have been acquainted with Chaucer's great romance. He knows the faithless lady as 'Brixaida,' though in two passages a later hand has erased the word, and substituted the form made popular by Chaucer. The poem is pretty certainly anterior to Lydgate's *Troy Book*. From his investigation of its dialectal peculiarities, the editor assigns the poem to the northwestern Midlands. It would be neither prudent nor courteous to attempt a discussion of these theories until Dr. Wülfing has had a chance to present them more fully in his promised Introduction.

R. K. R.

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*Judith, Phoenix, and other Anglo-Saxon Poems.* Translated from the Grein-Wülker Text by John Lesslie Hall, Ph. D. New York, Boston, and Chicago: Silver, Burdett, and Company, [1902]. Pp. 119.

The translations of Old English poetry may conveniently be divided into two main groups, according as they do or do not attempt to reproduce the alliterative verse-form of the original. Since Dr. Hall chose the imitative measure for his rendering of *Beowulf*, it is but natural that he should continue to use it in the present volume. Those who defend the measure do so, not on the ground that it is in itself the most pleasing, but in the belief that it reproduces the peculiar spirit and æsthetic quality of the original; while those of the opposing camp maintain that, though it may represent approximately the external form which it imitates, it produces on the modern ear an effect of rough uncouthness quite alien to the effect produced by the Old English poetry when read in the original. Instead of entering into the *pro's* and *con's* of this discussion, we shall merely affirm our utter disapproval of the medium, and proceed to consider with what degree of success Dr. Hall has employed it.

Though he may not attain to the poetic fervor of the best passages of William Morris's *Beowulf*, Professor Hall is, on the whole, as successful as any of the translators who have used the imitative

verse. He is skilful in introducing variations of rhythm ; his alliteration is usually not too forced ; and, for the most part, the distortions of the normal sentence-order required by the metre are not so serious as totally to obscure the sense. At times, though, his verse exhibits all the worst vices to which the measure is prone. Here, for example, are a few lines from *The Battle of Brunanburh* :

'Twas, in sooth, fitting  
Great earl's offspring that oft in battle 'gainst  
All their enemies their own land should fight for  
Their homes and their treasures. Foes bit the dust, then,  
Folk of the Scots and men of the waters, too,  
Fell fated there : the field ran red with the  
Blood of the brave, when the beacon of heaven  
Upmounted at morning, the marvellous orb,  
When clear-bright on high the candle of God, the  
Lord everlasting, luminous glided,  
Till the beauteous being in his abode settled.

It would not be fair to judge of the translator's work from this selection, for he is at his worst in those passages of rapid movement and suppressed passion of heroic ardor which embody, perhaps, the most characteristic charm of our earliest poetry. Somewhat better is his rendering of the lines of quieter mood in which the poet describes that garden in the realms of Araby where the lonely Phoenix dwells. I can quote but a few lines.

There hail and hoarfrost from heaven fall not  
Nor windy cloud, there no water falleth,  
Lashed by the air : but living streams,  
Fairest of fountains, freely gush there,  
Laving earth's bosom with billows of loveliness,  
Winsome waters from the wood's-heart flowing,  
With sea-cold bubble from the bosom of earth as  
The moons move on, compass anon  
The whole wood grandly : 'tis the Lord's behest that  
This land of glory the beautiful waters  
Shall twelve times traverse.

One fault, illustrated by both those quotations, is frequent on every page of Dr. Hall's translations. It is the excessive use of the light ending. It will be noticed that in the first passage five of the twelve lines end with such words as 'for,' 'then,' 'too,' 'the.' I am not aware that there is anything similar to this in the metre which the translator professes to imitate. Its effect is far from pleasing.

Closely connected with the question of proper medium is that of appropriate vocabulary. Most translators agree that a certain archaic flavor is desirable; but the degree of archaism is in each case determined by the translator's theories of his art, and by his own measure of taste and good sense. In general, the believers in the imitative measure have gone farthest in the matter of archaism; it will be remembered that William Morris felt it necessary to supply a glossary for his translation of *Beowulf*—a curious indication of its failure really to translate. Dr. Hall's archaisms are seldom unintelligible, but they are frequently uncouth. Particularly is this noticeable in his free use of compounds: one is continually running upon such words as 'lorn-mooded,' 'mood-valiant,' 'mead-drunk,' 'hoar-grayish,' 'Glory-King,' 'hell-thanen.' It rather shocks one's sensibilities to hear Judith continually referred to as 'the curly-locked lady.' Dr. Hall would probably defend his practice by saying that such compounds are to be found in the original, and that he is trying to reproduce its spirit. One would be interested to know, however, whether he would defend a similar course in translation from a modern German poet. I think no one will deny that, despite the efforts of Carlyle, such phrases seem awkward and ungainly in modern English, while only a superficial beginner experiences any shock on meeting exactly similar phrases in Cynewulf or Goethe. It is ill quarreling with the genius of a language.

If we are tempted to find fault with Professor Hall's lack of fidelity to the true spirit of the poetry he seeks to render, we have little but praise for his accurate fidelity to its letter. It is not probable that all his opinions as to the meaning of uncertain passages will command universal assent; but one cannot fail to recognize that these opinions have been formed after careful consideration of the evidence. At times, to be sure, he yields to the demands of alliteration, as when he renders 'in ðām heolstran hām' by 'in that horrid home.' At times, too, one discovers a tendency to infuse heightened color into a colorless phrase of the original. Thus in *Judith* 189 we find 'gear you for the grapple' as equivalent to the perfectly simple 'fȳsan tō gefeohte,' where such a phrase as 'make ready for battle' would be both more accurate and more dignified.

Besides the translations of five poems—*Judith*, *Phoenix*, *The Battle of Maldon*, *The Battle of Brunanburh*, and *Andreas*—the

volume contains a short introduction and brief explanatory notes to each. We regret that the author has chosen to omit the usual marks of quantity in his citations of Old English words. Of his introductions it may be said that he is too impartial in his attitude towards the various authorities whom he cites in questions of date and authorship. We had supposed, for example, that the theory of a Cædmonian authorship for *Judith* belonged to a bygone age of scholarship, and with it any thought of a date as early as the seventh century. One is surprised to find that Dr. Hall, though enumerating in each introduction the existing translations of the poem under consideration, neglects to mention the excellent translation of *Judith* by Professor Henry Morley.

The student who wishes to know how a good Anglo-Saxonist interprets this passage or that would have been better served by a translation into literal prose, while the general reader of cultured taste will hardly be attracted to a literature which he encounters in such ungraceful garb. With the possible exception of Tennyson's *Battle of Brunanburh*, we have never seen a translation of an Old English poem which is even approximately the ideal; but of all existing translations, those in the imitative measure are, we think, furthest from its attainment.

R. K. R.

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*Relations of the Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences to Earlier English Verse, especially that of Chaucer.* Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. By Daniel E. Owen. [Privately printed.] 1903. Pp. 34.

It is the aim of the brief monograph before us to establish a relation between the Elizabethan sonnet-writers and the group of earlier poets of whom Chaucer is chief. To this end the author has collected a series of parallels between the conventional expressions used by both in describing the amatory passion. 'The darts of love are shot from the mistress' eyes'; 'the lover is restless at night and dreams of his mistress'; 'the mistress scorns her lover's

verses'; 'the conventional lover is lachrymose'—these are a few of the seventeen headings under which the parallels are grouped. It is a sufficient criticism of the work to say that in the entire article Petrarch receives only half a dozen cursory references, that we nowhere find a single line of quotation from him or from any other continental author, and that the writer seems all but wholly oblivious to the enormous influence exerted by Petrarch on amatory verse both in the Elizabethan and Chaucerian periods. The essay is a striking example of the futility of any attempt to treat English literature as though it were an isolated and independent growth.

R. K. R.

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*Methodism in the Light of the English Literature of the Last Century.* By Dr. J. Albert Swallow. (*Münchener Beiträge zur Romanischen und Englischen Philologie IX.*) Erlangen and Leipzig, 1895. Pp. 160.

No complete bibliography of the Methodist movement in England has ever been made. To make it would be a serious task. Richard Green's recent list, *Anti-Methodist Publications issued during the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1902, though restricted to works hostile to Methodism, contains over six hundred titles. Dr. Swallow, in the pamphlet before us, does not attempt a bibliography of the movement; nor does he consider the larger, more indirect results of the Methodist revival upon the literature of England. His purpose is rather to bring together a list of such explicit references to Methodism as may serve to show how far the movement gained any definite recognition, friendly or hostile, in the polite literature of the century.

It must be said that his search has not been very extended. He seems to have examined the drama of the century pretty carefully, the works of four or five poets and as many novelists, the files of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Monthly Review*, and the *London Magazine*, Boswell's *Johnson*, and the *Letters* of Horace Walpole and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.

It may seem surprising that a search, even so narrowly restricted, should yield so little. Sam Foote's scandalous play, *The Minor*, and its more indecent supplement, *The Methodist*, a passing refer-

ence in Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* and *Amelia*, and the familiar story of Clinker's conversion from Smollett's *Humphrey Clinker*—these are nearly all the references Dr. Swallow can find to Methodism in the drama and fiction of the century. In the poetry, if we except Cowper and Crabbe, he can cite only a few rather unimportant passages from third- or fourth-rate men, like Chatterton, Byrom, and Lovibond. Moreover, many of the works or passages cited have little value as indicating any literary recognition of Methodism. Sam Foote was ready to ridicule anybody or anything that was in the eye of the public; and his satire upon Whitefield has no more significance than his threatened impersonation of Samuel Johnson. The references in Horace Walpole's *Letters* are explained by his relation to Lady Fanny Shirley, who with Lady Huntington made Whitefield for a little time the fashion in London drawing-rooms. The numerous publications noticed in the passages cited from the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Monthly Review* are almost without exception controversial, and have no permanent place in literature.

The truth is, the polite literature of the eighteenth century and the Methodism of the eighteenth century appealed to quite different classes. The literature was written for the drawing-room and the club; it reflected the manners and the charm of good society. The work of Wesley and Whitefield was mostly done with and for that great lower middle class which poets and dramatists and essayists ignore. It is true, indeed, that the wave of democratic feeling then slowly rising all over Europe began to show itself in English literature about the middle of the century. Richardson's first novel is the story of virtue triumphant in a maid-of-all-work. The 'swain' is a frequent figure in English verse—always honest and amiable. Admiration for humble worth becomes a sentimental fad. But this Rousseauish temper did not imply any real knowledge of the life it idealized. It was not until the appearance of Burns that we have any genuine utterance from the heart of the people. Moreover, it is not the poor folk of the town who are celebrated in mid-eighteenth century literature, but those good people in the country who could be admired at a distance in a setting of rural landscape. But it was precisely in the cities and large towns that the Wesleyan movement had its greatest influence, among a class vastly important in the future political and industrial development of England, but not at all picturesque. Wesley himself had no high estimate of the agricultural class, and no patience with the sentimental pictures of

rural felicity. He writes in the *Journal* : ' In the little journeys I have lately taken I have thought much upon the huge encomiums which have for many ages been bestowed upon a country life. How have all the learned world cried out,

O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona nôrint,  
Agrícolas !

But after all, what a flat contradiction is this to universal experience. Our eyes and ears may convince us there is not a less happy body of men in all England than the country farmers. In general their life is supremely dull ; and it is usually unhappy too.'

It is not strange, then, that the Methodist movement, wide-spread and profound as it was, should have left so few traces in contemporary literary literature of the first order. If we are to find proof of the influence of Methodism upon the reading public, we must look to a class of books which hardly attained the rank of literature, and which Dr. Swallow does not mention at all. The most popular book in England about the middle of the eighteenth century was not the poetry of Pope or Gray or the novels of Richardson and Fielding ; it was the *Meditations Among the Tombs* of George Hervey, a college friend of Wesley and one of the original members of the Holy Club. Though now forgotten, this book had an enormous sale for near half a century, going through seventeen editions in seventeen years. The *Theron and Aspasio* of the same author, an exposition and defense of evangelical doctrines, was hardly less popular. The sale of Wesley's works in his later life was sufficient to bring him an income of nearly a thousand pounds a year—which he gave away in charity : and his *Arminian Magazine*, though it is not possible to ascertain its exact circulation, probably published quite as many copies as such more dignified critical journals as the *Gentleman's Magazine* and *Monthly Review*. This is not the kind of literature that becomes classic ; yet it is fairly questionable whether the book that exerts the widest influence to-day is not generally the book that is to be forgotten to-morrow. Certainly a careful study of the Methodist movement as reflected in this more popular and ephemeral writing of the eighteenth century would be very interesting ; but the scope of Dr. Swallow's thesis does not permit that.

C. T. WINCHESTER.



*Englische Lautdauer.* Von Ernst A. Meyer, Dr. Phil.  
Uppsala und Leipzig, 1903. Pp. 111.

The question of the quantity of sounds in spoken English is one beset with difficulties and pitfalls. Although the brilliant work of Sweet and his successors has cleared up some of the fundamental facts, much remains to be done, and the experimental research before us is a notable contribution to an objective knowledge of English quantity.

Dr. Meyer comes at the problem with the tools of experimental phonetics which have become familiar in the last few years, and which the author has used in previous researches. A Marey tambour, with a recording lever, inscribes the variations in the air-current issuing from the mouth during speech on a strip of smoked paper, and at the same time another apparatus, placed against the front of the neck, records the vibrations of the thyroid cartilage, and thus shows when the vocal cords are active and when at rest, and indicates to a certain degree the nature of the cord-vibrations. These two traces, drawn one above the other, together with a time-line obtained from a tuning-fork, give the material for the time-measurements. Some use is also made of a device to record the movements of the lips. A detailed description of the apparatus used may be found in the author's 'Beiträge zur Deutschen Metrik,' *Neuere Sprachen* 6. 9-37.

Some general results of this study may be formulated as follows :

1. In natural English utterance we have to do, as regards both vowels and consonants, not with 'short,' 'half-long,' 'long,' 'over-long,' or any other steps arbitrarily fixed, but with an infinite number of gradations, and great freedom of variation. To this the unaided ear bears witness, but it is well to have it objectively demonstrated beyond question.

2. As to the vowels, the absolute time which is occupied by the pronunciation of a single vowel or diphthong is observed to vary roughly from .125 sec. to .5 sec. The so-called long vowels (*a* in *palm*, *o* in *more*, *u* in *rule*, etc.) are on the average perhaps  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times as long as the so-called short vowels (*a* in *pat*, *o* in *not*, *u* in *but*, etc.), but the actual quantity of any particular vowel depends so largely on its own quality, and upon the sounds that follow it, that a so-called long vowel is often shorter in actual duration than a so-called short vowel.

In respect to quality, vowels of high tongue-position (e. g. *i* in *pique*, *pill*, *u* in *rule*, *pull*), other things being equal, are shorter than vowels of low tongue-position (e. g. *a* in *palm*, *paw*, *o* in *not*).

In respect to the following sounds, vowels followed by surds ('gespannte consonanten'), are, other things being equal, shorter than before sonants ('ungespannte consonanten') (cf. *bat* : *bad*), and shorter before mutes ('verschlusslaute') than before fricatives ('engenlaute') (cf. *had* : *have*).

3. As to the consonants, their absolute duration may vary, as for vowels, between rather wide limits, viz: from .05 sec. to .2 sec., the absolute quantity depending, on the one hand, on the nature of the consonant itself, and, on the other, on the sound which precedes it. It seems to be independent of the nature of the vowel-sound which follows.

The investigations show that the mutes ('verschlusslaute') are in general a little shorter than the fricatives ('engenlaute'). This difference is very slight at the beginning of a word, so slight indeed that it can scarcely be regarded as certainly established, but after vowels (i. e. medial or final) mutes average about .1 sec. in duration, and fricative about .14 sec. That all initial consonants should average so nearly the same length (i. e. .1 sec.) is certainly most surprising, if further observation shall establish its truth.

As to the effect of preceding vowel-sounds, the observations of our author corroborate the law of compensation already formulated, i. e. the longer the vowel the shorter the consonant that follows, and *vice versa*. Consequently, after the so-called long vowels, consonants are in general shorter than after the so-called short vowels (e. g. the *t* closure is held longer in *not* than in *note*), and after vowels of high tongue-position longer than after vowels of low tongue-position (e. g. the *t*-closure is held longer in *hit* than in *hot*).

These general results seems to me pretty clearly established, but the author by no means rests there. He has descended into minute details, both of fact and of explanation. Into these details it is not necessary to follow him here, and that for two reasons :

1. Because the basis of induction is not broad enough to make such details certain. The pronunciation studied is chiefly that of one man, a young Englishman, whose antecedents seem likely to have secured a normal pronunciation, if there be such a thing, but even so one individual's pronunciation is not a safe guide for details.

It is true that some records were taken from a second subject, and these in a measure confirm the other observation, but surely records from a considerable number of voices of both men and women would be necessary to establish a definite norm for any one dialect.

2. Because the difficulties of the research itself are very great, greater than one would realize who had not himself engaged in similar experimental work. For precise measurements of quantities, precise boundaries between sounds, must be discovered; but for many sounds such boundaries do not exist. The change, that is, of vocal position, is a continuous one, and there is no one point at which it can truly be said that here the vowel ends and the consonant begins. Only in the case of mutes or stops ('*verschlusslaute*') have we something definite, i. e. the absolute check of the breath, but even here the organs cannot close instantaneously, and during the closing the utterance is a vowel continuously modified up to the instant of complete closure. Thus, even here, to speak of vowel, transition sound, and consonant, is only an approximation to the truth. Moreover, mechanical appliances are imperfect, and the traces obtained are often difficult of interpretation.

So careful has our author been, and so well have his pieces of apparatus been coördinated that, though he has given but a few reproductions of the traces from which his measurements have been made, confidence in the general trustworthiness of his results is fully warranted. When, however, we come to details, it seems wiser to await the results of multiplied observations. Such, for example, is his law of the relative duration of mutes ('*verschlusslaute*') on p. 107: '*Unter den verschlusslauten ist die dauer von p, b am grössten, die von k, g geringer von t, d am geringsten.*' Let us examine the observations on which this law is based. Dealing in averages, the quantity of *p* in the observed cases is .126 sec.; of *b*, .097; of *k*, .116; of *g*, .092; of *t*, .111; of *d*, .081; or, averaging once more to meet the terms of the rule, the average duration of *p, b* is .112; of *k, g*, .104; of *t, d*, .096. Now, leaving averages, it will be seen (p. 10) that initial *p*, under precisely similar conditions of utterance, in the mouth of the same speaker, varies in duration from .093 sec. to .144; and initial *t* from .094 to .126. When the limit of variation of the individual sound is so wide, a much fuller induction is needed before small differences in averages can be used as a safe basis for a detailed rule.

The facts presented in Dr. Meyer's research are interesting incidentally in many ways. That English quantities, both of vowels and of consonants, may vary within wide limits in the same word in different utterances, without the ear taking special note of the variation, is what we should expect, but is none the less an important fact to be established by experimental evidence. How important this may be in the distribution of quantities in reading verse can be ascertained only after long and elaborate measurements of rhythmic utterance shall have been made with the best apparatus of registration. This is a promising field of research, and one in which comparatively little trustworthy work has yet been done. It is a pity that the amount of time required for this sort of work is so great, and the expense so considerable, that comparatively few scholars can engage in it.

LOUIS BEVIER, JR.

RUTGERS COLLEGE.

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*George Chapman's Ilias-Übersetzung.* Von Dr. Alfred Lohff.  
Berlin : Mayer and Müller, 1903. Pp. iv, 113.

Dr. Lohff's monograph is the latest contribution to a subject which in its historical and literary relations has never been thoroughly investigated. His work is divided into four chapters. The first is devoted to the external history of Chapman's Homer. There, naturally, an account of Homeric translation before Chapman's time is given, and the predominance of Virgilian, rather than of Homeric, influence on the Troy legend in England is explained, preparatory to the discussion of Chapman's rendering, the first truly Greek version of the famous story to be found in English. After this survey, the historical aspects of Chapman's metres are considered. The old case of English hexameters is again tried, and, after the testimony of Arnold, Blackie, Garnett, Mayor, and other experts has been reviewed, judgment is passed against the adaptability of that poetic form to the English language. The author therefore thinks it fortunate that the Elizabethan chose for his version metres that had long held a prominent place in English poetry. In the clearly stated review of these points there is nothing new either in subject or treatment ; but in Dr. Lohff's

carefully formulated exposition of Chapman as the forerunner of Wood and Bentley in the 'Homeric question' lies new matter for reflection. This is the most important part of the chapter.

The second chapter treats of the internal history of the English version—the author's life, education, and literary career, his natural love for Homer, and his activity not only as translator, but also as commentator. In both interest and importance these two chapters surpass the third and fourth.

The third chapter traces the history of Chapman's work in English literature, quoting at length the judgments of our most noted critics, and offers, by the use of parallel passages after the style of Arnold, a detailed comparison between the version under discussion and those of Dryden (a partial translation only), Pope, and Cowper.

The concluding section, based on a careful study of Book I, and a portion of Book XVIII of the *Iliad*, discusses the poet's method of translation—his omissions of non-essential and redundant passages, his additions to beautify or expound the original, and other alterations due to ignorance, to the unconscious tendency to anachronism and misinterpretation, or to the differences between the Greek and the English as mediums of expression.

Before considering the value of these separate sections, the details of Dr. Lohff's work demand our attention. His page-references are usually correct; only on page five would we change the reference from page 276 to 236 of the essay on the genius and writings of Homer. But the blunders of spelling found in the passages cited from English authors are so numerous that carelessness alone can hardly account for them. We call attention to only a few of these errors: 'nounge,' so spelled three times (13); 'akward' (15); 'fourteensyllabled,' with no hyphen, (15); 'to' for 'too' (15); 'eights' (19); 'reverential' (24); 'token' for 'taken' (32); 'judgements' (38); 'lenght' (46); 'adequatly' (49); 'favourable,' for the adverb (49); 'genious' (49). In one quotation the word 'been' is omitted entirely (16), and in another 'till' is printed 'still' (68). Besides these orthographic errors, carelessness in punctuation often renders the thought obscure. With utter indifference to consistency, as well as correctness, titles are given arbitrarily either with or without quotation-marks. The omission of these marks is very confusing in those passages where specimen translations are quoted for comparison, as for example in the sentence:

'Wie schlecht klingt whose dire affects [effects, presumably] the Grecian army found gegenüber Chapmans that imposed infinite sorrows on the Greeks' (54). In yet other respects faulty punctuation often leads to ambiguity, as in the concluding sentence of the paragraph on page 31. In view of these many errors, the four slight corrections of the 'Druckfehler-Verzeichnis' at the end seem ludicrous; but it certainly would be unjust, Poor Richard notwithstanding, to burden the printer with full responsibility for these many errors.

Turning now to less fundamental considerations, we may criticize somewhat the arrangement of material in the four chapters. The principle of division on which that arrangement is based does not seem quite exclusive. Chapman's premonition of the 'Homeric question,' for example, belongs no more to the first than to the second chapter, where his debt to Spondanus and his philological activity in general are discussed. Chapman's choice of metres, furthermore, treated in the same section, belongs rather to the fourth chapter, where his method of translation is discussed at length. On the other hand, it would seem logical to include in that first chapter, in connection with the bibliographical facts concerning publication, what the author treats last in his monograph—the variations between the first and second editions that Chapman issued from the press. Had the first chapter been devoted wholly to a concise and consecutive presentation of such details of fact, the reader's grasp of subsequent material would have been greatly facilitated. For the same reason, the examination of Chapman's peculiarities of style in the last chapter might well precede the critical estimate of his work found in Chapter III, especially if in addition to mere verbal and grammatical considerations were included the question of choice of metre, and the discussion of the poet's peculiar use of compounds, alliteration, plays on words, and other traits of style which are mentioned here and there throughout the other three chapters. From this study the reader would be prepared to advance intelligently and naturally to the estimate of the merits and demerits of the various translations, and to final judgment of Chapman's work, which is certainly the logical conclusion of the monograph.

Criticism of the work, however, must not be wholly unfavorable. Dr. Lohff's statement of the question concerning the hexameter,

and his estimate of the characteristic qualities of the English translations, may not have the depth and weight of Arnold's essay; his study of the details of the translation may not go beyond what H. M. Regel (in *Engl. Stud.*, Vol. 5) has already given. But his exposition of these points is clear, and save in a tendency to exalt too highly Chapman's achievement—to call attention to the mighty beauties, as Coleridge called them, and to overlook the mighty faults—his judgment is entirely sound. Furthermore, in at least two important respects he has placed the translator before us in a new light. He has called attention, in the first place, to the significance of Chapman's assertion: 'I have good authority that the books were not set together by Homer himself,' which clearly gives him priority over both Wood and Bentley in the 'Homeric question.' This authority, Dr. Lohff then shows conclusively, was the commentary of Spondanus, supplemented and corrected by the criticism of Ælian. All students should certainly be interested to see in the Elizabethan something more than the hasty, enthusiastic poet-translator that he is usually pictured. This interpretation of the poet's work is still further elaborated when Dr. Lohff shows that Chapman in his critical notes did not follow his authorities slavishly, but to a certain extent used his own critical acumen. The views of Laurentius Valla and Hesse he opposed throughout; Scaliger's preference for Virgil over Homer aroused his unconditional condemnation; and even Spondanus, his main resource, was set aside frequently, especially in the thirteenth book of the Iliad, to make way for some personal opinion. The directing of attention to these new aspects of Chapman's work is, as I say, the most valuable part of the monograph, and somewhat atones for its carelessness in details, and for its looseness of structure.

ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON.

LEHIGH UNIVERSITY.

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*The Alchemist, by Ben Jonson.* Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by Charles M. Hathaway, Jr., Ph. D. (*Yale Studies in English* XVII. Albert S. Cook, Editor.) New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1903. Pp. 373.

Now that the competition of bibliophiles has forced up the prices of Elizabethan and Jacobean quartos and folios to a point beyond

the purses of most scholars, such work as Dr. Hathaway has done on the text of *The Alchemist* should be warmly greeted. This new edition is a reprint of the text of the 1616 folio, collated with the folios of 1640 and 1692, and the editions of 1717, of Whalley, and of Gifford. The reprint—as far as possible an exact facsimile—must have required infinite pains, and the result seems on a somewhat careful examination remarkably accurate. Indeed the text errs, if at all, in unnecessary detail among the variants as to differences of spelling and typographical errors, for, as Dr. Hathaway points out, the folios after that of 1616 are of practically no value in establishing the text: the editions of 1692 and 1717 are but reprints of the 1640 edition, which, following the 1616 folio except in a few simple and evident corrections, regularly but not uniformly modernizes the spelling, and adds numerous typographical errors and misapprehensions of sense. The folio of 1616, then, which was issued under Jonson's supervision, collated with the quarto of 1612, and corrected in a few places by the folio of 1640, gives the correct text.

Though great care marks the preparation of the book in all its parts, it is uneven, and raises the question how far even a very satisfactory doctor's thesis—this work was originally submitted as a thesis for the degree of Ph. D.—is in proper shape for publication. Such a reprint is surely for the student, but he must find parts of it annoying. The elaborate notes—they fill 100 pages—show a knowledge of what has been written in elucidation of *The Alchemist*, but they are wordy, at times falling into talk. Surely no student of the Elizabethan drama will find much that needs glossing in the introductory matter of the play—the dedication, prologue, argument and *dramatis personae*—yet twelve of these large pages are given to notes on it. If the mere phrasing of the notes were greatly condensed, and the opinions quoted were in some cases subjected to more critical scrutiny, the gain would be great. For instance, Dr. Hathaway is not fair to himself—for he is usually a safe guide—when he quotes without qualification (p. 242) Mr. Fleay's statement that 'The Children of Queen Elizabeth's Chapel,' the 'Queen's Revels,' the 'Lady Elizabeth's,' and 'Queen Henrietta's' were but successive titles for the same company. Hardly anything in the history of the English drama is more unsettled than the changes in the theatrical companies, and such repetition of arbitrary statements



increases the confusion. Dr. Hathaway adds, of course, to the sum of our knowledge about the text, but the increase is hardly what the space given to the notes promises. On the time-honored puzzles, *heautaritis*, *tim*, *whit*, like all other editors he only guesses—with results which he honestly declares dubious.

The long introductory essay on Alchemy is also disappointing. Perhaps, for completeness as a thesis, it should go into an account of frauds of the present akin to Subtle's tricks, but certainly a student of *The Alchemist* does not need—perhaps does not care—to read of Jernegan and his gold from sea-water fraud. Dr. Hathaway writes of Alchemy under the sub-heads—'Its History,' 'The Theory of Alchemy,' 'Abuses and Knavery,' 'Its Position in England in 1610,' 'Alchemy in its Relation to Medicine, Astrology, Palmistry, and to all sorts of Swindling Operations,' 'Alchemy and Literature,' and 'Modern Gold-making Swindles.' In saying (p. 23), 'Satirist tho [Jonson] was, Jonson presented [the Alchemist's] side of the case ably, far more ably than many of the art's professors; so well, indeed, that I do not doubt it will be possible to find alchemists after his time who will maintain that he believed in alchemy, and only satirized the cheating pretenders,' Dr. Hathaway really admits that his own summary of the teachings of the alchemists does not make them clearer than does the play itself. He crowds his pages with all he can find in the literature of the time about false science and fraud, rather than presents material which in itself or by his application of it elucidates the play. Even what is given under the sections, 'Abuses and Knavery' and 'Its Position in 1610,' the most contributive sections, might be condensed, and presented with equal advantage in the notes. In a word, the material seems gathered rather for completeness in an account of Alchemy than for an introduction to the text. Here is the first reason for querying whether what was a satisfactory thesis should not have been much condensed, and given direct bearing on the text, before it was published. Another reason for the query is that the essay gives with much detail what must be well known to most persons who will use the book, Chaucer's and John Lyly's treatment of the alchemists, and, more trying still, even a recapitulation of the play itself. Thirdly, though it may relieve the tedium of the details of the introduction to hear Dr. Hathaway break through his material, many passages certainly sound too intimate in an essay introductory to a text which is and should be treated with scientific impersonality.

So well done is the text that one wishes the introduction might be cut to the scholarly discussion of the editions, the suggestive if not wholly convincing treatment of the probable date of the play, and the discussion of the sources, with a very condensed presentation of all else in it. In brief, the faults of this edition are the common defects of a thesis as contrasted with a well edited book. A little labor by Dr. Hathaway would make his edition of *The Alchemist* compact, even in quality, and as permanently valuable throughout as it now is in its text.

GEO. P. BAKER.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

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*Det norsk-islandske Skjaldesprog omtr. 800-1300.* Finnur Jónsson. København, 1901. Pp. 123. Udgivet af Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur. Bd. 28.

Professor Jónsson's work is in the nature of a survey of Eddic and Scaldic forms and is intended as a contribution to a historical Norse-Islandic "Formenlehre." As it has been the author's aim to make it fairly exhaustive, the whole field of O. Norse-Icl. poetry being included, it will readily be seen that the work is of great importance both directly as a contribution to O. N. grammar and indirectly for the textual study of manuscripts. Chronologically the survey naturally falls into two parts : 1, the period before the beginning of the written literature—800-1125 ; for which period Eddic and Scaldic lays form practically our only source ; 2, after 1125, when we have these added to by other sources, especially is this the case with the period beginning about 1250 with its large number of mss. It is then more particularly for the first period that study of Scaldic forms is important, but also for the latter will they offer valuable supplementary material to the grammatical forms as drawn from the prose literature. The author has, however, not thought it necessary to present his material in two parts. Users of the book will perhaps sometimes find that at least a résumé of the earliest appearance and comparative frequency of forms would not have been undesirable. Nor has the author attempted to make any distinction between Norse and Icelandic lays, something that indeed was not necessary for the older period and difficult for the later.

Examples are cited illustrative of forms as they occur but where the examples are numerous from all periods only the number of occurrences are frequently given. The first 68 pages of the book are given to the substantive. The rest is subdivided under Adjectives, Pronouns, Numerals, Verbs, Adverbs, Negatives, Intensive Particles, Conjunctions, Prepositions. Among the facts specially noted in the reading I desire here only to cite a few under substantives.

Loss of Dat. ending *i* in *a*-stems is comparatively rare, as in *með holfum hleif*. *Hav.* 52, and occurs also in words with a short stem vowel, though more often in those with a long vowel. The loss of the ending was of course favored in compounds as *at frá konungdom*, *Sig.* III, 14, and elsewhere and 18 times in compounds in *-leikr*, but in the great majority of cases here too the *i* remains. Three examples occur in the Scaldic lays of loss of Dat. *i* in stems in *-ingr* and *-ungr* (but see Jónsson, p. 14). As regards *o*-stems in *-ing* and *-ung* the material offered shows forms both with and without the Dat. *u* (contrary to Noreen, *Gr.* § 311): *fylking*, *gisting*, *kerling*, *píning*, *reiðing*, *viking*, *prenning* and *skæting* occur regularly only with *u*, but *lypting*, *sæing* and *verðung* occur with and without *u*, while *erring*, *lækning* and *nisting* are found only in the shorter form. Loss of *u* is not rare then but does not seem to have taken place extensively before the 11th and the 12th century. The word *oðr* (Wimmer *i*-stem, Noreen *a*-stem) shows regularly the *a*-stem Dat. *óði*, never the shorter form, and Gen. *óðar* except in *Sn. E.* I, 466 where it is *óðs*. As a proper name *Óðr* has Gen. *Óðs*. *Skogr* is also to be included here (cf. Noreen, but Kahle *Altisl. Elem.* § 267 as *i*-stem). Dat. is *skogi*, Gen. nearly always *skogar*. Also *dal* belongs here, cf. O.E. *dæl*, O.H.G. *tal*, neuter *a*-stems. The original Dat. remains in *Harb.* 18 and Acc. pl. in *Vsp.* 18, *pærs i dala falla*. *I*-stem forms occur however early (as *ydalir*). The author does not think that *-ir*, *-i* plurals of the word were common before the 12th century, except in compounds where they occur as early as the 10th. *Hvalr* (Noreen, *i*-stem) and *Marr* are both classed with *a*-stems (cf. O.E. *meorh*). *Stafr* is an *a*-stem as indicated by early occurrences as O.E. *stæf* (but cf., Gothic *stabim*). *I*-stem forms appear very early however. *Veg* commonly has *a*-stem forms, Dat. *vegi*, Gen. *vegs*, 17 times, but Gen. *vegar* is not rare. In the plural *a*- and *u*-stem forms occur side by side, *vegar*

and *vegir*, Acc. *vega*, 16 times, Acc. pl. *vegu* cited 6 times, which F. J. regards as belonging to the 13th century. Cf. the occurrences, *Fjöl.* 47, *Egilss.* 29, and three times in *Sólarljóð*, 18, 38 and 40.

The usual irregularities in the forms of *regin* and *megin* are present, the later Nom. *magn* and the Dat. *megn* occur. The vowel *q* has come into the Gen. pl. in *vogna*, *kindir*, *Hyndl.* 35, but how early this took place we cannot tell for it is probably not original here, nor in *Hav.* 13, *hroptvogna*. The forms of the *ja*- and the *i*-stems testify to early confusion here, as in the *wa*- and *u*-stems. The result was the almost complete disappearance of the *ja*-stems in O.N. which are so extensively represented in O. Swedish. *Nöðr* preserves the characteristics of the *ja*-stems except in Dat. sing. where *i* is lost, and Gen. *-jar* occurs in *Bors nöðjar feltk beðju*, *Egilss.* 30. *Herr* has Dat. *heri* once, *her* 10 times, Gen. *hers* but more often *herjar*. *Beðr*, a masc. in O.N. and originally a *ja*-stem (Goth. *badi*, O.H.G. *beti*, O.E. *bed*, neuter *ja*-stems) has an equal number of Dat.-Gen. *ja*- and *i*-stems, hence citations in Larssen's *Ordförrådet*, where only Gen. *beðjar* is given, are incomplete. With the exception of these three words all other *ja*-stems have gone entirely over to the *i*-declension in the pl., though Gen. sing in *s* is common. Dat. *i* occurs only in *herr* and *beðr*, *leggr* retains *s* in Gen. usually. *Yggr* has Gen. *-s* and *jar* 24 times each. Under the *o*-stems, the Dat. *vöndu* occurs 7 or 8 times, plural in *-ar* in *Höfuðl.* 7, *við blárá randar*, otherwise always *randir* (36 times). Pl. *rendr*, as a monosyllable stem occurs once in *Krák.* 9. *Skeiðar* as the regular pl. of *skeið* is found 11 times, the monosyllabic pl. *skeiðr*, 20 times. The word *strönd* is in the main the same in its forms as *rönd* and might, it seems, have been included under the *o*-stems, since it is of course originally an *o*-stem. Dat. *ströndu* occurs 8 times, pl. *strandir* 6, the later *strendr* is not found. *Spöng*, *stöng*, and *töng* have gone entirely over to the *i*-declension in the plural. The *u*-stems: The late Acc. pl. *ása* of *oss* occurs in *Sn. E.* 2, 628. As regards *sonr* it is found with and without *r* in numerous places from Brage to the 13th century, also in such combinations as *hlaut Oddasonr aura*, *Sturl.* 1, 15, but *harm es Kvárans son*, *Gunnl.* 229, from which unstressed position of course the form without *r* originated. Among the masc. *an*-stems that preserve *n* in the Gen. the forms of *gumi* may be noted. In the plural the form with and those without *n* are developed throughout, except in the compound *bruðgumi*. The

Nom. *gummar* with *n* from Gen. pl. is more common than *gumar*, appearing 14 times. Acc. pl. *gumna* is found 4 times, *guma* 3. *Gumnom* is the regular Dat. pl. cited 10 times throughout all periods, but *gunum* in *Darra*. 10. By the intrusion of the Gen. *n* a full declension in *n* forms resulted. The original forms without *n* persisted, however, from which by analogy a new Gen. *guma* was formed, as *óverðr guma ferðir*, *Harms*. 27 and 6 other examples, which form belongs to the 12th century.

Monosyllabic stems: Dat. *mæðr* of *möðir* occurs once (*ok mæðr þinni*, *Völ*. 27), as also *dætr*. The regular Dat. of *föðr* is *feðr* but *fþður* is cited in compounds 5 times, otherwise *fþðr* is the regular form in compounds in Nom.-Acc., *föðrs* in Gen. Nom. sing., *feðr* occurs in *Jóns feðr Hnikars vðri*, *Sturl* 1. 290, a form that becomes frequent in the *Rímur*. Under *nd*-stems the pl. *búendr* is noted as the regular, only one certain example of *bændr* having been found. In *vissak fjandr at fundi*, *G. Surss*. 65, the assonance furnishes proof of the pronunciation *fjandr* (not *fiandr*), however, this being the regular form. But in the Eddic poems the metre never requires the contracted forms. The author cites 78 *nd*-stems with plural in *-endr*. In the 13th century they assume the *-ar*, *a-* plurals of the *an*-stems as *optveitandar leita*, *Nj*. 1. 191.

Students of Old Norse will be grateful to Professor Jónsson for his highly important contribution to O.N. grammar. An index would have enhanced the usefulness of the book.

GEORGE T. FLÖM.

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA,  
Sept. 16, 1903.

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Hugo Pipping, *Gotländska studier*. Upsala, Akademiska bokhandeln (C. J. Lundström). 1901. iv + 136 pages + 2 plates.

The old dialect of the Swedish Island of Gotland occupies a peculiar position among the Scandinavian idioms. It is generally looked upon as a Swedish dialect; but it differs more from the old language of Sweden (in the proper sense) than does for instance Old Swedish from Old Danish. The East Scandinavian branch of the old Scandinavian languages may therefore quite as well be

divided into three different languages : Swedish, Danish, Gotlandic. The reasons for including Gotlandic among the Swedish dialects are merely secondary and external and by no means founded on the intrinsic peculiarities of the language itself ; Gotland with neighboring Isles has for a long time been politically a province of Sweden and is situated not far from the Swedish coast. Moreover the literary monuments written in the old language of Gotland are very scarce, the only one of any great importance being the old Law of Gotland. This Law has been handed down in two mss. written in the dialect of Gotland ; besides it was translated into Low German and into Danish. Of the older one of these two mss. (*Cod. Holm. B.* 64) there are three editions (Hadorph 1687, Schlyter 1852, Säve 1859) ; the younger one (*Cod. A. M.* 54, 40) had not been edited before the appearance of the volume to be reviewed here, although in editions of *Cod. Holm. B.* 64 readings, not to be found in this ms. were given from *Cod. A. M.*

The first half of Dr. Pipping's book is taken up by an edition of the latter ms. This edition has been executed in a most careful manner, the aim of the editor having been to give as true and complete a picture of the ms. as possible. He therefore refrains from emendating the text, even such passages of the same as are evidently corrupt and easily corrected. Apparently we may use the edition with the same confidence as if we had the ms. itself before us, the slightest dot or line having been noted with the most painstaking accuracy.

The material from which our knowledge of the old language of Gotland is to be derived being very scanty, the edition in question must be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the same. And I think the principles according to which the work has been done must meet with our approval ; all conclusions to be drawn from the material offered by this special edition would better be drawn from the text in its actual shape than from an emendated text.

To this edition is appended a chapter containing various notes on the ms. (pp. 71-85). We know exactly not only the name of the scribe but also the circumstances under which the ms. was written. It was copied in the year 1587 (consequently at a rather recent date)<sup>1</sup> by the clergyman David Bilefeld from a book written in 1470.

<sup>1</sup> The other ms. was written ca. 1350.

Bilefeld himself was born in Denmark, which fact may account for some Danisms in his ms. although the ms. of 1470, which is now unfortunately lost, may also have been written by a Dane.

The following and last chapter (pp. 87–134) is entitled “*Strödda Iagttagelser*” (Various observations). We here find several notes on the Gotlandic language in early and recent times, some of which are valuable contributions to the history of the Scandinavian languages. The results of these “observations” may here be briefly summed up.

*Huti* in both mss.<sup>1</sup> need not be emendated into *heiti* but is the pres. conj. of the verb *huta* ‘to call out, cry,’ ‘herbeirufen’ (identical with ms. *hūtin*, *houuten*, cf. Ekwall *Shakespeare's Vocabulary*, Upsala, 1903).—*Lyndir* in the older codex is an error for *loyndir*, as is clearly shown by the younger ms.—Then follows a section dealing with the chronology of the modern Gotlandic diphthongs. By means of some early spellings the author attempts to show that the Old Gotlandic long vowels were diphthongized as early as the fifteenth century. This may very well be so, but in one case I think the author has made a mistake. In Old Gotlandic as well as in the modern dialects there is no *ō*-sound. In loan-words from Swedish proper the *ō*-sound was therefore superseded by a diphthong. Dr. Pipping thinks *döjyr* ‘(he)dies’ in the ms. is an early example of this diphthong for a continental Swedish *ō* (O. Swed *dā* (*ia*) inf., *dār* pres. sg.).<sup>2</sup> But he seems to have overlooked the fact that the spelling *dojyr* ‘(he)dies’ occurs several times in the same ms. (8 v 8, 24 v 1, 13, 25 r 11). This spelling no doubt represents the regular native Gotlandic form and is thoroughly identical with *doyr* in the older ms. The spelling *döjyr* is no doubt to be explained as an error for *dojyr*. The scribe had at first wrongly put the *ÿ*-dots above the *o*, and after having noticed his mistake he put two dots above the *y* without erasing the other dots. The letter *ö* occurs in two other cases in the same ms. (*ogömslu* 17 v 4, *öffuir* 19 v 6); it is here possibly due to Danish influence. Pp. 91–95 the author offers some remarks concerning the different spellings of forms of the word ‘two.’ In the older codex the Teutonic diphthong *ai* is

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Pipping quotes this form from leaf 42 r 6 of the younger ms. This is a misprint for 43 r 6.

<sup>2</sup> In his paper on *Runinskrifterna på nyfunna Ardre-stenarne* (Upsala and Leipsig 1901), Dr. Pipping writes p. 62 *döyr* instead of *döjyr*.

generally written *ai*; only in forms of the word 'two' (*tueir*, *tueim*) and in a few other cases do we find *ei*. This fact Prof. Kock has tried to explain by assuming that *ai* had under certain circumstances become *ei* in Old Gotlandic. The ingenious explanation offered by Dr. Pipping is, however, evidently correct. He assumes that the scribe of the ms. in question was in the habit of writing *ei*, whereas in the ms. he copied only *ai* occurred. He followed his original very closely, but a few times his own habit prevailed. The numeral 'two' may in the original have been written figures; and when transcribing these figures into letters he naturally fell back into his own habit of writing *ei*. Pp. 95-130 Dr. Pipping deals with the *i*-mutation in Old Gotlandic. He originates a new theory concerning the chronology and general conditions of the Scandinavian *i*-mutation. He here enters on questions which belong to the most involved and most disputed ones in Scandinavian philology. It would carry us too far to enter in full into Dr. Pipping's views on the subject. Ingenious as they are, they seem however not to be conclusive. In some particulars Dr. Pipping has modified his views in his paper on "*I-Umlaut und u-Brechung in den nordischen Sprachen*" (*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* Helsingfors, 1902). Subsequently the problem in question has been dealt with very closely by Mr. Ebbe Tuneld in his criticism of Dr. Pipping's book in *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* xix, N. F. xv, p. 367 sq. Mr. Tuneld's views differ widely from Dr. Pipping's. But also here we find many points which may still seem open to discussion. I can here only offer a brief report of Dr. Pipping's views and refer those who wish to make the question the subject of closer study to Dr. Pipping's and Mr. Tuneld's papers, and to previous works on the subject quoted by these authors. Before the time of the *i*-syncope, according to Dr. Pipping, *i*-mutation was caused only by such *i*-sounds as were especially weakly stressed, or, as Pipping states it, "*i* dynamiskt hänseende stodo lägst på skalan." These *i*-sounds were 1) the consonantal *i*-sounds: *\*hariā* > *\*herīā* (< *hēr*-); 2) *i*-sounds preceded by a long stressed syllable: *\*ðōmīðō* > *ðāmīðō* (> *ðāmða*); 3) *i*-sounds preceded by a short stressed syllable and followed by *R* (< *z*): *\*fariR* > *\*feriR* (> *ferr*); *i*-sounds which were not followed by *R* did not have a sufficiently weak stress to cause *i*-mutation. After the *i* mutation had taken place all these



*i* sounds were syncopated. But the *i*-mutation tendency still remain and now went so far as to allow even such *i*'s as were preserved under a subordinate stress (starker nebenton') to cause *i*-mutation. In words of the type *\*tāliðō* > *talða* *i*-mutation did not take place because immediately before the time of the syncope *i* was too strongly stressed to be able to cause *i*-mutation. The stress then was so quickly reduced into *o* (syncope), that the *i*-sound, as it were, got no time for influencing the preceding vowel. But such a quick reduction, in Dr. Pipping's view, only took place in continental Swedish. In Old Gotlandic, according to Dr. Pipping, the vowel of a short syllable was subject to *i*-mutation, even when the weakly stressed *i* (which was subsequently syncopated) was not followed by *R*; thus the regular development of *urnord. \*tāliðō* was Gotlandic *\*telde*. This Dr. Pipping tries to prove by means of very numerous examples. Most of these cases are, on the other hand, looked upon by Mr. Tuneld as due to analogy, some of them he considers to be due to Low German influence. I prefer to leave the questions discussed by Pipping and Tunel open. So much I think, however, I am entitled to say that but for Dr. Pipping's ingenious points of view and but for the valuable material he has so carefully collected, many questions involved by the problems he discusses would not have been brought so near to their definite solution as they seem to be now.—The last pages of the book (p. 130 ff.) are devoted to the development of Teutonic *auh* in Old Gotlandic. It has been almost generally assumed that the change of *auh* > *ōh* (> *ō*) which is for instance found in O. West Scand. *þó* 'though' was common to all Scandinavian languages. Dr. Pipping proves, however, by means of the material which has been accessible to him, that Teutonic *au* was left unchanged before *h* in Gotlandic and that *auh* after the loss of medial and final *h* became Gotlandic *au*. The words to be taken into consideration are: *haur* 'high' (O.W. Scand. *hór*, Gothic *hauhs*), *þau* 'though, yet' (O.W. Scand. *þó*, O. Swed. *þō*, *þū*, Goth. *þau*, *þauh*), *Lau* proper name (O.W. Scand. *-lō*).

ERIK BJÖRKMAN.

## ON THE DATE OF THE UMLAUT OF *o* AND *u* IN MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN.

Middelnedertyske omlydsforhold belyst ved danske laanord. Clara Holst,  
*Arkiv för nordisk Filologi* 18. 1902, pp. 210-225.

The date of the umlaut of *o* and *u* in MLG. is still an open question. According to Grimm MLG. had only umlaut of *a*. The later umlaut of *o* and *u* Lübken in his MLG. grammar regards as due to HG. influence, and to have been introduced during Reformation period. The reason for this conclusion is that while umlaut of *a* is regularly indicated, that of *o* and *u* is not thus indicated before Luther. That the language of Luther and his followers had a considerable influence in northern Germany where the Reformation early established itself is known, but this influence was chiefly a lexicographical one. That it should have extended to the sounds of LG. is extremely unlikely. Behaghel has pointed out<sup>1</sup> that there is not infrequent interchange of *e* and *o* and of *i* and *u* in MLG., a fact that can only be explained on the assumption that *o* and *u* also served to represent the sound *ö* and *ü*, that is, that umlaut of *o* and *u* existed. In fact priority in the designation of the umlaut of *a* by no means proves priority of the umlaut of *a* over that of *o* and *u*, for, as Behaghel points out, the Latin alphabet offered a ready symbol for the designation of the umlaut of *a*, that is *e*, while it possessed no symbol that could adequately represent the sound that came from *o* and *u* by i-umlaut. The priority of the umlaut of *a* is possible but cannot be proved from German orthography. That umlaut of *a*, *o* and *u* all three existed in MLG. seems certain. What date must we assign to the umlaut of *o* and *u* if later than of *a*?

Umlaut of *a* first appears in writing in HG. in the middle of the 8th century.<sup>1</sup> That of *ä* appears first in Low Franconian in the 9th century.<sup>1</sup> Umlaut of *ä* is not designated elsewhere in Germany before the 11th or 12th century. Umlaut of *u* is first designated in the end of the OHG. period. Likewise that of *ü*. The latter was represented by *û*, *iu*, or *u*. The umlaut of *ö* is nowhere indicated in OHG., but with increasing regularity in the MHG. period. In MLG. there is, as has been said, no clear and consistent attempt to distinguish between the umlauted and the unumlauted vowel. The great orthographic confusion of MLG. increases the difficulty of the

<sup>1</sup> Paul, *Grundriss* I<sup>2</sup>, 694.

problem. The use of *a* to designate both *a* and *e* brought about a confusion as to the value of these symbols, resulting in the writing of *e* in numerous cases where the sound was actually *a*, and the same would of course hold good for the symbols *o* and *e* and *u* and *i*, though on LG. territory to a less extent, for here *o* and *u* stood quite generally for both the unumlauted and the umlauted vowel, that is here the historical writing prevailed later. Now the nearest symbol that the Latin alphabet offered for the umlaut of *u* was *i*. This, however, far from adequately represented the sound. Even long after the umlaut had taken place the sound was certainly much nearer *u* than *i* by reason of the rounding that is common to *u* and its umlaut. For a long time it would then be out of the question to represent the umlaut of *u* by *i*, the historical writing with *u* was also at the same time better phonetically. Not until the umlauted sound was sufficiently palatalized to occupy an approximately half-way position between *u* and *i* would *i* come to represent this new sound to any considerable extent. This consideration explains why the umlaut of *u* as indicated by *i* in LG. appears so much later in point of time than that of *a* as indicated by *e*. The case is very much the same with the graphic representation of the umlaut of *o*. The nearest symbol that the Latin alphabet offered for this was *e*. But for a long time *o* was a more exact sign for the umlaut of *o* than was *e*, and not until the palatalization of *o* had proceeded far enough so that the result was a sound approximately half-way between *o* and the sound that *e* commonly had stood for would *e* be likely to be employed to any considerable extent as its graphic symbol. When finally *e* had come to be used as the symbol of the umlauted *o*, the conditions were at hand that would lead to a confusion between the symbols *e*, *o* and *a* since *e* was also the symbol of the umlauted *a*. Under these conditions not only were *e* and *o* written frequently for one another but *a* might of course also appear for *o* and vice versa.

Clara Holst suggests as a reason for the late designation of umlaut of *o* and *u* the strongly labialized character of the North German unumlauted *o* and *u*, while in South German the sound has been unrounded and approximated to *e* and *i*. It is suggested that this pronounced labialization of LG. as compared with HG. may have existed already in MLG., so that a special designation was not felt to be necessary.

The suggestions here thrown out may be carried further. It is

very probable that the broadness of the umlaut of *á* and the open character of the umlaut of *o* and *u* which characterizes South German began early. It is likely that the South German umlaut of *o* in the Middle German period was an opener sound than that of North German (cf. J. Meier, *PBB.* xv. 333). The designation of the umlauted *o* by *e* would then begin earlier in South German than it would in North or Low German. In the introduction to his edition of the MLG. version of the *Legend of Mary Magdalen*, the date of which is 1449, in Vol. 4, No. 2 (1903), of this JOURNAL, Carl E. Eggert expresses the belief that the existence of an umlaut of short *o* and *u* in MLG. cannot be positively decided. The sign  $\ddot{\phantom{a}}$  placed over *y*, *u*, *o* served merely to prevent confusion with a following or preceding *n* or *m*. If, as Behagel states, MG.  $\ddot{u}$  represented two distinct sounds,  $\ddot{u}$  and  $\ddot{u}$ , this might also be true for LG. and the analogous proposition might hold for  $\ddot{o}$  that was originally long as well as *o* and *u* lengthened in open syllables and before *r*, hence *över*, *vögeln*, &c. Then it might also apply to short vowels (that remained short), *umme*, *sus*, *alsus*, &c., would then have to be written *ümme*, *süs*, *alsüs*. That there are, however, exceedingly few cases of poor rimes such as *o*:  $\ddot{o}$ , *u*:  $\ddot{u}$ , and he concludes that such rimes as *alsus*: *Maximus* 17-18, *sunde*: *stunde* 211-12, *sunde*: *wunde* 347-8, *hore*: *bevore* 35-6, were not intentionally impure, but that umlaut was a later development.

The confusion in writing between *u* and *i* which occurs in the word *schut* 727, where *u* stands for *i*, *schut* = *schit* < *schichen* (cf. M. Du. *geschien*) = *schehen*, *geschehen*, shows that *u* stood for *u* and *i*. Its double function is explainable only by the fact that umlaut existed here also. With regard to the umlaut of *ó* Behagel says: Auch bei urgerm. *ó* vor *i*, *j* erscheint im heutigen Niederdeutschen der Umlaut; über die Zeit seines Eintritts lässt sich nichts sicheres ermitteln (*Gr.* i<sup>2</sup>, 695).<sup>1</sup> With regard to the long vowels C. A. Eggert accepts umlaut of WG. *ó* as in HG. though not indicated in *behōde* 441, *gerōken* 298, *genōmen* 34, *sōte* 85, *fōte* n. l. 86, and *on tūge* 350. According to this then, umlaut of long *o* and *u* is prior to that of short *o* and *u*. Priority of umlaut would

<sup>1</sup> C. Holst referring to Behagel's statement in *Grundr.* i<sup>2</sup>, 694 says: 'En anden opfatning begynder dog nu at gjøre sig gjældende, den nemlig, at den mnt. omlyd er af en ældre datum og optræder samtidig med den mht,' where the reference is to the umlaut of  $\ddot{o}$  and  $\ddot{u}$ . In the statement in question in *Gr.* i<sup>2</sup>, 694, Behagel discusses only the short vowels, *a*, *ú* and *ó* being discussed below.

rather seem to be on the side of the short vowels, and the process must have taken place early in MLG. times.

C. Holst has in *Arkiv för nordisk Filologi*, 210-225 (1902), offered evidence from the form of MLG. loan-words in Middle Danish, showing that the words in question had the umlauted vowel farther back in the MLG. period than it would seem has been supposed. A downward limit can thus be fixed after which the umlaut of *ö* and *û* cannot be dated. The list here offered contains 54 words with the umlauted vowel corresponding to the umlauted vowel in present LG. The umlaut of *ö* and *û* is evidenced in 19 words, that of *û* in 8. The material for *ö* is more abundant, there being 27 words in which umlaut here is shown. The material represents especially the last half of the 14th century and the first half of the 15th. The umlaut of *ö* appears in loan-words as early as 1300, a little later the umlaut of *û*. The umlaut of *û* appears as early as 1300 and that of *ö* is indicated as early as 1387. It is not possible to separate *û* and *ö* in the loan-words, *û* having also quite often become *ö* in MLG.

The umlaut of *û* being evidenced as early at 1300 it is pretty certain that umlaut of *ö* also existed at that time. At this time then umlaut of *ö* and *û* is made certain in writing in loan-words in old Danish and this becomes the downward limit. We may then with safety put the date of umlaut of *o* and *u* both long and short in MLG. as early as 1250.<sup>1</sup> What can be attributed to HG. influence and Luther's language is the signs with which the umlaut was indicated and a growing consistency after the Reformation to indicate the umlaut of *o* and *u*, the umlaut itself, however, having become fairly general in the last half of the 13th century.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

<sup>1</sup>In *PBB.* 7 in his article 'Die Mundarten des alten niedersächsischen Gebietes zwischen 1300 und 1500 nach den Urkunden dargestellt,' H. Tümpel has (pp. 33-34, 41-42 and 50 ff.) listed a number of words from MLG. texts, many from the 14th century, where umlaut is indicated, but leaves the question undecided as to whether umlaut actually existed, as in the case of *u*, e. g., the sign used simply serves to differentiate it from *n* or *m*, while there are other signs that are quite unintelligible. Among the words having umlauted vowel indicated are *stucken* 1345 Oldenburg, *stucke* 1335 Osnabrück, *orkunde* 1343 Hildesheim, *dunket* 1336 Magdeburg, *worden* 1346 Hildesheim, *opinlekir* 1368 Quedlinburg, *sonen* 1345 Oldenburg, *sonc*, *gheboret* 1335 Mansfeld, *muren* 1345 Oldenburg, *versumt* 1346 Hildesheim, *hus* 1385 Salzburg, *wedel*, *noden*, *los*, *horcn*, *lopen* Hildesheim and *horen* 1349 Quedlinburg.

*Altisländisches Elementarbuch*, von B. Kahle. Heidelberg : Carl Winter, 1900.<sup>1</sup>

For academic courses in Icelandic there are now a number of grammars available which are practically up to date, but which differ widely from each other in regard to size and mode of presentation. Noreen's *Altisländische und Altnorwegische Grammatik*, in its third edition, 1903, a volume of 419 pages, is the standard work on the subject and the fountain-head of the other publications. It is one of those thoroughly satisfactory books which evade no difficulty, which encourage the reader's inquisitiveness by answering, in the right place, such side-questions as must present themselves to the careful student in his daily work. With its wealth of material and its clearness of disposition and expression, it imparts to the student a breath of the author's own spirit, his stern method in dealing with an intricate subject. And there are those of us who believe in placing just such books in the hand of the student, at the outset. But while the earnest young specialist will not be satisfied with anything short of Noreen, we may yet find, or think, it desirable at times, to select a shorter text book which can be gone through in an introductory course by a heterogeneous class of students. In such a case we may turn to Kahle, *Altisländisches Elementarbuch*, the third volume of Streitberg's series of Germanic grammars. On 238 pages it contains a bibliography, phonology, inflections, reading matter, syntactical remarks, vocabulary, grammatical indices, all in very clear and rationally differentiated print. It seems to offer all that is necessary for the beginner and to contain a complete little course in itself. And that is the trouble about it. In the hands of an indolent teacher it is apt to keep the student within its own little world and to leave him, at the end of the course, under the impression, that he has 'done his Icelandic.' Of course, this is not Kahle's intention ; the book is to form the basis upon which an academic course may be given by an earnest teacher who will supply his students with further information and direction. For Kahle gives only, what seems quite indispensable. By a skill-

<sup>1</sup> The date, 1900, is misleading. In reality the book was published in 1896. The present exact reprint makes no mention of that fact, but appears in the guise of a new book, a device which is clearly an injustice both to the author and to the public.

fully calculated wording of his rules he has worked a remarkable amount of correct information into his book; but, after all, Noreen's grammar is, itself, a model of conciseness, and the only way of producing a 'Kürzere Darstellung' was to present less material. This has been done, in the first place, by treating the Icelandic alone, a limitation which is scientifically quite commendable, but rather a luxury or an inconvenience. To write separate grammars of Icelandic and of Old Norwegian is about like making a special text book for each one of the Old High German or Old English dialects. In the second place, many individual details could be left out which are cases *sui generis* and throw no special light on the general structure of the language. Noreen mentions them mostly in his notes, in special print, and by ignoring them, an abridged text can readily be obtained without much serious loss from the strictly grammatical point of view. True, as soon as we turn to the reading of literature, these extras have a way of occurring, and Noreen's notes will then be found useful. Furthermore, the number of illustrative examples could be reduced, and often, several paragraphs of Noreen's, containing minutely differentiated rules, could be condensed into one general formula. This was a difficult and precarious matter; but it must be said, that Kahle has, on the whole, succeeded in wording such statements so felicitously, that while they are less explicit, they are in no way misleading. The remarks on the principal points of Icelandic syntax are about of the same character as those in Holthausen's *Elementarbuch*, and the whole chapter, brief as it is, forms a welcome addition, inasmuch as Noreen, unfortunately, says nothing on the subject, and there is no comprehensive treatise, in fact very little of anything on Norse syntax accessible to the student who is not familiar with the modern Scandinavian languages. In conclusion it should be said, that, while for his subject matter Kahle naturally depends chiefly upon Noreen, Wimmer and Lund, he has, nevertheless given us distinctly a grammar of his own, and it is needless to add, that the author of *die Sprache der Skalden*,—who is now one of the foremost Scandinavian scholars in Germany,—is a very safe guide. The first edition is, unfortunately, somewhat marred by an inordinate number of errata, an objectionable feature in a text book. Besides those which the author himself corrects on pp. 236 ff., I have noticed some which may be mentioned here, together with a few additional questions and suggestions.

Page VI. (Preface).—‘Der Leser wird beim Aufschlagen der Wörter sich die Veränderungen, besonders der Endvokale und des Wandels von *ø* zu *é* ins Gedächtniss rufen müssen.’ This is rather faulty German, and especially, the important rapprochement of *ø* zu *é* (and *ó* to *á*) is not mentioned in the grammar itself!

p. 6.—‘Das Nordgermanische bildet gegenüber dem Ostgermanischen und Westgermanischen eine Einheit.’ In this dogmatic form the statement is out of season; the student of Icelandic is sure to have heard it before; what he now wants, is the evidence.

p. 14.—It should be stated, that the character of *g* before *s* and *t* as a voiceless fricative is a transitory phase only.

p. 14.—The §§ 44, 45, 46 operate with speculations some of which are unfruitful and certainly confusing to the beginner, while others are unfounded. There is no reason why *hl* in *hlaupa* should be ‘stimmloses *l* und stimmhaftes *l*,’ when in *villa*, *mála*, *ræna* these sounds were quite voiceless. The question is a chronological one.

p. 15.—‘*v* ist ursprünglich labiolabial wie das *b* in mitteldeutschen Dialekten in ‘haben,’ später labiodental wie *f* in ‘fahren.’ (§ 228).’—A very unfortunate paragraph: The reference to § 228 is a misprint for 227; the *v* is not originally like *b* in Middle German dialects; the form in those dialects is not ‘haben,’ and *v* does not develop into a labiodental like *f* in ‘fahren.’ The paragraph should read: ‘*v*, ursprüngl. *u* consonans, wird zum labiolabialen, später zum labiodentalen, stimmhaften Reibelaut.’

p. 15.—*þ* is not always voiceless in Icelandic, nor in this grammar, but stands for the voiced fricative also.

p. 41.—The shortening of vowels before *l* + *consonant* is not plausible in view of the fact, that the same consonantal groups cause the opposite development, lengthening of short vowels, in Icelandic. It seems, so far as I can see, that the shortening takes place only before *l* + *double consonant*, and probably in syllables which have *not* the *chief stress*, and that *tolf* has been influenced by *tolft* and *tolfróðr*, *helge* by *helgr* and by combinations such as *enn hælge ánde* and names of saints in which the chief stress was on the noun (cp. Engl. *child* : *children*; Italian *San-* from *santo*).

p. 41.—In § 147 add *é* after aisl. *ei*.

p. 42.—In § 148 add *ó* after aisl. *au*.

p. 43.—In § 153 there is no reason why *ǣ* should not be given a



regular place in the seventh series. (cf., however, Noreen § 165.) To the various examples given by Noreen it may be permitted here to add *glögr* 'clear,' *gler* 'glass': *glóa*, O. Engl. *glōwan*.

p. 43.—After § 153 a few words on, and examples of, 'mixed series' would have been welcome.

p. 47.—'*keypta* aus *keyptða*, vgl. got. *kaupatjan*.' The Gothic *kaupatjan*, pret. *kaupasta* 'ohrfeigen' would alone not prove the existence of a West-Scandinavian \**keyptða*. Cf., however, Noreen § 229 anm. 6, where the real reason appears; only the *t* of *keypta* cannot be called 'urgermanisch,' like that of *þurfsta*; *keypta* belongs into Noreen's § 266; at least the reference to 259, 2 should be changed to 266.

p. 50.—In the first note to § 184 read 'velaren oder palatalen stimmlosen Reibelant.'

p. 66.—*iátneng* 'Bejahung'; when so many other, self-evident etymologies are given, some hint would have been in place here, or later on in connection with the verbs *iá* or *iátta*, indicating that \**jehan* is, partly at least, back of these words.

p. 82.—Read *laugen* for *laug*.

p. 91.—Read *spakare* for *spakara*, acc. fem.

p. 99.—*úgenn* alone is given without a word of explanation; yet Kahle's own texts show the organic short *i*.

p. 112.—Read *fóro* for *fóro*.

p. 122.—Here, or in § 464, the characteristic Norse preference for impersonal expressions should have been pointed out.

p. 124.—Read 'durch ihn' for 'gegen ihn.'

p. 132.—In speaking of the various functions of 'medio-passive' verbs we should take into consideration 1. that these fundamentally active verbs could be either reflexive or reciprocal; 2. that the pronoun originally denoted either the direct or the more indirect object. Of course, only the reflexive verbs with a direct pronoun object could gradually develop a passive meaning, while reciprocal verbs, and verbs like *kueðask*, *þykkjask*, or *staðfestask*, *eignask*, *haldask* (the latter group being combined with a mere 'dativus ethicus' or 'commodi') retained their active meaning. Whether in some of them the reflexive idea dropped into the background more than in others, is largely a matter of modern translation. We may say, that *staðfestask*, *eignask*, *haldask* mean 'to settle,' 'to appropriate,' 'to hold,' while Kahle calls them 'reflexive' verbs; on the

other hand, a German may feel *kueðomk*, *þykkjomk* as 'ich sage mir,' 'ich denke mir,' while Kahle mentions them as 'aktiv, d. h. die ursprüngliche medio-passive Bedeutung ist in den Hintergrund getreten.' The designation 'medio-passiv' is in this case a misnomer. The one precious remnant *heite* might have been mentioned in the note.—*settusk þau* 'sie setzten sich' is a curious illustration of *reciprocal* function!

Of the texts, pp. 145-185, not much is to be said, except that the translations and grammatical notes are useless, while the remarks on the history of Iceland and on the conditions of life on the island are quite helpful.

The vocabulary gives only the most rudimentary information and, at times, fails to enable the student to do justice to the text. The alphabetical order is not always strictly maintained; the difference between *ó* and *ö* should have been observed more carefully throughout the book. A few further details may be noticed.

p. 189.—*allz*, meaning 'when, as,' is not simply the genitive sing., but it consists of *allt* (or gen. *allz*) + *es*.

p. 189.—*andaðr* 'gestorben' is given under *anda* 'atmen,' while the form *endaðr* is not mentioned at all, nor *enda* from which it and probably *andaðr* are formed.

p. 196.—*fata* 's. *feta*'; but no *feta* is given.

p. 199.—Under *fyr* the characteristic expression *vera*, *verða*, *fyr sér* should be mentioned.

p. 201.—*gleðe* is given as neuter; it is feminine.

p. 201.—*golf* 'Fussboden, Diele'; the more common meaning is 'dwelling, room.'

p. 206.—*huaðan* 'vorher'; read 'woher.'

p. 210.—Why is *lageðr* given a special place, when similar forms of other verbs are not quoted?

p. 212.—*manvizbrekka* 'F?'; why this question in a case etymologically so clear as *brekka*?

p. 214.—Under *nauðsyn*: *oss berr nauðsyn* 'für uns liegt die Notwendigkeit vor.' The author seems to consider *nauðsyn* the subject of the phrase. The expression is an impersonal one = 'es thut uns Not.'

p. 219.—*setia*; the expression *setia ráð við* should have been mentioned.

p. 225.—*tígenn*; read *tigenn*.

p. 226.—*tryggðar*; the sing. form *tryggð* should have been mentioned also.

p. 228.—*vegr*; add M.

p. 228.—Under *veita*, '*honom er veit*'; the full expression is *honom er veit í*.

p. 231.—*þrióta* 'zu End gehen'; *veizlona þrytr* 'das Gastmahl geht zu Ende'; the case is like that quoted under *bera*; the verb is originally transitive (cf. Gothic *þriutan*) and the construction is an impersonal one.

p. 237.—Addition to § 220; *r* schwindet vor *s* 'gegen Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts'; the change appears to have occurred earlier, in the first half of the 13th century; cf. *vesalinga*, p. 150 (from the *Homilfubók*).

GUSTAF E. KARSTEN.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

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Otto Jespersen. *Sprogundervisning*. København, 1901.

In this small volume of 183 pages we have the fully matured views of a very competent authority on the teaching of languages. As is well known, Jespersen belongs to a small group of eminent phoneticians—Sweet, Storm, Lundell, Victor, Passy, etc.—who were led some years ago to take a keen interest in the practical questions of language-teaching, because they had observed that the ordinary work of the schools led to meagre and often shabby results. The pupil who had studied his modern language several years could neither pronounce it decently from a book, nor speak it so as to be understood by one to the manner born, nor write it without ridiculous blunders. His only valuable attainment was the ability to read books in the language studied,—of course with a very imperfect appreciation of idiomatic niceties. This seemed to show that methods of teaching must be radically vicious; for it was matter of common observation that children under favorable conditions could in a few months acquire by imitation a proficiency such as the schools utterly failed to impart after years of effort.

Hence came the conviction on the part of prominent linguistic scholars like those mentioned above that a reform was really needed

and should be taken up by men of science and not left entirely to the advertising *Sprachmeister*. Almost from the first Jespersen has been identified with the reform agitation whose now copious literature is commonly referred back to Vietor's pamphlet *Quousque Tandem*, of the year 1883, as its fountain-head. In the book at hand he reviews the whole subject, devoting some attention to each and all of the pedagogical recommendations of the new school and not hesitating to say again some things that he has said before. His examples usually have regard to the teaching of English and French to Danish children, but the principles set forth are more or less applicable wherever a living language is the subject of instruction. The extensive acceptance of the new doctrines is hinted at in the motto from Hamlet : "This was sometime a paradox, but now the time gives it proove."

The author first discusses, with a touch of humor, the multifarious names that have been suggested for the new ideas in their totality,—as the reform method, the new, newer and newest method; the natural, rational, correct, direct, and phonetic method; the imitative, analytic, concrete, observational, conversational, anti-grammatical, and even the "quousquistic" method. Of course none of these names is quite satisfactory. After considering the very important subject of aim in teaching Jespersen pays his respects to that all-too-familiar type of school exercise which consists of disconnected sentences put together without rime or reason. Some good illustrations of the bad thing are given from much-used Danish school-books. Next there is a discussion of reading-matter for beginners. This, the author urges, should consist of connected, sensible, interesting literature, showing the every-day words, phrases and idioms of the language as naturally and correctly employed. It is not at all necessary, in his opinion, to guard against the occurrence in the reading-lesson of grammatical "difficulties" that have not yet been systematically dealt with.

On the two subjects about which the reformers have always made the most ado, translation and the teaching of grammar, Jespersen expresses himself at some length. As for translation, he does not condemn it absolutely, but evidently thinks that it should be resorted to sparingly, as being "not the only nor the best means of imparting knowledge." He devotes considerable space to a discussion of the various expedients by which it can be dispensed with.

The value of translation as a means of testing the learner, for example, of finding out whether he has a clear and correct idea of that which he is supposed to have learned before, is not denied; but here again Jespersen would prefer to have the teacher find out in some other way if possible.

On the whole, I think I have less dread of translation than has Jespersen. The subject is one that can be debated endlessly without arriving at a rule of procedure valid under all circumstances. I can imagine a good teacher saying, after reading Jespersen on translation: Why all this beating about the bush to avoid what may be the shortest and easiest way to the desired end? It is true that an excessive reliance upon translation, whether from or into the language that is being studied, begets bad habits. It is also true that the child, in learning his mother tongue, or in learning by imitation a language not his mother tongue, does not ordinarily make use of translation. Nor does he have any need of paradigms and grammatical rules. His knowledge of and feeling for the proprieties of the language come to him by a different process. But it can not be claimed that this is an essential process. It consists of a long series of impressions, with resulting mental reactions and readjustments, which extend over years. But when the learner is one who already knows one language (his mother tongue), and we wish to give him a new set of symbols for the expression of his thought, is it not wise economy to make free use of what he already knows? It is not sound theory that an English-speaking child, say of ten or twelve years, must be taught the meaning of *Bitte, machen Sie das Fenster auf*, in the same slow way that a German child learns it. Of course one can do it if he sets about it. By letting the pupil hear a very large number of properly modulated sentences beginning with *bitte*, one can at last convey the idea that the word is one to be used in making a polite request. So too by pointing to a window in his presence, or showing him a picture of a window, and pronouncing the word *Fenster* at the same time, one can let him know what the noun means. By opening the window a sufficient number of times and saying *ich mache auf* and *ich mache zu*, or by having members of the class execute the order, one can show how the particles are used. By still more roundabout devices one can contrive to let him know when he must say *machen Sie das Fenster auf*, and when *mache das Fenster*

*auf*. But isn't all this very much like using the deaf-and-dumb alphabet with a person who can talk? How much easier it is to put the learner on the right track at the outset by telling him that the German way of saying *Please open the window*, if he is talking to his teacher, is *bitte, machen Sie das Fenster auf*, and if he is talking to a schoolmate, *bitte, mache das Fenster auf*. The question, How soon he shall learn to parse *bitte* and to conjugate *aufmachen* etc. is another question to be answered in the light of the learner's age and capabilities. There is no hard-and-fast rule on this subject, and it is best not to have a morbid dread of either grammar or translation. Just as writers who write for children often blunder by writing down to them too much, so one may easily make the mistake of teaching down to them. Here as elsewhere, what is needed is not a vigorous and rigorous theory, but a good command of the language one is teaching, a clear view of the goal to be reached, a sympathetic interest in the pupil and a pliable mind that can profit by the results of experience.

In reading Prof. Jespersen I have naturally been interested to compare his views with those set forth in the Report of our American Committee of Twelve. There are some differences between us, but a journal of philology is hardly the place to debate them. Suffice it to say that they are nowhere radical; they relate not so much to the nature of the goal as to the comparative effectiveness of certain devices for reaching it. Some questions of this kind, for example, that of the initial use of a phonetic alphabet, will have to be settled by experience. Meanwhile I heartily commend Prof. Jespersen's book to American teachers.<sup>1</sup> It is sane, practical, illuminative. Some of his views may appear to them too "advanced"; but a stimulating counsel of perfection is always better than a handy rule of thumb.

CALVIN THOMAS.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

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<sup>1</sup> English translation by Mrs. Yhlen-Olsen Bertelsen to be published soon by Sonnenschein & Co. London.

## ICELANDIC-AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS. 1903.

- Lögsberg*. Vol. 16. Edited by M. Paulson. Published weekly by The Lögsberg Printing and Publishing Co. Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. Folio.
- Heimskringla*. Vol. 17. Editor, B. L. Baldwinson. Published weekly by The Heimskringla News and Publishing Co. Winnipeg. Folio.
- Aldamót*. 12th year. Editor, Fr. J. Bergmann. Published annually by the Icelandic Evangelical Lutheran Synod of America. Winnipeg. 175 pp. 8o.
- Sameiningin*. Vol. 17. Editor, Jón Bjarnason. Published monthly by O. S. Thorgeirsson. Winnipeg. 8o.
- Kennarinn*. Vol. 6. Editor, N. S. Thorláksson. (Published as supplement to *Sameiningin*.)
- Dagskrá*. New series, vol. 1. Editor, Sigurður Júlíus Johannesson. Published quarterly by the Jafnaðarmannafélag Íslendinga. Winnipeg. Small 8o.
- Freyja*. Vol. 6. Edited by Margrjet J. Benedictsson. Published monthly by The Freyja Printing and Publishing Co. Winnipeg. 8o.
- Almanak*. 9th year. Published annually by O. S. Thorgeirsson. Winnipeg. 115 pp. 8o.
- Almanak*. 4th year. Published annually by S. B. Benedicts-son. Winnipeg. xii + 56 pp. Small 8o.
- Svava*. Vol. 6. Editor, G. M. Thompson. Published three times a month by The Svava Printing and Publishing Co. Gimli, Man. Small 8o.
- Vinland*. Vol. 2. Edited by Th. Thordarson and Björn B. Jónsson. Published monthly by G. B. Björnson. Minneota, Minnesota. 4o.

Iceland has contributed to the world's present population, in round numbers, 100,000 persons. Three-fourths of these maintain existence in the old home, and practically all of the remainder are living under somewhat more favorable circumstances in the New World. The emigration proper from Iceland to North America

was begun rather cautiously in 1870 by a few men who settled in Wisconsin. Two years later others ventured into Canada, where, in 1875, numbers of Icelanders chose new homes for their families in the Province of Manitoba. In the following years the stream of immigrants into the British provinces and into the states of Minnesota and North Dakota, in particular, increased greatly in volume, though in recent years it has very noticeably subsided. There are also colonies in the state of Washington, in the Canadian North-West Territories, and especially in Manitoba, where the Icelanders with their descendants number perhaps 10,000.<sup>1</sup> There are a dozen or more settlements in this province, the largest being in the city of Winnipeg, where the Icelandic population is 4000, and in the "Gimli Colony," or *Ný Ísland*, on the western shore of Lake Winnipeg, which numbers about 2500.

The Icelandic-Americans preserve the reputation of their people as one in which illiteracy is rarely found. As long ago as 1877, Lord Dufferin, then Governor-General of Canada, remarked in a public address in Winnipeg that he "hardly entered a hovel in Gimli which did not contain a library." Several Icelanders have been elected to seats in the legislatures of North Dakota and of Manitoba, and Icelandic names appear on the registers of many American colleges and universities.

To meet the immediate needs of these people there has been a considerable development in journalism on the new soil. In the list above appear the titles of the various publications now regularly appearing in Icelandic in America. Many of these are scarcely important enough to deserve comment here, though either *Lögberg* or *Heimskringla*, in addition to two or three of the best European Icelandic journals, would not be an unwise addition to any well-equipped Germanic library.

*Lögberg* is an eight-page weekly newspaper with a literary supplement. It was established in 1888 under the editorship of the well-known writer Einar Hjörleifsson. From 1895 to 1901 it was edited by the Hon. Sigtryggr Jónasson, a moving-spirit in the founding of the Gimli-Colony. The policy of *Lögberg* has been "to protect and further the interests of the Icelandic immigrants in this country, both north and south of the international boundary,

<sup>1</sup> 8271 by the census of 1900, but in the opinion of the chief census officer of the Province, this was below the actual number.



and to help them in their struggle to become good and worthy citizens." In Canadian politics it supports the Liberal party. *Lögberg* enjoys a large circulation both at home and in Europe.

The other important weekly newspaper, *Heimskringla*, has four pages in each issue, exclusive of supplements. Founded in 1886, it was conducted editorially in 1890 and 1891 by the lamented Gestur Pálsson. Publication was discontinued for some months previous to 1897, but the journal is now on a sound basis with a subscription-list of 2400. The editor and business manager, Mr. Baldwinson, was recently elected to the legislature of Manitoba by the Conservative party. The price of *Heimskringla* and of *Lögberg* is two dollars a year.

The excellently printed and carefully edited review, *Aldamót*, contains, besides religious articles and sermons, reviews of recent theological and secular books and periodicals. The editor, Fr. J. Bergmann, is a lecturer in the Icelandic Language and Literature in Wesley College, Winnipeg.

Another publication of the Lutheran Church is the neat sixteen-page magazine, *Sameiningin*. Sermons, religious poems, short articles, and miscellaneous personal and literary notes of interest to the members of the denomination make up the contents of each number. An eight-page supplement, *Kennarinn*, furnishes a commentary to the Sunday School lessons for the month.

After a rather unsettled existence in Iceland and in Canada, *Dagskrá* began to appear in July of this year as a neat little quarterly. The first number has 96 pages. *Dagskrá* is an "independent literary and critical journal, advocating reform along Socialistic lines." It advocates temperance and supports the work of the Independent Order of Good-Templars among the Icelanders.

*Freyja* is a popular magazine for women and the home. Each number contains about 48 pages. Circulation 1000.

The *Almanak* published by O. S. Thorgeirsson contains each year several instructive articles of a popular nature, one or more on the history of the various Icelandic settlements, a short story (generally a translation), brief obituaries of Icelandic-Americans, etc. The feature of the last issue is the account on pages 34-76 by Rev. Fr. J. Bergmann of the settling of Icelanders in Winnipeg and the Gimli Colony. Twenty pages of verse appear in the literary part of S. B. Benedictsson's *Maple Leaf Almanac*.

The interesting little magazine, *Svava*, is published three times a month, with 52 pages in each part. It contains original or translated articles on educational topics, popular science, biography, travel, etc., besides poems and short stories.

The only regular Icelandic publication in the United States is the recently established *Vinland*. The object of this journal, as expressed by one of the editors, "is to help our people to understand the conditions under which they now live, and to become good American citizens, while yet retaining whatever good they have as a distinct nationality." *Vinland* has been successful and was considerably enlarged after its first year.

CHARLES ALLYN WILLIAMS.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

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*Hrotsvithae Opera* recensuit et emendavit Paulus de Winterfeld (Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicis separatim editi.), XXIV, 562 pp. Berlin, Weidmann. 12mo.

The merit of this new edition of Hrotsvith consists chiefly in the careful treatment and study of the text itself. The rimed prose of the plays may, at times, suggest a different typographical arrangement, but apart from this elusive and unimportant point von Winterfeld's text is probably definitive. Scattered through the introduction, notes and appendices there is also to be found much new information, chiefly on points of grammar and diction and sources. We regret all the more, that the editor who through long years of study has gained such a clear insight into the various phases of his subject, has not given us a synthetic characterization of Hrotsvith's personality and an appreciation of the artistic and cultural value of her work. To be sure, the tradition of the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* and the very fact, that in accordance with the policy of the series, the editor himself uses the Latin language throughout his book, probably made the addition of such a general, orienting chapter impracticable, and we only hope, that von Winterfeld may soon take occasion to give us, in a more generally accessible form, his present views on a subject on which there is the greatest diversity of opinion among

scholars of the past and of the present day, and on which there is now no man more competent to speak than he. In the meantime, a careful study of the present edition will contribute much towards a better understanding of the whole Hrotsvith question.

In a brief Introduction the editor first presents the few data of Hrotsvith's life which may with safety be gathered from the familiar passages of her work. No new material could be adduced here; but von Winterfeld interprets and judges the evidence with the unbiased circumspection of the true historian which is evident throughout his book. The words 'longo post' (mortem Ottonis, 912) 'tempore natae,' he points out, do not really refer to Hrotsvith, but to her companions in general; however, they are ipso facto applicable to the writer herself. The date of her birth, usually given as 930, he places about 935. He does not give us his reasons; but, I think he is right, because Hrotsvith—who refers to her abbess Gerberg (born not before 939) as being 'aetate minor' but 'scientia provecior'—cannot have been much older than the latter, for she, Hrotsvith herself, began writing at an early age.

Aschbach's Celtes theory is not mentioned anywhere in the book. As many of our readers are aware, Professor Aschbach undertook to prove, in 1867, that Hrotsvith was a fictitious personality, and that the manuscript which the Humanist Celtes claimed to have discovered was in reality a forgery of his own and of his accomplices. This theory, discredited long ago by Waitz and others, has been definitely disposed of by von Winterfeld's discovery of a twelfth-century copy of Hrotsvith's *Gallicanus*.

On pp. xvi-xxiii we find a readable text of the *Sequentia d. S. Basilio* of which so far only a diplomatic reprint by Piper was available, in the *D. N. L.* 162. 226-228, and of the *Dialogus Terentianus*, from a Paris ms. of the ninth century. This dialogue is interesting because of the singular hostility against Terence which it exhibits, and which calls to mind the corresponding passage in Hrotsvith's Praefatio. But while the latter's indignation is evoked by the demoralizing influence of Terence, we find here, in the *Dialogus*, a supercilious sneering at his antiquated style, his senility and inferior poetic art. Indeed, the whole reads rather like a satire on some medieval would-be rival of Terence; the Persona Delusoris behaves very much as Goethe's Baccalaureus does in the second part of *Faust*.

The text itself is carefully prepared on the basis of the Codex

Monacensis and accompanied, at the bottom of each page, below the critical apparatus, by *exempla*, parallel passages from other works of Hrotsvith herself and from older writers with whom, directly or indirectly, she appears to have been acquainted. These *exempla*, gathered by a scholar so well versed in imperial and medieval Latin literature, enable us to form a pretty clear idea of Hrotsvith's literary horizon and particularly also of the extent to which she imitated Terence. This question was treated by Roberts in *M. L. N.* 16. 239 ff., and his remarks will be found essentially correct. To be sure, his argument, that Hrotsvith wrote her dramas in prose, while the comedies of Terence are in verse, counts for nothing ; for Hrotsvith wrote not exactly in prose, but in 'rimed prose,' and on the other hand 'Terentii versus medio aevo prosa videbantur' as our editor points out in another connection, and as we see from a passage in the *Dialogus Terentianus* 'an sit prosaicum, nescio, an metricum.' Nor can it be rightly said, that Terentiana are altogether lacking in the work of Hrotsvith. There are a number of passages which reflect Terentian prototypes. I counted eight in *Gallicanus* alone. But they betray familiarity rather than imitation, and not one of them is of any real consequence. It is never a question of fact or thought or feeling, but invariably some convenient expression only, such as might readily slip into the diction of anyone familiar with Terence. And Hrotsvith's own concession of a certain similarity between her works and those of Terence, far from acknowledging any imitation, must not even be understood, with Roberts, as referring to the dramatic form in general ; it is, as I take it, purely an apology for the somewhat startling freedom in her treatment of certain situations which she reluctantly admitted into her work, and for which she duly accounts,—in her *Praefatio* on p. 106,—on the ground, that she had to fight the devil with fire. The traces of Vergil's influence, though rather numerous, are equally slight, while now and then an idea or a secondary motive has been adapted from Prudentius, Symmachus, Hieronymus, Boethius and, through him, from Aristotle and the Greek mathematicians.<sup>1</sup>

Some expressions appear to be of a proverbial<sup>2</sup> character.

Quite unmistakable, it seems to me, though as yet not explained,

<sup>1</sup> So especially the grotesque display of philosophical and mathematical speculations in *Pafnutius* and *Sapientia*.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. e. g. p. 147 and p. 108 ( 'trium testimonium constat esse verum' ).

is the connection between the famous passage in Hrotsvith's *Lapsus et Conversio Theophili Vicedomini* in which the despairing sinner prays :

Heu mihimet misero cunctis probis vitiato ! . . . .  
 Quid dicturus ero nimium peccator in illo  
 Tempore iudicii sanctis ipsis metuendi . . . ,  
 Vel quis forte mei tunc apponet misereri,  
 Cum vix pro meritis iustus salvatur opimis

and the *Dies irae* of Thomas of Celano

Quid sum miser tunc dicturus  
 Quem patronum rogaturus  
 Cum vix iustus sit securus

The sources which our editor quotes for Hrotsvith could alone hardly account for this peculiar similarity of expression. But the most characteristic feature of Hrotsvith's style I find in the frequency with which she repeats not only her plots, as has often been remarked, but also expressions from earlier works of hers. This mannerism, though indicative of a certain short circuit in her psychological make-up, is not due to any poverty as to thought or means of expression, but rather the result of monastic self-centredness and intenseness of purpose. Our editor speaks, in another connection, of the femininity of her style, and a brave woman, indeed, our Hrotsvith was, justly proud of her gifts and resolved to make the most of them. On the vulgar talk about the intellectual inferiority of woman no latter-day champion of her cause could express herself more pointedly and at the same time gracefully : 'largitor ingenii' (i. e. deus) 'tanto amplius in me iure laudaretur, quanto muliebris sensus tardior esse creditur.' In the light of such passages we see the smile on her lips, when she speaks of her 'feminea fragilitas,' and when she submits her *Gesta Ottonis* to her beloved abbess Gerberg thus : Si tamen sanae mentis examen accesserit, quae res recte pensare non nescit, quanto sexus fragilior, scientiaque minor, tanto venia erit facilior.

The text is followed, in our edition, by a fairly complete Index Verborum and a very helpful Index grammaticus. However, the linguistic peculiarities of Hrotsvith may be of interest to the Latinist and Romanist rather than to the student of German literature. Only a few points might be mentioned here. A striking feature of her vocabulary is the abundance of diminutive nouns and adjectives.

v. Winterfeld says, that in this respect she almost equals Catullus, and he is inclined to recognize in it, in the case of Hrotsvith, an element of feminine Latinity. This may be right; but the chief reason, I think, is to be found in the general tendency of the language itself. In the old writers, the diminutive still has, largely at least, its original meaning; Catullus employs it with distinction, as a favorite means of mockery; in Hrotsvith, on the other hand, the use of the diminutive ending has become chronic, largely meaningless. The gradual supplanting of normal words by their diminutives, so frequent in all popular speech and especially common in the Romance languages, is here illustrated in its extreme limit.

Another point of interest to students of Language in general we see in the double quantity of vowels before muta + liquida: *intēgrum*, *intēgrum*. In dealing with the same phenomenon and its results in Old French I have always looked upon these duplicate forms as due to 'phonétique syntactique.' We have long learned from Professor H. Paul to understand the differentiation of MHG. *fāter* to Modern German *Vāter*, in such a phrase as *mein | Vāter | kam | nicht*, and to dialectal *Vāter*, in *mein | Vāt(e)r ist ge | kommen*. So also in medieval Latin: a stress group of but few syllables, and a consonant following upon the liquida, will tend to make the liquida more or less vocalic, and the preceding syllable is then open, and its vowel is free to remain or become long: *integer vitae* and perhaps *integram domum* (= *intēgram*) develop ē. A stress group of several syllables, on the other hand, and a vowel following upon the liquida, will make the liquida a pure consonant, so that muta + liquida close the syllable and cause the vowel to become or remain short: *integ(e)r et intactus*, *integram mansionem* retain ē.

From his Latin manuscripts the editor concludes, that the correct nominative forms are Hrotsvit, Gerberg, not Hrotsvitha, Gerberga. The absence of the ending *a* is quite in keeping with the laws governing the fate of final vowels in Westgermanic. The final *t* (in Hrotsvit) however, is nothing but an inexact rendering of the voiceless fricative *p* or *th*; it is different from the *t* of the first syllable which has legitimately developed out of *th* before *s*. The correct form, then, is Hrotsvith.

GUSTAF E. KARSTEN.

*Hrotsvit von Gandersheim.* Von Dr. Karl Strecker. (*Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, Geschichte und Deutsche Literatur, und für Pädagogik.*) 1903. XI<sup>ten</sup> und XII<sup>ten</sup> Bandes, 8. und 9. Heft.

The appearance of von Winterfeld's edition of Hrotsvith's works has called forth this comprehensive article which summarizes the whole Hrotsvith literature. Dr. Strecker's account extends over the September and October numbers of the *Jahrbücher*, and is divided into five sections dealing respectively with the history of the monastery of Gandersheim and the life of the poetess; with the legends upon which are based Hrotsvith's first seven poems, Maria, Gongolfus, Pelagius, Theophilus, Basilius, Dionysius, Agnes; with her plan to offset the influence of Terence by writing the six comedies Gallicanus, Dulcitius, Callimachus, Abraham, Pafnutius, Sapientia; with the sources and the merit of her historical works, principally of the *Gesta Oddonis*; and with the various editions of Hrotsvith's writings and the theories held with regard to the authenticity and importance of her works. A short critical bibliography is given at the beginning of the article.

Strecker agrees with von Winterfeld upon 930 as the year of Hrotsvith's birth; he also adopts the manuscript spelling of her name, *Hrotsvit*<sup>1</sup> for the nominative, *Hrotsvithae*, etc. (with an *h*), for the oblique cases. He takes for granted, that Hrotsvith was influenced by Terence. J. E. Sandys, the latest writer touching upon this point, even makes the statement on page 607 of his *History of Classical Scholarship* that 'Terence was closely imitated by Hrosvitha.'<sup>1</sup>

Hrotsvith's historical works are discussed at some length. Her *Gesta Oddonis*, though of great importance as a historical monument, is yet primarily a poem. That she exchanged ideas with Widukind of Corvey is not improbable. Her latest work, the *Primordia*, was written a few years after 970. Interesting in this connection might be a comparison of the story of Gandersheim with the *Life* of its first abbess, Hathumoda, by Agius (translated into German by Georg Grandeur, *Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*, No. 83).

<sup>1</sup>See, however, the discussion of these questions by G. E. Karsten in his review of von Winterfeld's edition of Hrotsvith, p. 408 of this Journal.

With reference to the value of Hrotsvith's work, Strecker quotes the various estimates, from Magnin's 'une gloire pour l'Europe entière' to Lejay's 'les idées enfantines, la brusqueries de péripéties, l'immoralité naïve, le comique inconscient.' His own appreciation is sympathetic, yet sober and judicious.

Strecker's lucid and comprehensive essay will be highly welcome to all those who cannot, themselves, enter upon a critical study of the Hrotsvith problems.

FREDERICK W. C. LIEDER.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

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*Allitterierende Wortverbindungen bei Goethe. Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Königlichen Alten Gymnasiums in Nürnberg.* Von Dr. Wilhelm Ebrard, kgl. Gymnasialprofessor. Erster Teil, 1899. Zweiter Teil, 1901. Nürnberg, M. Edelmann.

Although Part I of this work appeared in 1899, and Part II in 1901, it is not too late to give the book the notice that it merits. The author first draws attention to the importance of alliteration in German literature, and states that the subject has been very little studied so far as Goethe is concerned. He has limited his investigation to alliterative combinations of co-ordinate parts of speech, that is, nouns with nouns, verbs with verbs, etc., believing that this is the most essential kind, and besides, he says, the whole field would be too extensive. That Goethe did not use alliteration unconsciously or accidentally, but that he had a fine feeling for the charm and the beauty of this quality of style, is evident beyond a doubt, and may be definitely proved by comparing the original editions of some of his works with the later revisions, which show many changes in favor of alliteration. Ebrard does this by putting in parallel columns extracts from different editions of *Götz von Berlichingen*, *Iphigenie*, and other works. It is likewise worthy of note that in the case of translations, Goethe made frequent use of alliterative expressions even when the original did not directly suggest it. This practice may be demonstrated by comparing with the French Goethe's translation of Diderot's *Neveu de Rameau*. After this preliminary discussion the author formulates, as a working basis,



these three questions: (1) To what extent did Goethe increase the fund of existing alliterative expressions by new combinations? (2) Does alliteration occur in Goethe's prose works to the same extent as in his poetical works? (3) Did Goethe in all the periods of his literary activity make the same use of alliteration? The author disposes of the first question in Part I, and he devotes Part II to the second and third, but in inverse order.

To give a full and final answer to the question whether Goethe enlarged the alliterative field of German, Ebrard deems it best to discuss alliteration under two general heads, namely, form and thought. Under each one of these he makes several subdivisions, such as *Anlaut*, *Inlaut*, *Vorsilben*, *Substantiva*, *Eigennamen*, etc. One of the most interesting chapters under the general subject of form deals with alliteration combined with assonance and rhyme. It is a universally accepted opinion that alliteration is most pleasing and most beautiful when the internal vowels of the alliterative words do not agree (cp. Hildebrand, *Beiträge z. deutschen Unterricht*, 1897, p. 172; also Schulze in Herrig's *Archiv*, xlviii, 443 ff.). Still, alliteration with assonance is almost as common as without it. We find both types in Goethe's works side by side, as for example, *Lohn*, *Lob*—*Liebe*, *Lob*; *Schmach*, *Schande*—*Schimpf*, *Schande*; *rein*, *reich*—*rein*, *ruhig*. On the other hand, alliteration in combination with rhyme was very rare, yet Goethe furnishes numerous specimens, for instance, *Ausfüllung und Ausführung*; *Behaglichkeit und Beharrlichkeit*; *stillen Melancholien, süssen Melodien*. In such expressions the rhyme overshadows the alliteration. They are unpleasant to the ear, and at best they possess very little musical virtue. Another kind that is of frequent occurrence in Goethe's works is what Ebrard designates as *Parallelstellung*. It might appropriately be called balanced alliteration. A few examples will sufficiently illustrate the nature of it: *auf Balken zu schaukeln und auf Brettern zu schwingen*; *als Denker mit ihm, als Dichter mit mir*; *in seinem ganzen Wert, in seiner vollen Würde*. As regards the subject of thought, Ebrard finds that in the great majority of alliterative expressions used by Goethe related ideas or meanings predominate; oftentimes the words are synonyms, as *Ruh' und Rast*, *frank und frei*, or they belong in the same category, as *Degen und Dolch*, *Kisten und Kasten*. According to the collections of Grimm, Zingerle, and Schulze the German language possesses about 530

of such established couplets. Of these 330 have been found in Goethe's writings, while the whole number of alliterations used by him amounts to 3600. This disproportion indicates his originality.

In studying the question whether Goethe used alliteration to the same extent in all periods of his literary activity, Ebrard discovered that before the year 1770 it was rare in his published works, and he attributes this fact in part to Goethe's experience in Leipzig (1765-1768), where his dialect was a subject of ridicule, and where he was expected, according to his own statement in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, to sacrifice 'mit der Aussprache zugleich Denkweise, Gefühl, vaterländischen Charakter,' and to forget that he had read Geiler von Kaisersberg, and to give up the use of 'Chroniken-Ausdrücke' and 'Sprichwörter.' Beginning with this year, 1770, alliteration appears with constantly increasing frequency in all his writings to the end of his long career. Ebrard has investigated even the life of individual combinations which Goethe used in the sixty-eight years of his literary activity. In this respect there is the greatest diversity; there are many that appear only a single time, and this fact is likewise a proof of the inexhaustible richness of his language; others seem to have been favorites and occur repeatedly. The following, with their slight variations, are among the most common: *Wert Würde*, sixty-one times; *kennen Künstler*, forty; *leben lieben*, forty-three; *leiden lieben*, thirty-four; *leben leiden*, twenty-seven. In the light of Goethe's love-affairs, the last three couplets tell of sorrow and suffering, by which the hearts of others were torn and tortured.

In any discussion of the relative frequency of alliteration in Goethe's prose and in his poetry, it must be borne in mind that the great bulk of his works is prose. It has been stated that alliteration appears in all his productions with ever-increasing frequency, and while at the same time his prose works constantly were outgrowing in quantity his verse, it can be seen from this circumstance alone that the alliteration in his prose works necessarily outweighs that in his poetry. By a careful investigation Ebrard has noted that Goethe's original alliterative expressions appear more often in his prose than in his verse, and that the traditional forms are only sparingly employed in the former. After persevering culling and patient counting the author is able to record that in *Faust, Part I* (4613 lines), there are only fifty-one cases of alliteration, and in

*Iphigenie* (2174 lines) only twenty-seven, but in *Torquato Tasso* (3453 lines) there are forty-six, while *Faust, Part II* (7498 lines), is richest of all with one hundred and thirty-nine examples. *Götz von Berlichingen* shows an increasing number in its successive editions, as noted before (cp. also *Zeitschrift für deutsche Sprache*, x, 179 ff.). As to the larger prose works, we find, after taking into account the difference in size, that the *Wanderjahre* and the *Wahlverwandtschaften* stand at the head of the list in richness in alliteration.

The results of Ebrard's studies may be summed up as follows: (1) Goethe enriched and extended in all directions alliteration in the German language; (2) From the year 1770 on through the whole period of his literary activity he employed alliteration with increasing frequency; (3) While alliteration appears in all the different kinds of Goethe's writings, it was in his prose works that he used it most extensively, and it is here that we find the great majority of his original alliterative expressions.

To some scholars much of this investigation may seem unimportant if not useless, yet it shows the great richness and flexibility of Goethe's language, and the book is therefore a valuable supplement to Lehmann's *Goethe's Sprache und ihr Geist*. In addition, alliteration is a subject that deserves more attention than it has received. I am sure that if one will work his way through this mass of material and study the passages cited, one will have a better conception of the nature, the beauty, and the charm of alliteration, when handled by an author with a sense of form and an appreciation of music and melody.

CHARLES BUNDY WILSON.

THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

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*Goethe's Egmont*. Edited with Introduction and Notes, by Robert Walter Deering, Ph. D. Henry Holt & Co., N. Y., 1903.

The chief points of dispute in connection with an edition of *Egmont* are apt to be the same that were raised on the first appearance of the drama: the extent to which the conventional canons of the tragedy are observed or neglected, the propriety or impropriety

of the alteration in Egmont's character and domestic relations, and other like questions. And the dispute on these points is likely to resolve itself finally into a dispute over tastes, regarding which we have been warned from of old. Nevertheless, so worthy an edition as Dr. Deering's, from the point of view of the needs of the college student, deserves more attention than the simple mark of approval.

The introduction to a foreign text has become largely an essay on the author and the particular work, having little or no interest for the common student, at least until after he has finished reading the text. Aside from the historical account of the way in which the piece arose and the portrayal of the historical situation, if such be involved, the introduction comprises analyses of the action and the characters, a discussion of the technical artistic principles involved and an estimate of the significance and value of the whole. All of these latter points appeal much more to the adept than to the beginner. Yet this fact does not militate against introductions thus constructed, for it should be understood that much of the editorial work is directly for the benefit of the teacher rather than of the pupil.

There is quite general consent to the proposition that Goethe was not preëminent as a playwright. Dr. Deering, however, thinks he discovers quite an extraordinary system and symmetry in the arrangement of the scenes of *Egmont*. But does it not seem highly improbable that Goethe should have planned that scenes 1, 2 and 3 of act II should correspond seriatim, as effects, to scenes 1, 2, and 3 of act I, as causes, even though this relation may in fact exist? Or does it seem like Goethe, especially in earlier years, to have planned so that the first scenes of the successive acts should depict the popular view of a situation, and the second scenes of these acts the view held by the rulers? Unity of theme and coherent thought about it produce inevitably a certain amount of symmetry; is there really warrant for finding deliberate artistic theory at the bottom of such symmetry as *Egmont* shows?

Certainly no one should undertake to edit a piece of literature who is not on the whole in sympathy with it. But this reasonable demand does not require the editor to assume his author to be infallible. Dr. Deering seems to me to come too near to this latter standpoint. Whether from indifference or inability, Goethe was a poor playwright. Why, then, claim for him an observance of the

three unities, especially since we have long ago ceased to regard this observance as essential to a good tragedy? The unity of place is observed, says Dr. Deering, since "the scene changes only so often as the action demands." Whoever could want the scene to change more frequently? The unity of place, if it means anything, requires the selection or construction of an action that will not demand change of scene. No less generously does our editor deal with the restrictions of the unity of time: "Events are condensed into the shortest possible time consistent with what must happen within that time. Act I occupies two days with several days between scenes 1 and 2; after an interval of several days II and III fall on one day; after some weeks the scenes of IV follow on two days, separated by a day or so; V follows a few hours after IV and occupies two days, with one day between scenes 2 and 3. Egmont is then executed on the morning of the third day." If these are the unities of time and place, what a deal of logical and rhetorical contortion the French classical writers and critics might have spared themselves!

Egmont, as portrayed by Goethe, is not an unusual type, and was still less unusual in Europe in the eighteenth century and earlier. It seems to me that a deal too much effort is expended in the attempt to make him out admirable. We admire individuals of this type quite easily enough. Beauty of person, a joyous disposition, a desire to please if not at the expense of his own comfort, talents of manner, speech and art,—the man with these qualifications wins on sight, and often holds our liking after we have come to recognize him as arrogant, selfish and licentious. No doubt Goethe hoodwinked others and perhaps himself with his talk of 'das Dämonische.' It is a fearsome word, 'wobei sich allerlei denken lässt.' But go to the heart of the matter. Blow away the hocus-pocus, and what is left? About every human being there is, indeed, enough of mystery. But not enough to change our unalterable conviction that every man is responsible for his own acts. No man, not even a Goethe, can relieve himself of his responsibilities to society by pleading an irresistible somewhat that impels him. Egmont did not plead it. He simply preferred to live as he did, and he went to his death, in considerable measure, as the fool goeth. I am not greatly concerned with the question of Goethe's right to alter the character of a great historical personage,

though if liberties are to be taken I should rather idealize than libel. The more important question is, What sort of man have we in Egmont, and how are we to look at him? And here, I hold, we must judge the man on the mimic stage of life quite as we should judge him off the stage. We should undoubtedly admire this Egmont, and be sorry for him in his fate, which rouses unquestionably the Aristotelian 'dread and sympathetic fellow-feeling.' But we should not trust him, because we see that he lives wholly for his own pleasure and he lacks good judgment.

Again, it is going far to claim for Egmont a 'tragic conflict' in the technical sense of the word. Egmont experiences no conflict in his own soul. There is, indeed, a conflict, and it ends in tragedy. But it is the conflict of a man who runs headlong into a stone wall.

As to Klärchen, I regret that I cannot accept the assurances of various editors regarding her innocence and chastity. A man like Egmont does not seek the society of a seamstress or cook with virtuous intent. We may say and think ever so many kind things regarding the loveliness and unselfishness of the girl who is led astray by such a man,—and Klärchen deserves them all—but even without her own tacit admission (act III, second scene toward end) or the explicit assertion of her mother (I, 3), or the implication of Egmont (V, 4 near end), we must accept, as we should in life, the evidence that convinces the neighbors and the town, that she has violated one of the great social sanctities and has forfeited one virtue, however many others she may retain. It is unpleasant to have to insist on such a charge so long as virtue finds a defender, but I cannot help feeling that this defense is prompted more by pity and inclination than by conviction. I do not deny to such a woman pity, but I do not like to read of her as "the ideal of woman's self-forgetting, self-sacrificing devotion, the only woman an Egmont could love, the embodiment of the love the youthful Goethe sought for himself" (XLVII).

After claiming, as it seems to me, too much for the intentions and the achievements of his author, Dr. Deering concludes with a very fair summary (LXXI): "While *Egmont* may not be tragic in the orthodox sense of the word as used by Schiller, Lessing and Freytag, yet, as Schiller admits, it moves us as a tragedy should—which shows that Goethe considered the canons of tragedy too

narrow and thought it possible to write a drama that is in the highest sense tragic without conflict and guilt of the usual type. . . . The average reader misses the external action and the hero 'that does things,' that is at war with himself, or that forces an evident conflict with his enemies; the subtle psychology, the demoniac nature, the mysterious elements of destiny, in which lie the real charm and power of the play, are not clear and tangible, and hence do not make good the loss.'

The outline of the historical background is excellent, as are the text and the Notes. Among the latter I question only a few. L. 30, p. 7: Und je mehr man das Ding rüttelt und schüttelt desto trüber wird's, explaining this as derived from 'a powder in solution.' This is quite unnecessary. Is it not more plausibly the thought of stirring up the lees in a flask of wine? On 13, 10, explains a confusion of *dein* and *Euer*, both used by Margaret to Machiavell in one and the same speech, as due to the fact that the latter is at once friend and courtier. It can be shown by II, 2 and III, 2, as well as by almost any play of the classical period, that *du* and *ihr* were confused constantly, not interchanged with design. On 60, 28, is not 1450 a year or two too early for the date of the first newspapers (*Zeitungen*)? I do not blench at a good bit of slang, but to render *Ich wäre des Todes*, "I would be a goner" (63, 25), seems to me unprovoked. The note on *sein Tage*, 64, 26, is not adequate, and is a trifle misleading. "Is also used irrespective of person" implies that this characteristic is valid in our day. In German, modern or middle high, it is apparently limited to *sein Tage*, *seiner Zeit*. Even in these cases Germans from early times have hesitated about *sein* if the antecedent or subject was other than masculine or neuter singular. Doubtless the use of *sein* is a relic of the time, when there was but this one possessive for the third person of all genders, but its intrusion upon first and second persons could occur only when the phrases in question had become wholly set and as it were fossilized. The note should also refer to *Egmont* 1, 3 and 10, 14.

W. H. CARRUTH.

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS.

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*Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English*, Part II, by Erik Björkman. [*Studien zur Englischen Philologie*, herausgegeben von Lorenz Morsbach XI.] Halle a. S. 1902. Pp. 193-306.

Part I of this work, which dealt with the phonetic criteria of loan from Scandinavian, appeared in 1900.<sup>1</sup> The present part takes up the tests of vocabulary. It is clear that the most reliable tests of loan are those of the form of words, although even here absolute certainty is not always possible. In the test of vocabulary two elements are to be borne in mind : the distribution of a word and its meaning. The author rightly gives primary importance to the former. The test of meaning is to be handled with care ; I have myself elsewhere attributed too much weight to this test. This distribution of unmistakable loan-words, that is in general those tested by phonetic criteria, is of the highest importance in the consideration of words tested by non-phonetic tests. In tests or in districts especially rich in Scandinavian elements, the Scandinavian source of words otherwise (formally) uncertain, is made more probable. In the case of words known to have existed in Scandinavian but not in English before the Danelaw times, we are by no means justified in assuming loan from Norse or Danish. The extent of the native English vocabulary unrecorded in the pre-Danelaw literary monuments we can never know. Nevertheless, right here is where Wall<sup>2</sup> went too far, in my opinion, when he assumed that words of this class that have cognates in L. G. are thereby proved to be native. Such an assumption disregards considerations that are of the utmost importance for the question. I agree, therefore, absolutely with Björkman, when he says we must not attach any great importance to the existence or non-existence of the word in other Germanic languages, for the chief thing is the distribution in M. E. dialects (see author, p. 196-197). It is not my purpose to discuss in detail this second part of Björkman's work. What I said with regard to method of treatment in the review of Part I, I may reiterate regarding Part II. It is a source of great satisfaction to those interested in the question to find this subject, the relation of O. Scandi-

<sup>1</sup> For reviews of Part I see *Modern Language Notes*, XVII, 386-391 ; *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, XI, 240-243 ; *Centralblatt*, 1901, 978-979 ; *The Athenæum*, No. 3821, and *Archiv. f. d. St. d. n. Spr.*, CVII, 412-419.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglia* 1898.



navian to M. E., handled in such a masterly and impartial manner. Dr. Björkman's wide training in Germanic philology and his thorough familiarity with Old and Middle English on the one hand and the Old Scandinavian languages on the other, made him especially fitted to deal with this subject. While there remain many questions still waiting for solution, Björkman's work on Scand. elements in M. E. means a great forward step in the study of the relation of Scandinavian and English. If on minor points we may not always subscribe to the author's views, in the main his conclusions must be accepted as sound and definitive. In chapter II, on Non-phonetic loan-word tests, I desire here merely to note a few points.

N. E. *boon*, 'to mend a highway,' is certainly formed on English ground from the Scand. loan-word *bōne*, 'ready, prepared' < E. Scand. *bōin* and not, with Kluge, *Et. Wb.*, from O. E. *bōnian*, 'to polish, burnish.' The difficult word *bike*, 'a nest of wasps, hornets or wild bees, as distinct from the *hive* or *skep* of domestic bees,' 'a swarm,' which occurs in *C. M.* 76 and *Townl. Myst.* 325 and in N. Sco. in Lindsay's *Monarch* as applied contemptuously to 'a swarm of people, a crew,' is, I believe, correctly explained by the Swedish *byke*, 'rabble, mob,' as an extension by means of a *k*-suffix (giving it a collective sense or denoting something appertaining to the stem word) of O. Swed. *bȳ*, 'a bee.' This explains the Swedish *byke*, M. E. *bike*, M. Sco. *bike* and E. dial. *bike*, 'a gathering, an assembly of people' (see pp. 202-204). The M. E. *dingen*, str. vb. 'to beat, knock,' the author derives from O. Dan. *dinge* and not (as I did Sco. *ding*) from O. N. *dengja* (p. 207). Formally, there is certainly contamination between O. N. *festa*, 'to make fast' and M. E. *festen* (author, p. 237), but here also the meaning of the word in certain N. E. diall., in my opinion, indicates Scandinavian influence, See *Journal of Germanic Philology*, 4, p. 13. B.'s explanation of M. E. *famlen*, (which, however, is offered only as a possible one) does not seem to me quite convincing, for the meanings are rather uncertain. Where the meaning is 'to stutter,' (*Rel.* I, 65) it corresponds to Lincsh. dial. *famble* and formally there is no objection to Dan. *famle*, 'to grope, stutter.' However, compare the meaning in *Hali Meidenhad*,<sup>1</sup> 37, 'to put into the mouth' (with a shaky, groping hand?) and the Gloucestershire<sup>2</sup> word *fammel*, 'to be fam-

<sup>1</sup> *E. E. T. S.* No. 18, 1866.

<sup>2</sup> *A Glossary of Archaic Words used in the County of Gloucester*, by J. Drummond Robertson, Ldn., 1890, E. D. S. 61.

ished,' and South Warwickshire<sup>1</sup> *famelled*, 'famished.' The author inclines to regard *bannen*, 'to curse, anathemize, interdict,' independent of Scand. influence. O. E. *bannan*, 'to summon,' cannot very well be the source, so that extraneous influence in the later use of the word seems certain. I have before assumed<sup>2</sup> that M. Sco. *ban*, 'to curse, swear,' which occurs in Dunbar and Rolland and commonly in present Sco. Dialect, is a loan from O. N. *banna*, similarly used. Mr. Björkman suggests M. Lat. *bannum*, *bannus*, 'a formal ecclesiastical denunciation, anathema, excommunication,' as the starting point and derives the Scand. and North E. meanings both from it. Certainly M. E. *ban*, *banne*, sb. 'excommunication,' is of this origin, and M. E. *bannen* 'to interdict,' is probably also to be thus explained. It is noteworthy, it seems to me however, that the peculiar Scandinavian meaning, 'to swear, curse,' occurs first in Northern dialects and is most common in districts where Scand. elements are especially abundant. I cannot help but think that Sco. N. E. *ban*, in the sense 'to swear,' is due to Scand. influence.

After a brief account of the Scandinavian invasions and settlements (pp. 263-275), B. takes up the question as to how long the Scandinavians in England continued to speak their own language. It is generally supposed that Norse and Danish ceased to exist as spoken languages in the eleventh century, perhaps even in the beginning of the century. B., on the other hand, believes that Scand. was spoken probably as late as the reign of Henry I, 1100-1135.<sup>3</sup> Closely connected with this question is that of bilingualism and intra-dialectal loan. The years 860-990 was a period of settlement and conquest. There can be little doubt that the English of the subdued territory learned the language of the invaders. The great similarity between the two idioms must have made the learning of one by the speakers of the other an easy task and their very affinity facilitated and favored intra-dialectal loan. The English and the Scandinavians in the Scandinavian colonies were both bilingual. How thoroughly Scandinavianized these districts were may be seen from the fact that 'The English residing in the Scandinavian colonies adopted the Scandinavian style of dress. As late as 1084 the population of Northumberland is said to have dressed

<sup>1</sup> *South Warwickshire Provincialisms*, by Mrs. Francis.

<sup>2</sup> *Scand. Infl. on S. Lowl. Sco.*, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> See the author's argument, pp. 275-280.

after the Scandinavian fashion ; when, in this year, the Danish King threatened to invade Northumberland, the inhabitants were commanded to assume another way of dressing, in order not to be taken for friends by the Danes.’<sup>1</sup> Only on the theory of the bilingualism of the English can the extensive Scand. elements in M. E. and Eng. diall. be satisfactorily explained. It is Björkman’s merit to have appreciated the significance of this point and to have stressed it as he has throughout his work. ‘The Celtic languages in England have not influenced English to any considerable extent. The Celts had to learn English and because of that the Celtic languages adopted numerous English ingredients, whereas the English were not obliged to learn any Celtic idiom, and, therefore, their language was left practically intact by the languages of the Celts. Cornish was, before its final extinction, very rich in English elements, but the present dialect of Cornwall does not contain any large amount of words of Cornish origin.’<sup>2</sup> In short, it is not so much the foreign language, learned by an individual or by a whole population, that adopts peculiarities from the original language ; on the contrary, such peculiarities are adopted on a much larger scale by the original language from the language which is learned.’<sup>3</sup> The evidence of the Cornwall dialect may be supplemented by other English (Scotch) dialects on the Celtic border or such as have been transplanted on Celtic soil. Where the population is almost wholly or predominantly of Celtic descent, the sounds of the dialect may show traces of Celtic influence, but it is a fact that these dialects are remarkably free from Celtic elements lexicographically. In the dialects of the Eng.-Sco. settlers of the counties of Antrim and Down in Northern Ireland, Irish words are rare. Nor is the Gælic element any larger in the border settlements in Scotland. We may compare the condition in the bilingual Norse settlements in America. In the Norse dialect of Utica, Wisconsin, f. i. there are 700 words of English origin in ordinary every-day use, many of which are so changed in form, so thoroughly Scandinavianized that the speakers themselves are often unaware of their English origin. Their English, however,

<sup>1</sup> Author, p. 276-7, note quoting Lappenberg, *Gesch. von England*, II, p. 142 and Worsaal, *Minder*, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to Jago, *The Ancient Language and the Dialect of Cornwall*, 1882.

<sup>3</sup> On this see Windisch : *Zur Theorie der Mischsprachen und Lehnwörter*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 101 ff.

is practically free from Norse words.<sup>1</sup> The conditions here, to be sure, are somewhat different, but, nevertheless, these facts are significant, as illustrating the theory of loan and language mixture.

To the author's former study of the dialectal provenience of the Scand. loan-words he offers a contribution on pp. 281-288. I no longer believe that the words *apert*, 'bold,' *bauch*, 'awkward,' *chyngill*, 'gravel,' *duds*, 'clothes,' *ramstam*, 'boisterous,' or *dapill*, 'gray,' can be regarded as Scand. loan-words with any great degree of probability, nor that *brod*, 'to incite,' *dowless*, 'worthless,' *fell*, 'mountain,' *wick*, 'to cause to turn,' argue much for W. Scand. as opposed to E. Scand. influence; so that I do not hesitate to accept Björkman's views where he disagrees with me, p. 284, as to the significance of these words for the question of provenience. The dialectal provenience of the loan-words, however, I cannot enter into here. I will simply note, that the author offers a list of 32 words of distinct or probable W. Scand. origin and 16 words of distinct or probable E. Scand. origin, the great bulk of the loan-words, of course, affording no evidence for the question.

The phonology of the loan-words is discussed on pp. 288-305. To the whole is added a very complete index of all words discussed or referred to, to which is appended a list of abbreviations, which, however, is not sufficiently complete. Finally, let it be said that the author's English is excellent, un-English constructions being extremely rare.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA,  
Sept. 17, 1903.

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<sup>1</sup> See *Dialect Notes*, New Haven, Vol. II, Part IV, pp. 257-258.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

EINSTEIN'S *Italian Renaissance in England*.

Dear Mr. Woodberry :

I have read Miss Mary Augusta Scott's review of my *Italian Renaissance in England*, in the current (September) number of the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, and while desiring to avoid all controversy on this subject, I can hardly allow so serious a charge on my literary honesty to remain unanswered.

Miss Scott states that more than one-half of the printed sources contained in my bibliography are to be found in her *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*. I should be the last to deny it. Indeed, if I remember rightly, most of the titles will be found in Lowndes' and Hazlitt's bibliographies, as well as in Miss Scott's. She further declares that 'sixty-four of these works, titles from the *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*,' are cited in my foot-notes, and 'seventy-two of these titles' are mentioned in my text, 'some of them repeatedly.' To all this I assent, failing to see how two writers can treat a similar and limited subject without going to many of the same sources for their information. But, I further say, what you already know, that, with one exception, not a book do I mention in my bibliography or elsewhere, which I did not *consult directly for myself*. *The Italian Ape, the English Imitation*, a title not contained in Miss Scott's bibliography, is the only book I refer to (and I do so in a foot-note), which I did not see for myself, for I could find it in none of the great English libraries.

Miss Scott's most serious charge against me is this: 'nor do considerably more than one hundred direct allusions exhaust the indebtedness of the *Italian Renaissance in England* to the *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* for matter and ideas.' It would be unfair to Miss Scott to assume that she had not chosen her strongest examples to prove and fortify so direct a statement. She selects, in fact, only two. The first, which she dwells on at length,

is as follows: in my *Italian Renaissance* a brief allusion to Cataneo's *Military Tactics* (p. 96) is succeeded by a mention of Tartaglia's work on gunnery, following the same order as in her article. There were only three or four books on military science translated by the Elizabethans from the Italian, and if, in mentioning them all in a single paragraph, as I did, I took them in their chronological order, thus following Miss Scott's example, the coincidence appears stranger to her mind than to mine. Moreover, it would scarcely have been necessary to have gone to her for the information, even if I had not possessed it at first hand. Mr. Cockle's admirable *Bibliography of English Military Books up to 1642*, which I refer to in the foot-note, enters *far more fully* into this subject. I alluded to Cataneo's book as *Military Tactics* in order to describe the nature of the work as briefly as possible, for the Elizabethan title of *Most brieve Tables* is here meaningless to the modern reader. At no time did I pretend to give a critical bibliography of the subject. A beginning has here been made by Miss Scott; I neither attempted to rival nor to emulate her work. The second and last example Miss Scott selects is in her statement that I have cited *The History of Travayle* and *The Decades of the Newe Worlde* in my foot-note (p. 279), '(but without reference to the source of authority) from the *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*.' Surely, if I was able to refer to over forty manuscripts relating to Italian and English without going to her work, why should I have to turn to it for the titles of the two best known Elizabethan books of travel, which are even described in the *Dictionary of National Biography*!

These are the *only examples* she selects and mentions to prove the extent of my indebtedness to her articles. The rest of her review is devoted to pointing out the inaccuracies in my book. She accuses me of inconsistency in spelling Elizabethan names. To this I can only plead guilty, holding up a protecting mantle in Shakespeare, who found several ways in which to spell his own name. I fear it is we of to-day who are burdened with the fetish of consistency, which is the bane of little minds. But I sympathize with Miss Scott in this, even though I have rarely opened a book of that period where the writer did not succeed in spelling his name in more than one way; the case of *Whitehorne* becoming *Withorne* (p. 400) is but one in point. A similar state of affairs existed in France, and even in Italy, where Latinization so frequently caused

the evil. Thus *Aconzio* became *Acontio*. Usage varied there, even locally. It was a Tuscan custom, for instance, for *Giovanni Boccacci* to be spoken of as *Il Boccaccio*.

I am rightly charged with error in bringing under one title two different books by Robert Greene, *Perimides* and *Philomela*. This, I regret to say, was due to careless proof-reading in allowing the *and* to pass italicized, a fault which the third edition of my book has remedied. The only remaining serious charge is when Miss Scott deplores my ignorance of literary history in saying (p. 317), that 'the Scotch Chaucerians, although familiar with a few of the Italian writers, failed to appreciate their true spirit.' She wittily remarks that they failed to do so 'for the same reason that they failed to appreciate the Pyramids of Egypt, because they were out of their ken.' I should here like to refer her to Gawin Douglas' *Palice of Honour* (edit. Small, 1. 35), where Petrarch is mentioned specifically. Elsewhere, too, in Douglas she will find frequent references to Boccaccio, Valla, and Poggio, while Sir David Lyndsay's works also contain allusions to the same writers.

Very sincerely yours,

LEWIS EINSTEIN.

AMERICAN EMBASSY, PARIS,  
11 November, 1903.

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## JOURNAL REPORTS.

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Got. -au, -jau, An. -a, etc. für die 1 Sg. Praes. und Praet. Opt.; Zum Prototyp von Got. -ma der 1 Pl. Praes. und Praet. Opt. und Verwandtes; Zum Got. Imperat. auf -dau, -ndau; Zur Entwicklung einiger Altgerm. Partikeln.—Ehrismann, Zur Althochdeutschen Literatur, I: *Otfrid ad Ludovicum*.

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Queries: Murray, *Paddy Persons*.—Smith, Wordsworth Queries.—Replies: Phillips, Yardley, Shakespeare's Geography.—Edgcumbe, Byroniana.—Maxwell, Lépano.—Notes on Books: Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage.—293. Notes: Curry, Drayton's *Polyolbion*.—Breslar, Heine's *Princess Sabbath*.—Skeat, *Poldavy*.—Robbins, *Peonage*.—Yardley, *3 Henry VI.* 2. 5. 55-70 and Tacitus.—Replies: MacMichael, *Waik, Wene, Maik*.—*Wick*.—MacMichael, *Surizian*.—Wesley Queries.—Notes on Books: Variorum Shakespeare, II, ed. by Furness.—294. Notes: Bayne, Roscommon and Pope.—Queries: Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*.—Replies: Dibdin, *To mug*.—Wheeler, Ballads and Methodism.—Notes on Books: Farmer and Henley, Slang and its Analogues.—The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakeland, ed. by Clarke.—295. Notes: Smith, Pamela; Pamela.—Stronach, Shakespeare's Sonnets: a New Theory.—Wordsworth and Vaughn.—Dodgson, *Don Quixote* in English Literature.—Queries: Palmer, *Dove-tail*.—Replies: Pierpont, *Red-up*.—Peacock, Dialectal Word for *See-saw*.—Lindsay, Wheeler, Earliest English Newspaper.—*Prior to*.—Hatt, Bletheraneskite.—MacMichael, *Hook it*.—Stronach, Bacon on Hercules.—MacMichael, Anatomie Vivante.—296. Notes: Hart, Jonson and Harvey.—Gill, O-Words in the Oxford Dictionary.—Queries: T. A. Anderson's Poems.—297. Notes: Dibdin, Bibliographical Account of the Works of Charles Dibdin (begun in 9. 8. 39).—Replies: Stronach, Shakespeare's Geography.—298. Notes: Furnivall, Shakespeares at Romford, Essex.—Bayne, Squire Gawtree.—Replies: Murray, O-Words in the Oxford Dictionary.—Ingleby, Shakespeare's Sonnets.—Fry, Length of Drayton's *Polyolbion*.—Latham, Jerrold, Longfellow's *Wreck of the Hesperus*.—299. Notes: Bayne, *Sugh*.—Queries: Murray, Halliwell ms. wanted.—Replies: Letters of Dorothy Osborne.—Robbins, *To mug*.—*Nova Solyma*.

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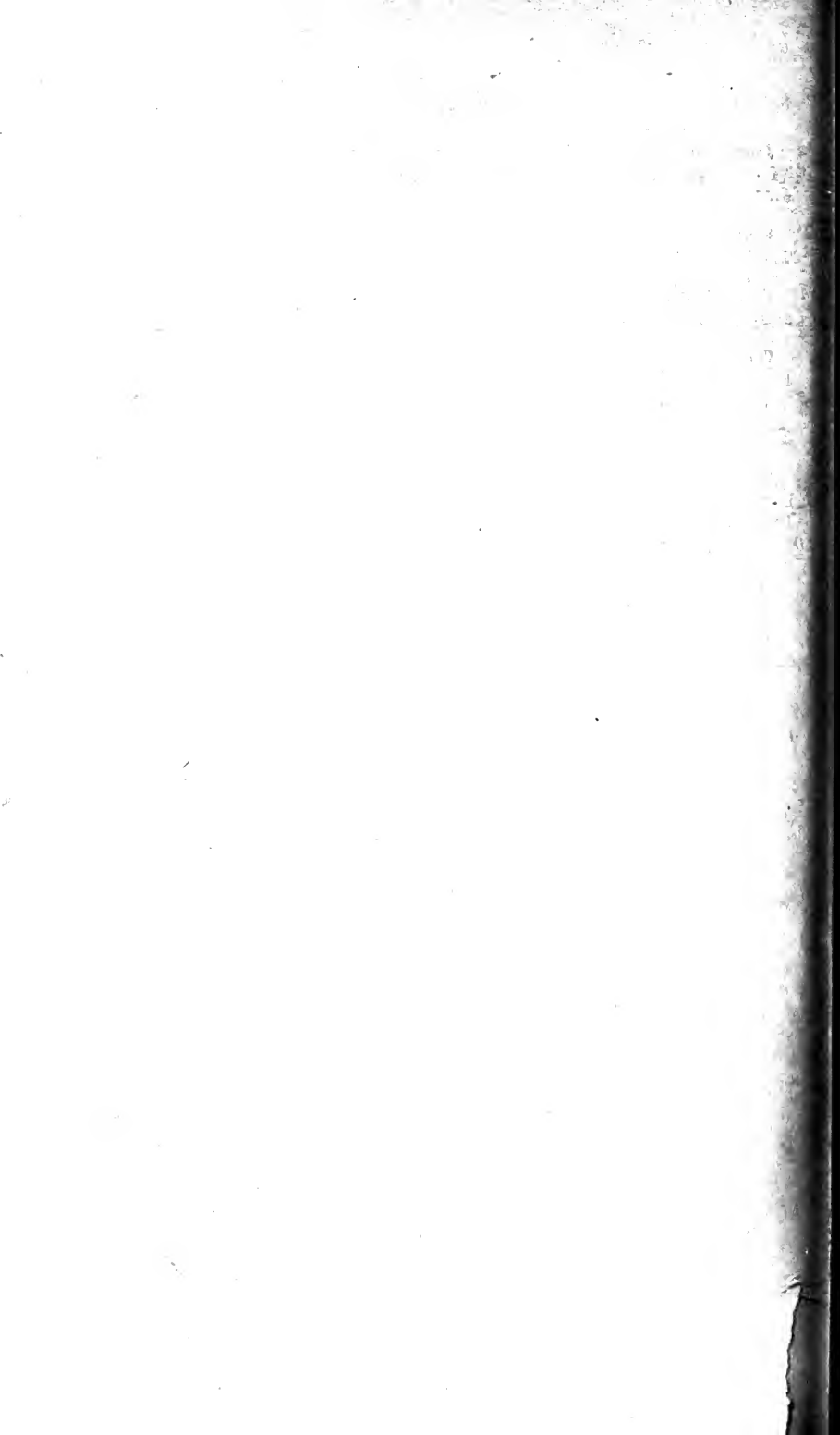
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C. G. O.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

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## THE FEELING FOR NATURE IN OLD ENGLISH POETRY.

THE purpose of the following pages is to examine those passages in Old English poetry which deal with nature in either its sublime or its common manifestations, and to discover by this means, if it be possible, the views and feelings of those who made the verses. In an age illuminated by art, and instructed by science, it is not easy to read honestly or to judge fairly the poetry of a people whose eyes, though physically like our own, certainly saw and reported otherwise than ours. It is proverbially true that we see that which we have eyes to see; but we have eyes to see that which we have been taught to see, and largely that which others have seen. As all education consists of learning to read, so all art consists of learning to see and to translate the vision. The educated man, and particularly the poet, of to-day looks through the eyes of the ages; the artists and poets and seers of all times have dowered him with their wealth. He sees because and as they have seen. Consequently it is not easy for him to understand the view-point of men who in earlier years looked at nature through their own eyes, without artistic and literary mediators, and, on the whole, found it interesting. - what of Ovid, the Irish bards, etc. ? for their eyes for nature?

This difficulty of comprehension is sometimes unnecessarily increased by putting into close proximity, or citing as parallel, passages from early and modern writers which may perhaps be similar in the bare outline or the initial conception, but have little in common save that they are both products of the human mind roused to activity by the same force. There are two dangers in such a comparison: first, that because the earlier composition is less elaborate and finished, its real value may be depreciated; and secondly, that the finer feeling and subtler suggestion of the later may be read into the earlier, and thus its

simplicity may be destroyed. Into one or the other of these two mistakes most study of early poetry falls; in attempting to avoid them, one is likely to incur, perhaps justly, the criticism of coldness and lack of appreciation. Nevertheless, I have preferred to set forth the results of this study without reference to other literatures, or to later developments of English, and to exhibit passages only in the light which they themselves afford.

For convenience I have followed the numbering of the lines in Grein's *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie*, although I have constantly referred to later and more critical texts, and have availed myself freely of their emendations.

Old English poetry has few references to spring, and these few are conventional and lifeless, evidently composed because the occasion demanded, rather than from any such intimate interest as inspired the numerous descriptions of winter. The earliest of these passages is in the *Beowulf*: 'Another year came to the dwellings, as still it does, the gloriously bright weather which always keeps its season' (1133-1136). Very characteristic is the description of spring in the *Gnomic Verses* (Cotton ms.) as the 'frostiest of seasons' (6); and the same use of frost, *hrim*, is found in the spirited passage of the *Menologium*: 'Bedecked with frost, mad March journeys round the world' (35-37). In the same poem is an effective description of jocund May: 'Thus quickly into the town, serene and soft, beauteous in adornment, with trees and plants, fair [May] comes gliding' (76-78). In the *Phoenix* are some pretty lines, but conventional, like most of the poem: 'The gleam of the sun in the springtime, the symbol of life, awakens the treasures of earth, so that the fruits are renewed again after their kind' (253-257). Almost equally slight and unsatisfactory are the references to summer. There is a conventional expression, 'a summer-long day'; but, in general, duration of time is measured by the winter, as was natural among a people for whom that was the longest and severest portion of the year. Mention of the heat of the sun is not infrequent; but the idea of extreme heat is not found except in a few passages like *Phoenix* 18, a free

translation from Lactantius, and *Christ* 1662, where 'the burning of the sun' is counted among the trials from which the blessed are exempt. Most passages dealing with summer are without color and feeling, like that in the *Menologium*, where summer is described as bringing the sun-bright days and warm weather, when the fields quickly bloom with flowers (88-95); and later in the same verses: 'The sun, brightest of stars, mounts into the heaven, to the highest [point] of the year, and from that declines, sinks to its setting; after this the fairest of lights among created things will look longer upon the world, will pass more slowly over the plains of earth' (109-115). Not unlike this in conventionality are the lines in the *Phoenix* in which the brightest gem, hottest sun, is referred to as shining over the shadows (208-211). In the *Guthlac* odors are mentioned in connection with summer, but generally they are unnoticed in Old English poetry: 'From his mouth came the sweetest of odors, such as in summer exhale in places securely founded, beautifully blooming with spicy plants, in fields flowing with honey' (1247-1250). *The Seafarer*, permeated with exultation in wild nature, tells how the blossoming trees and blooming fields urge the Seafarer to wander afar over the tide-ways; while the cuckoo, the harbinger of summer, warns him with her moaning song, and foretells sorrow (48-54).

Naturally, to a people dull to the beauty of spring and summer, autumn would not be a season productive of artistic and poetic feeling; and the peculiar obtuseness of the English to color-effects made them indifferent to the special glory of the dying year. There are a few references to the autumn, but they are of a strictly utilitarian character. The *Gnomic Verses* (Cotton ms.), with their neat ticketing of all subjects with which they deal, classify this season as the most glorious—bringing to men the fruit which God sends (89). The *Menologium* preserves the popular names of October and November, *Winterfylleð* (184) and *Blōtmonað* (195); the former, according to Bede, derived from the words for winter and the full of the moon, 'because after the full moon of this month winter begins.' The signifi-

cance of the latter lies in the fact that to the heathen Saxons November was the month of sacrifice.

From the slight attention paid to summer it naturally follows that there are few allusions to the flowers and fruits that adorn that season. If there were any delight in the color and scent of flowers, a point much to be doubted, it was of that general kind that does not consider specific details. Unquestionably the flora of England was far less varied and prolific than when Chaucer began our nature-poetry; but along the edges of the cliffs, and over the fens, and by the outskirts of the forests, there must have been wee clinging vines and clustering plants that shot a ray of color against the dun background. They must have been there; but no one thought it worth while to say so, and the whole body of this poetry, wonderfully rich in appreciation of some aspects of nature, is almost unrelieved by sight or scent of flowers. The lily and the rose are each mentioned once in *Riddle 41*, confessedly of late and perhaps of secondary origin: 'In fragrance I am far stronger than incense or the rose, that so peerless grows fair in the soil of the earth; I am more delicate than she; though the lily, bright with blossoms, is dear to mankind, I am better than she' (24-28).

Aside from this purely conventional passage, there is no mention of the names of flowers; and none but the most general statements are made. In *Christ and Satan* (357-8) and the *Panther* (47-8) occur references to the pleasant scent of flowers similar to that in *Guthlac*, quoted above. In the *Rimed Song* is a rare allusion to the delight derived from the sight of blossoms, 'colors of joy, the hues of flowers' (4). Naturally the *Phoenix* has many verses in which flowers are mentioned; but none are characteristic, and many are derivative. The longest may be quoted as an example of somewhat pretty writing of an indifferent kind: 'There the sacred flowers of the forest never wane beneath the heavens, nor do the fair blossoms, the beauty of the trees, fall to the ground; but there by a miracle the laden branches of the trees, the fruit ever new, stand for ever green on the grassy slope' (73-8).

With one exception, fruits are seldom mentioned, and then only in a general and indefinite fashion. They are reckoned among the blessings of the autumn in three or four places; and the *Phoenix* contains several passages in which they are grouped with leaves and flowers in mildly poetic phrases. Alone of the fruits the apple made an impression by its individuality; but the story of the temptation accounts for its prominence in religious verse, and there is nothing distinctive in its use in other poems.

Other forms of vegetation seem to have made no more definite impression than flowers and plants. *Wyr̃t*, 'wort,' 'plant,' is a word of wide application that apparently covered every growing thing not a tree. In a conveniently alliterative combination with *wudu*, 'wood,' 'tree,' it is found in many passages comprising the entire botanical kingdom in two words. Edible qualities of plants are not noted; but *Riddle 6* refers to the 'leeches who heal wounds with plants' (10-12). There are two or three passages in which the word *corn* is used, but only in the sense of 'seed,' as literally in *Phoenix* 253, and figuratively in the *Rune Song*: 'hail is the whitest of seeds' (25). Yet nature evidently marshaled her forces against civilization then as now, and even the early English, obdurate to the beauty and perfume of flowers, were impressed by the personality of thorn and briar. Part of the desolation pictured in the *Wife's Complaint* is the 'bleak dwellings overgrown with briars, a habitation bereft of joy' (31-2). In the *Rune Song* is a truly pointed description: 'The thorn is very sharp, hard to take hold of, extremely harsh to every one who rests upon it' (3-5).

Aside from these plants, the only other that is noticed is the grass and that but infrequently. In Beowulf's departure from Hrothgar's Court he trod the green sward, *græsmodle* (1881); and there are a few passages in later poems that in a casual fashion refer to the grass, sometimes with the obvious epithet 'green.' But evidently the grass of the field was neither the delight nor the teacher it has been to other races.

To trees the early English paid more attention in their poems,

especially in those of late date, giving the names of several varieties, although never with any marks of close observation or intimate knowledge. *Riddle 12* has a very unpoetic passage suggesting the practical use of the beech: 'I am bigger and fatter than a fatted pig, a hog grunting in the beech-woods' (105-6). *Riddle 56* mentions the *hlin* (maple?) (9) and oak (9), the hard yew (9) and sere holly (10). The latter is further characterized as good for burning in *Gnomic Verses* 80 (Exeter ms.). The *Rune Song* details three trees as follows: 'The birch is without fruit, bears twigs likewise without fruit, is beautiful in its branches, lofty in its top, fairly adorned, laden with leaves, close to the sky' (stanza 18). 'The oak is food for the flesh of the children of men in the world, goes constantly over the gannet's bath; the ocean finds out whether the oak is a noble tree. The ash is very high, dear to man, strong in its stem, holds its place right well though many men fight against it' (stanzas 25-26). Quite different is the use of the oak in the *Wife's Complaint*, where the forlorn woman mourns that she is forced to dwell in a cave under an oak (28 and 36). Only two trees not indigenous to Britain are mentioned, both in religious poems; the palm in *Solomon and Saturn* 12, 39, 167, and the olive in *Genesis* 1473, 1474; but in both cases only the names are given.

References to the woods are numerous, as we should expect from a people desperately clinging to a strip of shore between the encroaching sea and the obstinate forest; but apparently they looked ever eastward, and while they saw the mighty waters in myriad forms and had a name and phrase for each, they saw and felt but vaguely the massive depths that stretched behind. Yet in the beginning this was not so, for the longest and most detailed description in *Beowulf* is of the mysterious forest in which lay hidden the weird mere: 'Over it hang groves hoary with frost, firm-rooted trees overshadow the water. There any night a dread wonder may be seen, fire on the flood. No one lives among the children of men so wise as to know the depths of this. Though harried by dogs the heath-roamnig

hart, the strong-horned stag, may seek the forest, fleeing from far, he will yield his life, his very being, on the brink before he will hide his head therein' (1363-1372).

With the exception of the verses dealing with the paradisiacal wood, *Phoenix* 71-84, the only other extended reference to the forest is that of the *Wife's Complaint*, a part of which has been quoted above. The whole passage is replete with loneliness and longing; something of the solitude and dreariness of the dark forest breathes through it. Less detailed than the description in *Beowulf*, it yet has atmosphere, and like it is evidently done from life: 'I was bidden to live among the trees of the forest, under an oak tree in a cave of the earth; old is this earthen hall; I perish with longing; the valleys are dim, the hills tower on high. . . . There are dear, loving friends in the world; they rest on the marriage couch, while I in the dim light of morning walk alone around this earth-cave under the oak' (27-37).

As to the special words applied to trees and woods, *bēam* and *trēo* are apparently perfect synonyms, and are used with almost equal frequency. Thus Grein's glossary gives twenty-four instances of *bēam*, and twenty of *trēo*, with the meaning 'tree' or 'wood.' Nor is there any distinguishable difference in the use of *bearn*, *holt*, and *wudu*, signifying 'woods' or 'forest.' The former is the more common, given twenty-seven times by Grein, *holt* nineteen, and *wudu* seventeen, but, so far as I can see, chance, or at most alliteration, determined the choice.

For the 'green things growing,' the bud and blossom and fruitage of the year, and the seasons that brought them to perfection, it seems that the early English cared but little, or found but few and poor words in which to express their interest; but not so with the remainder of the year. As is constantly apparent in the study of early literatures, there are always words with which to clothe living ideas, and true feeling makes true poetry. If all the lines relating to winter could be eliminated, we might properly argue that our English ancestors were without power to express their appreciation of nature, but so long as these

passages exist, we can never think of their authors as 'mute, inglorious' versifiers, but must acknowledge that, if they did not write of the calmer months with equal force, it was because of lack of poetic feeling, not of poetic ability. The fact seems to be that they were impressed only by stern and rough manifestations; when the great harp of nature was struck with sufficient strength, when the icy hand of winter smote the clanging strings, then they lifted up their voices and sang with glee of wailing wind and surging ocean.

By an obvious synecdoche already noted, 'winter' is used as a synonym of 'year.' Another common use of the word is as an intensifying prefix in compounds, either adjectives like *winter-biter* and *winterceald*, or nouns like *winterrim* and *winterseür*.

The oldest reference to winter is in *Beowulf*: 'He could not drive his ring-prowed vessel along the sea; the sea surged in the storm, battled against the wind; winter locked the waves in its icy band' (1130-1133.) The *Menologium* gives a description of the blighting of the crops by the advent of winter, but it is neither spirited nor effective: 'Six days after, the winter's day roams afar, takes away the sun-bright autumn by its harrying band of rime and snow, fettered with frost by its lord's commands, so that the green fields, the ornaments of earth, may not remain with us' (203-207). Two other conventional passages occur in the *Phoenix*, 57-62 and 245-250. The latter tells of the reaping of the harvest 'before the coming of winter, lest the showers of rain should destroy them under the sky; there they find sustenance, the delights of food, when frost and snow with mighty power cover the earth with the garments of winter.' This is original in the Old English version, but its inferiority is felt when one turns to the strongly poetic winter-pieces, as, for example, that in the *Wanderer*: 'The storms beat against these stony-cliffs, the rushing snowfall, the loud terror of winter, holds fast the earth, when the dark comes on, the night-shadows grow black, from the north drives the fierce hail storm in the face of men' (101-105).

Similar to these are some lines in *Andreas*: 'The snow bound



the earth with wintry storms, the weather grew cold with hard hail-showers, as the hoary warriors, rime and frost, locked fast the home of man, the habitations of the people; the lands were chilled by the cold icicles; the glory of the water grew less; over the rivers the ice bridged a wan water-way' (1257-1264).

The longest and most spirited of all these passages is that in the *Seafarer*, where the screech of birds is heard above the boom of the sea, and the glint of their white wings shines over the foam of the breakers: 'That man whose lot on earth is happiest knows not how I, oppressed with care, bereft of kinsmen, covered with icicles, pass the winter on the paths of exile on the ice-cold sea. The hail flies in showers. There I heard nought but the sea roaring, the ice-cold wave, at times the song of the swan; for pleasure I had the noise of the gannet, and the cry of the *huilp* in place of the laughter of men, for mead-drink the song of the mew. There the storms beat against the stony cliffs; there the icy-feathered starn replies; full oft screamed the eagle with his wet feathers. None of my protecting kinsmen could follow this wretched creature; therefore, whoever biding in towns has the pleasure of life, few misfortunes, exultant and flushed with wine, little understands how often weary I must remain on the path of the sea. The shades of night grow dark, from the north the snow falls, the frost binds the earth, the hail, coldest of seeds, falls on the ground' (14-33). Surely the man who made these lines had the seeing eye and the hearing ear.

With equal force and passion these old poets sang of storm and tempest, sometimes with exultation, sometimes with fear, but always with admiration; as became those who had seen the 'stormy winds fulfilling His will,' and had felt their passage over the great deep. Whoever the author of *Exodus*, Cædmon or another, he knew the sea, and knew it at the north. Something of the old Viking rage rings through the finest passage of that poem, in which the destruction of the Egyptians is told in good Saxon phrases. With utter lack of historic consciousness, undisturbed by such modern bugaboos as anachronisms and

local color, the poet looked from some northern fastness across the dark waves, saw them heaped on high by the hand of the Almighty, and described what he saw to those to whom the sight was but too familiar: 'The streams rose, the storm mounted high toward heaven, the enemy shouted the greatest of battle cries; the sky above grew dark. . . . High over the warriors the wall of waters uprose, the headstrong ocean stream. . . . The sand waited for the destined army when the flood of billows, the ever-cold sea with its salt waves, wont to wander, the naked messenger of woe, the fatal on-creeper, which overwhelmed the enemy, should come to search out the eternal foundations. The blue sky was stained with gore; the dashing flood, the path of seamen, threatened bloody terror, until the true God by Moses' hand released the proud [waves]. Wide it spread, swept in deadly circles, the flood foamed, the doomed yielded, the seas fell to earth, the sky was stirred, the bulwarks weakened, the waves burst forth, the towers of water melted when the Mighty, Heavens' Guardian, smote with His holy hand the warriors, that proud people. . . . On the track of the warriors, high from heaven fell the handiwork of God' (459-492). Evidently the exultation in this passage is other than that of religious zeal; the author of this poem is not moved by dramatic feeling; the joy is his own, not the Israelites'.

No such emotion animates the account of the storm in *Andreas*, it is the obverse of the picture in *Exodus*. The sailors are most honestly and frankly afraid, and the terror of the storm has evidently struck close to the heart of the writer: 'The whale-sea was stirred, deeply moved; the horn-fish gamboled, glided about the sea, the gray mew circled greedy for carrion; the candle of the sky grew dark, the winds rose, the waves crashed, the streams were stirred, the rigging creaked, wet with spray, the terror of the water rose with the power of its violence; the thanes grew fearful; no one of those who with Andrew sought the vessel on the streams of ocean thought that he would reach the land alive' (370-380). In the same poem Andrew describes the storm stilled by Christ: 'It happened once before that,

faring forth on a boat over the surging waves, we tempted the waves; horrible seemed the fearsome water-ways, the ocean streams beat the seashore; the sea often replied, one wave to another; at times in the lap of the boat terror uprose from the bosom of the sea over the wave-traverser' (438-445).

The passages given above are mere descriptive digressions; resembling them in general tone is one entire poem, *Riddle 3*, which manifestly deals with a storm at sea: 'At times I go, no man knoweth how, under the swelling of the waves to seek the earth, the bottom of the sea; the ocean is roused, the flood excited, the spray is tossed about; the whale-sea roars, rages loudly, the floods beat the shore, at times they hurl against the steep cliffs stones and sand, seaweed and wave. Then raging I move the earth overspread with the power of the flood, the wide sea-bottom. I cannot loose the covering of water until He who is my guide in every place permits. Tell, thoughtful man, who drew me from the bosom of the sea when the floods which covered me, the multitude of waves, grew stiller again?' A companion-piece to this is *Riddle 2*, one of the very few descriptions of a land-storm in the whole body of Old English poetry: 'Who among men is so quick and cunning of mind that he can declare who drives me on my path when I rise up strong, at times thunder fierce and glorious, at times with destruction journey over the earth, burn the people's buildings, ravage the dwellings, [so that] the smoke rises dark over the roof? There is tumult in the earth, violent death of men, when covered with water I shake the forests, the quick-growing groves, fell the trees, by high power sent afar to rush in flight' (1-11).

*Riddle 4* represents the storm-spirit whom the Lord binds fast, keeping his broad breast beneath the plains of earth; he cannot escape from that misery; but, he exults, 'I shake the homesteads of heroes; the horned-halls tremble, the dwellings of men; the high walls rock above the householders. Still seems the sky above the land, and quiet the sea until I thrust myself from my prison. . . . Sometimes from above I must rouse the waters, stir the streams, and drive to the shore the

flint-gray flood; the foaming wave fights against the [sea] wall; dark above the deep rises a mountain [of water], black on its track comes another mingled with ocean, till near the march-land they meet the high cliffs. Then the ship is clamorous, the shout of the seafarers; the steep stone-cliffs quietly await the onslaught of the flood, the dashing of the waves, when the lofty throng crash against the crags. . . . Sometimes I rush along so that the dark cloudburst rides on my back, I scatter it afar full of lakes of water; sometimes I cause it to glide together again. That is the mightiest sound, loudest tumult and commotion above the towns, when one fierce cloud comes against another, edge to edge. The swarthy shapes, scurrying over the people, belch forth fire, gleam with flame, and go crashing dark above the people with great din; battling they advance, let fall the dark resounding [rain], moisture from their bosom, the waters from their womb' (7-48).

This riddle is equally applicable to the wind, and suggests the passage in *Elene* in which the wind is personified in true Aeolus fashion: 'He rises loud against men, hunts upon the clouds, wanders forth in rage, then suddenly grows calm, forcibly restrained in the prison-house, straitly confined' (1273-1277). This is the best, as it is the most extended, of such passages; but the sound of the wind is heard through all Old English poetry. It wails in such alliterative phrases as *holm won wið winde* (*Beowulf* 1131); *ȝðgeblond ūpāstigeð won tō wolcnum* (*Beowulf* 1374) and *regnas won mid winde* (*Genesis* 214); in all of which we see the darkling of the waters as the wind sweeps across their face. It is such passages as these, vivid in suggestion, barren of detail, that convince us that the early English saw far more fully and accurately than they expressed. True to the genius of their language, they qualified by few epithets, but made such alliterative combinations as *wind ond wæg*, *wind ond wolcen*, or used the noun with such vigorous verbs as *fodrīfan*, *swōgan*, *brēan*. In *Christ and Satan* there are two expressions indicative of the horror with which the wind was regarded. In lines 320 and 386 hell is called the

*windsele*, the wind-hall; and 136 has the same words, slightly modified, as *þes windiga sele*, 'this windy hall.' The term is found nowhere else, and imparts a Dantesque flavor to a passage full of ghastly suggestion.

Other aspects of foul weather are numerous in all references to nature. The Wanderer endures 'frost and snow, mingled with hail' (48); the snow binds the earth *wintergeweorpum*, 'with wintry tempests,' Andreas 1257, and in *Solomon and Saturn* there is a spirited description: 'But why does the snow fall and hide the earth, cover the shoots of the plants, make fast the fruits, oppress and afflict them so that for a time they are withered by the cold? Full often it tries the tribe of wild beasts, comes in wet storms, breaks down the gates of towns, sets forth boldly, ruins far more than the violence of the strong' (301-307). A corresponding but less detailed ice-picture occurs in the *Rune Song*. It is noticeable here that the glint and gleam of the ice have attracted the poet's attention, and, with that quickness to see light rather than color which characterized the sight of the early English, he has given a brilliant bit of verse: 'Ice is immeasurably cold, excessively slippery, glistens as clear as glass, like jewels, a floor wrought by frost, a glorious sight' (29-31). This is, however, the only passage in which the beauty of ice is noted; but perhaps it is only a steam-heated and woolen-clad generation that is in a position to appreciate the picturesqueness of winter. All the other references to ice appeal to the sense of feeling rather than of sight. Thus the Seafarer, in his exultant recounting of the terrors of winter, against which, nevertheless, it is man's glory to contend, speaks of the 'ice-cold sea' (14) and the 'ice-cold wave' (18), and notes the call of the 'icy-feathered starn' (24). In *Beowulf* is found the powerful figure, 'winter locked fast the wave in its icy bonds' (1132, 1133). Without attempting to explain the meaning, one may refer in passing to the 'ring-prowed boat that stood at the haven, icy and ready to go,' bearing Scyld to the great deep when he turned again home (*Beowulf* 33).

The figure of locking or binding fast is applied also to the

frost, for which the words *forst* and *hrīm* are used, apparently interchangeably. In *Beowulf* the thawing of the frost is poetically expressed in a passage evidently from a Christian hand: 'When the Father frees the bands of frost, unwinds the ropes that fasten the waters' (1609 and 1610). By a pleasant alliteration two effective phrases are attained, 'fettters of frost,' *Gnomic Verses* 76 (Exeter ms.), and 'fettered with frost,' *Menologium* 205. The Seafarer feels his 'feet bound by frost in chilling chains' as he keeps his night-watch (10-11); and the Wanderer with saddened heart rows over 'the rime-cold sea' (4). In these two poems the feeling of cold is most intense; both furnish interesting examples of the effect of climate on the temper of nature poetry.

The adjective *hard* is applied alike to frost and hail; and line 32 of the *Seafarer*, in which rime is called the 'coldest of seeds,' is matched by the couplet in the *Rune Song*: 'Hail is the whitest of seeds, it whirls from the clouds of heaven, showers of wind toss it about, then it turns to water' (24-25). This is the only attempted description of hail, other references to it being merely incidental in passages dealing with storms; but these are sufficiently numerous to show that it was one of the dreaded manifestations of nature.

Generally also rain is counted among the adverse forces, as, for example, in the list of the harmful conditions from which the paradisiacal home of the Phoenix is free from rain and snow (14); but in *Azarias* are found some unusual lines which seem to have a genuine feeling of tenderness: 'Full often, King of glory, Thou dost cause the mild morning rain for the benefit of men; afterward many a plant shall start to life, also the trees of the forest shall renew their branches' (80-84).

The expression in *Daniel*, 'dew and dear shower' (372), seems to be more alliterative than emotional; but it is noticeable as one of the few references to the dew, all of them merely nominal. *Dēawigfeðera*, 'dewy-feathered,' is applied to the raven (?) in *Exodus* 163, and to the 'wan bird,' here surely the raven, in *Genesis* 1984. Unless dew is used in the general

sense of moisture, the force of this epithet is not as easily discerned as is that of its companion *ūrigfeðera*, 'wet-winged,' applied to the eagle in *Judith* 210, *Seafarer* 25, and *Elene* 29 and 111. While the first part of the compound does not occur independently in English, its meaning is apparent from the Icelandic *ūrigr*, wet, from *ūr*, a drizzling rain.

To the mist great attention is paid, almost as if it were of supernatural character; and remembering the climate of the island, begirt with fogs and reeking with vapor, one does not wonder that these misty depths were peopled with strange shapes and uncanny monsters. The first account of Grendel is of one who 'all night long held the misty moors' (*Beowulf* 161-162), and again 'came Grendel from the moor under the misty slopes' (710-711). The whole description of the weird mere is of some mist-hung, miasmatic pool. Later the Christianized imagination transferred the enveloping mist from monster to fiend, and there occur such passages as 'Hell, the bottomless flood, amid the misty glooms' (*Whale* 47), and 'Now we suffer tortures in Hell, darkness and heat, grim, endless. God Himself has swept us into these dark mists' (*Genesis* 389-391). This is suggestive of the 'windy hall' of *Christ and Satan*, noted above.

Moors and fens seem never to have been freed from the mystery and abhorrence with which early tradition invested them. Grendel and his mother held 'moors and fens and fastnesses' (*Beowulf* 104), and inhabited 'the dark land, the windy headlands, the perilous fen-paths, where the mountain stream flows down under the shadows of the ness' (357-361). In the *Gnomic Verses* (Cotton MS.) 42-43, 'the demon shall dwell in the fen, alone in the land' suggest that the people who cut furrows in the sea and rode exultingly on the 'path of the whale' lost heart before the trackless waste of land. In one of the best figures in the whole body of the poetry Judas, hard pushed by the energetic Elene, likens himself to 'one who in the desert weary and hungry treads the moorland' (*Elene* 611-612). Yet because of this very dread of untrodden ways the moors sometimes served for protection as well, as the first Riddle declares :

'Secure is that island, begirt with fens' (5). A cause of obnoxiousness less subtle than that of giants and demons is given in the *Riddle 41*: 'I am fouler than this dark fen that reeks here with loathsome filth' (31-32). Recalling the conditions of life in those centuries, one is inclined to reckon the obtuseness of the early English to odors among their chief blessings.

For mountains and hills Old English poetry shows absolutely no feeling. To be sure, sundry nouns are used, perhaps to suggest various kinds of elevation, and these nouns are further characterized by such obvious epithets as 'green,' 'high,' 'steep'; but from the reference to hills alone one might almost infer that the authors of these poems were a coast people. There is nothing of the inspiration or the awe that comes to those bred in the uplands, no lifting of the eyes to the hills from which help shall come. In one passage there is even a note of fear: 'No hills nor steep mountains stand there, nor do stony cliffs tower on high, as here with us, nor valleys nor dales nor mountain-caves nor mounds nor rising ground, neither does anything rough rest there' (*Phoenix* 21-26). This is expanded from the single line of Lactantius:

Nec tumulus crescit nec cava vallis hiat.

In the entire body of verse no mountains are mentioned by name; they seem to have been recognized merely as generic elevations.

The omission of geographical names is characteristic of the early poetry. Allusion is made to but one English river, the Humber, called in *Eadmund* 'the broad water-stream' (5); although it is possible that 'the gushing of the white spring' (*Eadmund* 4) refers to a river formerly known as the White. In *Elene* occur two references to the Danube, on whose banks Constantine vanquished the Huns (37, 136). The Jordan is named in *Harrowing of Hell* (103) and *Genesis* (1921); and the latter poem mentions also the Nile (2208). An interesting proof that the authors of the early poetry were coast people,



accustomed therefore to tidal rivers, is furnished by the fact that the same words are used for ocean and river, and frequently the meaning is determined only by the context. Such words are *brimstrēam*, *ēastrēam*, *ēgstrēam*, *firgenstrēam*, and *lagustrēam*. The only word which is applied exclusively to a river is *burn(-e)(-a)*, bubbling or running water; but that this was not restricted to small streams, as is its modern equivalent, is apparent from the fact that in *Harrowing of Hell* (132) it refers to the Jordan. In *Maldon* there are two good lines descriptive of the incoming tide in a river, the first especially suggests the motion of the water: 'In came the flowing flood after the ebb, the streams of water interlocked' (65-66). Aside from this passage the only other attempted description is a dull and prosaic statement in the *Gnomic Verses* (Cotton MS.): 'Earth-colored water shall flow from a hill' (30-31). Evidently, whatever appreciation the early English felt for running water was not wasted on rivers; but that they had such appreciation, great and poetic, is apparent as soon as one begins to study their sea-poetry. This, however, I reserve for separate consideration.

From the slight attention paid to the summer and its delights, it might be inferred that the early English were indifferent to the sun, and unmindful of its beneficence; but not so; on the contrary, their poetry is rich in beautiful passages descriptive of its majesty, and a wealth of poetic words attest the love in which it was held. Like other northern people, the English made the sun of feminine gender; but they ascribed to it no peculiarly feminine attributes; in fact, there is practically no anthropomorphism in their poetry. By far the most common noun is *sunne*; but *bēacen*, 'beacon'; *lēoma*, 'light', 'radiance'; *sigel*, 'sun'; *swegel*, 'sun'; are also used. The verb most commonly coupled with these nouns is *scēnan*, 'shine'; others are *blīcan*, 'glitter'; *glīdan*, 'glide'; and *līxan*, 'gleam.' Alliteration seems a determining factor in the selection. Certain effective adjectives are produced by composition with different nouns as *sigeltorht*, *sigelbeorht*, *sunbeorht*, *swegelbeorht*, all meaning 'bright as the sun'; *sunwlitig*, 'beautiful as the sun.'

Other adjectives, equally effective are used as modifiers of *sunne*, as *goldtorht*, 'gold-bright'; *swegeltorht*, 'heaven-bright.' Generally, however, references to the sun are figurative.

The most frequent figure is that comparing the sun to a candle. *Condel* or *candel*, from *candela*, was one of the Latin words introduced at the time of the Christianization of England, and long associated with religious observances. The various ways in which the metaphor was applied are indicated by the following expressions: *dægecondel*, 'candle of day'; *Godes condel* and *Godes condel beorht*, 'God's bright candle'; *heofoncondel* and *heofonlic condel*, 'candle of heaven'; *rodores condel*, 'candle of the sky'; *swegelcondel*, 'candle of heaven'; *wedercondel* and *wedercondel wearm*, 'warm candle of the open air'; *woruldcondel*, 'candle of the world'; *wyncondel* 'candle of delight.' Other terms for the sun are *swegles tapur*, 'taper of heaven'; evidently analogous to the foregoing, *swegles lēoht*, 'light of heaven'; *sē æðela glēm* and *sē lēohta glēm*, 'the noble, bright splendor'; *lēohtes lēoma*, 'radiance of light'; *hādor heofonlēoma*, 'serene radiance of heaven'; *sē sōðfesta sunnan lēoma*, 'the steadfast light of the sun'; *æðele scīma*, 'excellent brightness'; *heaðosigel scīr*, 'shining sun,' where the prefix seems to be suggested by the sun rising from the sea; *bēacn wulderiorht*, 'gloriously bright beacon'; *fægerust lēohta woruldgesceafta*, 'fairest of the shining things of the world'; *wedertācen wearm*, 'warm token of (fair) weather.'

It is noticeable that none of these figures or comparisons refer to the heat of the sun, and the only adjective indicative of temperature is *wearm*. It is the light, the clear-shining, the dark-dispelling power of the sun that impressed these dwellers under cloudy skies by stormy waters. They loved light as those who sit in darkness, and their eyes were acute in the perception of everything that shone and glinted and gleamed. Of the relation of this to their sense of color I shall treat elsewhere. Chiefly they loved the greatest of lights; and while they wrote no hymns to the morning, nor sonnets on the sunrise, there are stray bits of verse that breathe the spirit of true poetry of the

dawn. *Beowulf* has two brief references to the coming of day, neither of them, however, strong in description or feeling: 'Light came from the east, the bright beacon of God' (569-570); and 'The morning light of the next day, the sun clothed with heavenly brightness shines from the south' (604-606). In *Exodus*, lines 344-346 describe the coming of the day by the use of a peculiar word, *dægwōma*, literally, 'the noise of day,' but evidently signifying the rush of breaking day. The same compound, with an additional element of color, *dægrēdwōma*, is found in *Andreas*; and the passage contains also the fine figure of the helmet of night gliding apart, which is found parenthetically in *Elene* 78: 'The helmet of night glided apart, quickly disappeared; then came the light, the rush of rosy dawn, (123-125). *Andreas* has another effective description of coming day: 'Then came the resplendent morning, brightest of beacons, holy from the darkness, to hasten over the sea; heaven's candle shone over the ocean-floods' (241-244). A more conventional reference, and one especially appropriate to a religious poem, is 'The Lord caused the candle of day to shine' (*Andreas* 837-838). An excellent passage, with something of the stateliness of a psalm, is found in the *Wonders of Creation*: 'Every morning comes this bright light over the misty hills, wondrously prepared to pass over the waves, and with the early dawn hastens from the east, beautiful and pleasant to the families of men; for all who live it brings forth light, brightest of fires, and every one on earth may enjoy it' (59-66). The tone and movement of this agree well with one of the few poetic stanzas in the *Rune Song*: 'Day is the messenger of God, dear to men, the glorious light of the Creator, pleasure and confidence to rich and poor, a benefit to all' (74-77). Illustrative equally of the method of paraphrase and of the feeling for nature is the passage in the *Phoenix* corresponding to lines 35-36 of Lactantius' poem:

Lutea cum primum surgens Aurora rubescit  
Cum primum rosea sidera luce fugat.

'He shall behold the journey of the sun and [shall see] the

candle of God, the bright gem, come again, shall eagerly watch when the noblest of stars arises to shine over the sea from the east, by its beauty to illumine the ancient work of the Father, the luminous symbol of God. The stars are hid, disappear under the waves in the west, obscure in the morning glow, and the dark night, [grown] wan, departs. . . . The light of heaven rises to glide from the east over the vast sea' (99-103).

Of the special words applied to the morning, *morgen* is the most common and least distinctive. Others are *ærdæg*, 'early day'; *dægrēd*, 'dawn'; and *hanerēd*, 'cock-crow,' which occurs but once in verse (*The Soul to the Body* 68); but, as befits its meaning, is more common in prose.

Sunset is neither so often mentioned nor so effectively described as is the dawn. Its peculiar glory, like all displays of color, seems to have escaped the dull eyes of the early English poets. Occasionally there is a vague, general reference to the beauty of departing day, as: 'Afterward our Lord created the first evening with its bright glow' (*Genesis* 136-138); 'The brilliant sun, heavenly bright, glides to his setting' (*Andreas* 1249-1250); 'The wondrous star with all his glory journeys in the west until at evening he treads the floor of ocean' (*Wonders of Creation* 68-71); 'The gem of heaven, the candle of delight to men, declined in the west, the heavenly bright sun prepared for his setting' (*Andreas* 1185-1188). There is but one reference to color in any of these passages, and that notes the darkness of coming night: 'The sun glided to his setting under the low headlands, the night, brown and dusky, spread over the high hills, covered them with its helmet' (*Andreas* 1306-1309). In tone this harmonizes well with 'The noble glory sought his place of setting, the northern sky grew dark and wan under the clouds, covered the earth with mist, overspread it with darkness, the night pressed upon it' (*Guthlac* 1252-1255). The sun is described as growing 'weary' in *Phœnix* 141; but this is the only reference to sunset, although the poem abounds in allusions to nature.

The noun *æfen* appears in three compounds: *æfenglōm*, 'even-

ing-gloom,' 'twilight;' *ǣfenleoht*, 'evening-light;' *ǣfenscīma*, 'evening-splendor;' but otherwise it is unmodified.

As the measure or unit of time night is frequently used. When distinguished as that part of the day given over to darkness, it is often modified by such epithets as *deore*, 'dark;' *nīpende*, 'shadowy;' *sweart*, 'swarthy' *þýstre*, 'gloomy;' *winterceald*, 'wintry cold;' *won*, 'dark.' Significant of the dread inspired by the darkness are the compounds *nihthealu*, *nihhtegesa*, meaning the evil and terror that come by night. In *Beowulf* occur two short references to night, neither possessing descriptive value: 'The evening light is hidden under the cover of the sky' (413-414); and 'The helmet of night darkened black above the warriors' (1789-1799). The compound *nihthelm*, here used, contains an effective figure, and occurs five times in the body of verse. Slight as is the poetic feeling in the passages last quoted, there is still less in the thoroughly prosaic and axiomatic statement of *Solomon and Saturn*: 'Night is the darkest of seasons' (310). Fortunately other poems rise to greater heights in the contemplation of the enveloping darkness. The creation of night is thus described in *Genesis*: 'The dark gloom for which the Lord Himself created the name of night, followed fast, pressed on its track,' *i. e.* that of the first evening (138-140). Later in the same poem this idea of night pursuing day is again introduced: 'The evening glow departed; then came night on the track of day. The Glory of this life [*i. e.* God] enwrapped in darkness the stream, seas, and the broad earth' (2447-2451). Another idea, that of night brooding over the earth, is suggested in *Guthlac*: 'The sky grew dark above the children of men, the night advanced, dark above the people' (1069-1071). In *Riddle 30*, which deals in enigma with the strife of the sun and moon, the end of the combat is thus described: 'Dust rose to heaven, dew fell on the earth, night came forth. After that no man knew the path of this creature,' *i. e.* the sun (12-15).

To the luminary of the night but slight attention was paid. There are thirteen places in which the noun *mōna*, 'moon,'

occurs, but without epithet or description. *Riddle 30* opens in this fashion: 'A wondrous creature I saw carrying its prey between its horns, the shining vessel of the air cunningly adorned' (1-3), an obvious allusion to the moon.

Similar to this obtuseness to the beauty and influence of the moon is the indifference to the stars. Two nouns are used, *tungol*, the general word for luminary, applied also to the sun and moon; and *steorra* ('star') which occurs by itself but four times, and is once compounded with *heofon*, 'star of heaven.' *Tungol* is twice compounded, once as *tungolgim*, 'gemlike star,' and once as *heofontungol*, 'star of heaven.' The adjectives applied to the stars are *leoht*, 'light;' *mære*, 'splendid;' *swegltorht*, 'heavenly bright;' *torht*, 'bright;' *trum*, 'steadfast.' These are used but sparingly. In lines 1148-1149 of the *Christ* the 'shining abode' and the 'pleasant aspect' of the stars are mentioned. In stanza 17 of the *Rune Song*, the rune  $\ddot{a}$ , *Tīr*, seems to refer to a constellation or a fixed star: 'Tīr is one of the signs, always keeps faith with men, is always in his course, beyond the shades of night; never departs.' Knowledge of the heavenly bodies, which probably implied the power of divination, is mentioned among the special gifts of God: 'One can tell the course of the stars, the vast creation' (*Christ* 671-672). In the same poem there is a passage that possibly suggests the music of the spheres, although there is no explicit statement. In the description of the day of doom it is foretold that the angels shall gather from the four corners of the world, shall blow their trumpets and 'glorious and steadfast shall shout in chorus over against the course of the stars' (883-884).

The confusion still existing in our language between heaven and the heavens is found to a still greater degree in early English, and most of the words applied to the firmament denote also the celestial abode. Thus *heofon*, *rodon*, *swegel* are used in both senses. When denoting the sky they are sometimes compounded, as *heofonhrōf*, 'the roof of heaven,' to which corresponds *worulde hrōf* 'the roof of the world;' *heofonhwealf*, 'the vault of heaven'; *hefontimber*, 'heavenly structure;' *ūp-*

*rodor*, 'the firmament on high.' *Lyfthelm*, 'the helmet of the air,' is applied to the sky, and embodies the same metaphor as *nithhelm*, noted above. It will be seen that all these nouns except *ūprodor* are figurative by implication, and suggest, if they do not express, aesthetic appreciation and poetic feeling. But aside from these germinal words, there are no references to the sky that show either enjoyment or observation of its beauty. Very probably this indifference was due in part to the fact that it was seldom visible in its glory. Like the Parsee who thought the English might worship the sun if they ever saw it, we may infer that their ancestors might have appreciated the firmament if it had been less obscured. At least there is significance in a phrase frequently used, *under wolenum*. Repeatedly, where we should expect 'under the sky' or 'under the heavens,' we find 'under the clouds,' showing the usual aspect of the sky.

Beside the numerous references to clouds in the storm-passages already cited, there are a few compounds and phrases that deserve attention: *wolcenfaru*, 'host of clouds;' *wolcengehnāste*, 'cloud-combat;' *wederwolcen*, 'weather-cloud;' *wolcna genipu*, 'cloud-shadows;' *wolcna gong*, 'passage of the clouds;' *wolcna hrōf*, 'roof of clouds;' *wolcna swēg*, 'crashing of clouds;' *wearmlic wolcna scūr*, 'warm shower of clouds.' There is but one descriptive passage, and that is poor and slight: 'The clouds dark with wind bear rain to the broad earth' (*Genesis* 212-214).

With this quotation, so poor and meagre as to be characteristic of Old English nature poetry at its worst, I close my citations. In the preceding pages I have tried to show which aspects of nature appealed to early English minds, and what intellectual and emotional response they made to that appeal. The material collected seems to me to justify two or three conclusions.

Originally this poetry, like that of all early people, was strongly objective. Nature was presented in a series of objects or sensible manifestations; between these objects and others of the same or different categories the people saw resemblances which they expressed by figures, generally metaphors. These figures consist largely of compound nouns and adjectives in

which the component parts are united without causal, possessive, or other expressed relation ; or they are implied in a union of noun and verb that by literal interpretation have no connection.

Christianity introduced an entirely new set of facts and conceptions, and by the addition of this new material the field for comparison was greatly enlarged. The poets' lack of subtlety prevented them from seeing incongruities which to us are absurdly obvious ; and we find pagan metaphor and Christian simile jostling each other almost in the same line.

Many of the metaphors are founded on personification, a figure which is found implicitly in a great deal of the poetry ; but is seldom openly expressed. But of that anthropomorphic view of nature now so common in verse, and especially of that sentimental attributing of feeling and emotion, aptly termed 'the pathetic fallacy,' there is practically no trace. Doubtless this is the chief reason that to most modern readers the poetry seems cold and lifeless.

The short phrasing of the verse, the result of the analytic method of the mind ; by which idea is added to idea until the whole thought is attained, lends itself easily to the sequence of noun and epithet, compound nouns and adjectives, and brief phrases, to the exclusion of prolonged and connected descriptions. Thus emphasis is thrown on the single epithet and phrase, *i. e.*, the obvious details of the picture rather than on its general effect or emotional value.

The recurrent phrasing of the verse is connected also with the habit of repetition which is one of the most marked of Old English literary characteristics. Apparently a happy phrase, an appropriate epithet, could not be too frequently used ; with the result that much of the emotional value was lost by constant attrition, and expressions once full of feeling became merely formal and conventional.

Of certain large, and to us significant aspects of nature, the English poets either took no cognizance or regarded them with indifference. But to other forms they paid the homage of the undivided mind, seeing sharply, differentiating keenly, expressing



forcibly. The passages which best illustrate these qualities are those relating to the sea ; but they demand a separate treatment. The extracts given above are sufficient, I trust, to prove that at least the germs of nature-observation and -feeling were present in our literature independently of the Celtic element, and before it came under Norman influence.

ELIZABETH DEERING HANSCOM.

SMITH COLLEGE.

ON THE OLD ENGLISH GLOSSES PRINTED IN  
KLUGE'S *ANGELSÄCHSISCHES LESEBUCH*.<sup>3</sup>

V. THE LEIDEN GLOSSES.

**A**N entirely new feature of the *Lesebuch*'s 3d edition is the glosses from the *Leiden*. They are not in the 2d edition, and have probably been added because of the insufficiency<sup>1</sup> of Sweet's print of them. Kluge's text differs from that of Sweet (1) by his conspicuous tendency to normalize the Latin lemmata, a tendency which does not stop short at direct substitution as in the case of No. 12, where *argumenta* is put for the *arguta* on record in the MS.<sup>2</sup> Another case in point is the substitution of *remis* for the recorded *rimis* in No. 112. I wish to reiterate what I have previously said on the interpretation *bordremum* standing for *bordsemum*. Kluge's assumption of an OE. *bordrēma*, 'oar,' seems to me quite untenable; (2) by the dropping of 12 glosses printed by Sweet; (3) by the addition

<sup>1</sup>In addition to Steinmeyer's strictures (*ZfDA.* 33. 248 = *AfDA.* 15. 248, note 1), Kluge refers in his introductory remarks, *Lesebuch*<sup>3</sup>, p. 10, l. 1, to *Ahd. Gl.* 4. 482. I presume 482 is misprint for 484, for on p. 484 Steinmeyer has the following: 'H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts* s. 111-117: über den wert dieser ausgabe s. *Z.* 33. 248f. anm. und H. Logeman im *Moyen age*, sept. 1890, der sich zwar den anschein gibt, gegen mich zu polemisieren, in wahrheit aber nur für mein urteil über Sweet's leistung neue belege beibringt.'

<sup>2</sup>This *argumenta* is a conjecture of Steinmeyer. Sweet, misunderstanding the latter's *l.* (= *lies*) for *ī* (= *uel*), rashly gave in the Appendix *arguta uel argumenta* as reading of the MS. As a matter of fact, only *arguta* is read there, and this must stand. Steinmeyer would not have meddled with it, either, had he seen what Glogger points out on p. 15 of his Commentary, and I had found out prior to him, namely, that the gloss is to be referred to *arguta sophismatum interrogatione* of the *Vita S. Antonii* (Migne 73), c. XLVI, p. 158; *ordancas* is either = *orðanca s̄* = *orðanca saxonice*, and interprets *sophismatum*, or a mistake for *ordancas̄* = *orðance saxonice*, interpreting the entire phrase.

of 9 glosses omitted by Sweet. The following numbers of Sweet have been dropped by Kluge:

- No. 2 *pro exercitu appuli: huuitabar* = *invitabam* (Steinmeyer).  
 28 *sescuplum: dridehalpf* (marked by Sweet as OHG.).  
 31 *poderis, etc.: loth* (condemned by Sweet himself in the Appendix).  
 41 *delet: hnabot* (condemned by Sweet in the Appendix on St.'s authority).  
 48 *capitio: haubitloh* (marked by Sweet as OHG.).  
 59 *ancillis animalibus: figl = figuli* (Steinmeyer), *figuraliter* (Glogger).  
 63 *tenda: gezlt* (marked by Sweet as OHG.).  
 70 *nemias, alio nomine: atersatha* (shown by Steinmeyer to be another name for *Nehemias*).  
 98 *baratrum: loh uel dal*.  
 243 *acrifolium: holera* (asserted by St. to be Latin *olera*).  
 253 *excellentiones gipparre* (OHG. according to St., though not so marked by Sweet).  
 257 *opere p'etium necessarium uel neos: (uel = t* shown by Logeman to be in reality the upright stroke | that was to separate *neos* as belonging to the preceding *extra*, *extraneos* being the interpretation of *extores*).

Of the 9 glosses absent from Sweet's text, but printed by Kluge, 4 had already been added by Sweet in the Appendix on Steinmeyer's authority; they are:

- No. 5<sup>a</sup> *socue: su* (= *Ahd. Gl.* 2. 746. 17); *socue* = *sues* (Steinmeyer).  
 8<sup>a</sup> *lurida: pox* (read *pox*) (= *Ahd. Gl.* 2. 746. 29).  
 40<sup>b</sup> *lappa: clite* (= *Ahd. Gl.* 1. 666. 3).  
 75<sup>a</sup> *scena*<sup>1</sup> *imitatio t grina* (= *Ahd. Gl.* 2. 341. 4).

The other 5 (4 of which had been pointed out by Steinmeyer) are Kluge's addition:

<sup>1</sup> Steinmeyer reads *sarra*, Goetz *so///rra*, Glogger *seina*, admitting the possibility of reading *scurra*. I shall have to deal with this gloss later on.

- 1<sup>a</sup> *laena toscia*<sup>1</sup> (= C. G. L. 5. 413. 61).  
 40 *litura impensa lim uel clam* (= Ahd. Gl. 1. 640. 1).  
 40<sup>a</sup> *paxillus negil* (= Ahd. Gl. 1. 640. 7).  
 61<sup>a</sup> *palae*<sup>2</sup> *sculdre* (= Ahd. Gl. 1. 481. 13).  
 99<sup>a</sup> *subsaltare intrepetan* (= Ahd. Gl. 2. 597. 37).  
 Cf. *qui calcat trippat, id est ludit*, Ahd. Gl. 3. 602. 29.

This list of additions may be considerably increased, now that we have access to the complete Leiden glossary through the meritorious labors of Father Plazidus Glogger (Augsburg, 1901). A number of additional glosses have already been pointed out by the same author in his painstaking commentary on the *Leidensis* (Augsburg, 1903). Those of them I consider as certain I shall print below along with my own work, distinguishing them by a star :

- (1) Before Sweet's No. 1 add \**turnodo* = *co]thurno uoðe* (fol. 22b/I. Glogger's edition, p. 28, **16**. 10). The gloss is from *Sulp. Seueri Dial.*, ed. Halm, p. 179. 19.
- (2) After Kluge's No. 7, Sweet's No. 6, add *conclawia. porticos* = *porticas* (fol. 22b/II. Glogger, p. 29, **82**. 4).
- (3) After Sweet-Kluge's No. 28 add (a) *uiscerade* = *uiscereāde* = *uiscere innaðe* (fol. 23b/I. Glogg., p. 33, **15**. 21). The gloss may refer to Aldh., p. 253, No. 10. 1, just as the preceding *uiscide* to Aldh., p. 109. 31.
- (4) After No. 28 insert (b) *catastā. lupā* = *catastam. lupan* (fol. 23b/I. Glogg., p. 33, **15**. 26). Here we have the OE. *lūpe* (*lūpa*) posited by Holthausen as etymon of NE. *loop*. See *Archiv f. d. Stud. d. N. Spr.* III. 418. For *catasta* = *turba hominum uel animalium corrigia ligata* cf. *Hist. Gildae*, ed. Jos. Stevenson, London, 1838, p. 31, § 23: *item mittit satellitum canumque prolixiorē catastam*. The original meaning of OE. *lūpe* (*lūpa*) will, of course,

<sup>1</sup> On this gloss see my article in *Anglia* 26. 301.

<sup>2</sup> With this lemma I shall have to deal in the chapter on Kluge's normalisation. Preliminarily I want to state that Steinmeyer *l. l.* prints as reading of the *Leiden*: *lapates in similitudine scul drē*, as reading of the *Carolsruh. Aug.* cxxxv, *lapates .i. in similitudine palae .i. sculdre*.

have been 'loop, leash' (cf. ME. *lowpe*; *amentum*, *ansa*, *corrigia* in the *Cath. Angl.*, p. 222<sup>a</sup>). But no doubt it was used also in the same figurative sense as modern 'leash, string.' OE. *lūpe* (*lūpa*) is further testified to by the compound *lȳpenwyrhta*, i. e. *lȳpanwyrhta* we read WW. 275. 25 and 359. 5. Sweet in his *Dictionary* assumes this to mean 'tanner,' evidently because of the lemma *byrseus*, which in WW. 359. 5 appears with the alternative interpretation *leðerwyrhta*. I would suggest that the glossator interpreting *byrseus* by *leðerwyrhta* oððe *lȳpenwyrhta* did not so much wish to convey the idea that *lȳpenwyrhta* was a synonym of *leðerwyrhta* as he wanted to say that the *coriarius* he undoubtedly found as gloss to *byrseus* might mean 'tanner' as well as 'loop-maker,' that is to say, *coriarius*, in common pronunciation, must have sounded pretty much like *corrigiarius*. But to return to *catasta*, a use of the word similar to the one pointed out above is on record in WW. 201. 15-17 *catasta . . . . uel geled quadrup[ed]alium*, 'a lead of fourfooted animals.' This gloss, along with WW. 275. 35 = 369. 15 = *Ep. Ef.* 229 = *Cp.* 363, refers to the *catasta* of Aldh., p. 94. 27, as I have shown in *Thes. Gloss. Emend.*, ed. Goetz, p. 189<sup>a</sup>. Hence it is evident that the *Erfurt's* reading *geleod* (= *gelead*) alone deserves credence in preference to the *gloed*<sup>1</sup> of *Epinal* or the *geloed* of *Corpus*, and Kluge cannot be right in assuming that the glossator wishes to convey the idea of an instrument of torture (glossary to *Lesebuch*<sup>3</sup>, p. 180<sup>a</sup> s. v. *glæd*). See also *NED.* *sub* lead sb<sup>2</sup> 2<sup>d</sup>: 'lead = a leash or string for leading a dog.' In the Aldhelm passage a 'lead' of dogs, a pack of hounds, is meant by *catasta*, and, similarly, Blackmore in chapter 13 of his *Lorna Doone* speaks of a *lead of red deer*.

- (5) After No. 28 insert (c) *raucos. crispantes = raucos. rispanteš = raucos. hryscande saxonice* (fol. 23b/i. Glogg.,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *groeto* (*mereo = maereo* of *Corp.* 1305, for *greoto* ?

- p. 33, **15.** 32). As to the omission of *h*, cf. *uastrung* (*murmur*).
- (6) After No. 40<sup>a</sup> insert *\*arihel lio* (fol. 25b/II. Glogg., p. 43, **24.** 23). As Hebrew *Arihel* means 'hearth of God,' Glogger takes *lio* to stand for *hliow* = *hlēow* 'warm place, fire-place.' On the strength of *Ahd. Gl.* 4. 240, note 2, *Arihel int̃p̃r leo dī* = *Arihel interpretatur leo domini*, I think it much more probable that *lio* is meant for lion; cf. *WW.* 438. 22 *leo lio*. Steinmeyer seems also to have held this opinion; cf. *Ahd. Gl.* 2. 640; note 6; *ibid.* 4. 55, note 19.
- (7) After No. 43 insert *\*sacelli. sedes diminutiui* = *sēodes diminutiue* (fol. 26a/II. Glogg., p. 45, **26.** 17).
- (8) Restore No. 63 *tenda. trabus*<sup>1</sup> = *tenda. træfhūs* (fol. 27a/I. Glogg., p. 49, **29.** 24). What follows, *geztt*, printed as the only interpretation by Sweet, is of course OHG., and irrelevant here.
- (9) After No. 80 insert *\*passus idē fetim* = *passus id est fethim* (= *fæthm*), not, as Glogger proposes, *fēt III* (fol. 30a/I. Glogger, p. 53, **41.** 32).
- (10) After No. 81 insert *scatentibus. credenti* = *crēodendi* (fol. 30b/II. Glogg., p. 67, **44.** 30). The gloss has been previously pointed out by me in this *Journal*, but with a different explanation. The identification of *credenti* with *crēodendi* is Glogger's.
- (11) After No. 92 insert *coalescant. pascant* = *coalescant. wascaht* = *wacsath* (fol. 31b/I. Glogg., p. 70, **47.** 25). This gloss has been previously pointed out by me in this *Journal*. Compare *coalescere. adolescere* (fol. 36a/I. Glogg., p. 93, **65.** 32). On *n* for *h* cf. *nefern* = *hefern* *Ef.* 1106; on *ht* for *th* cf. *obgibeht* = *obgibeth*, *Cp.* 631; *broht* = *broth*, *Cp.* 2139.
- (12) After No. 128 insert *forinnadas. interior pars navis* = *fori. interior pars navis* (fol. 34a/II. Glogg., p. 83, **58.** 28).

<sup>1</sup> MS. has the abbreviation *trab*;

- (13) After No. 251 insert *uacillante. fugantē = uacillantem wagiende* (fol. 35b/II. Glogg., p. 91, 64. 28).

I am doubtful as to *adfecit. distauit* (fol. 36a/I. Glogg., p. 92. 10). If Glogger is right in referring the gloss to Cassian's (Nv. 1, p. 302. 13) *iniuria affecit*, then it is possible that *distauit* stands either for *bitauit* = *bitauit saxonice*, or for *biš tauit* = *bismore tauit* = [to] *bismore tauit*. The glossator may have read *adfecit* = *adfēcit* = *adficit*. As to *biš* representing *bismore*, cf. Napier's *OEG*. 23. 41, *sinew = sinewcalt*. As to *adfēcit* = *adficit*, cf. *C.G.L.* 5. 292. 5 *exercit = exercet*, and numerous other similar instances.

As to the 12 glosses dropped by Kluge, I hardly think anybody will find fault with his judgment, as far as Nos. 2, 31, 40, 48, 59, 63, 70 and 257 are concerned. But in regard to Nos. 28, 98, 243 and 253, a more or less successful plea may be made for retention. As a champion for Nos. 28, 243 and 253 has recently come forward Plazidus Glogger in his commentary on the Leiden glosses, Augsburg, 1903, pp. 21, 86, 88. I fully agree with him that the OHG. look of *dridehalpf* may be due to the continental scribe mixing up OHG. *drithalp* with OE. *driðehalf* in No. 28. *Holera* in No. 243 seems to be vouched for as OE. by the *holegn* of *Ep. Ef.* 34 = *Cp.* 53 and, I would add, by the apparent unfitness of Latin *olera* as interpretation of *acrifolium*. We should expect at least *olus* or *genus oleris*, if not rather *lignum* or *genus ligni*. *Holera* can well be conceived as mistake for *holena*, and *acrifoliū* may stand for *acrifoliū*. The reading of *Ep. Ef. Cp.* would then appear to be a deliberate change to the nom. sg. For *gipparre* in No. 253 Glogger suggests an original OE. *gēapra* (-e). I should like to put in a good word also for No. 98, *baratrum loh uel dal*. At any rate, we should not lightly set aside the direct testimony of the *Codex S. Galli* 299 as to the Old English character of the interpretation. According to Steinmeyer, *Ahd. Gl.* 2. 597. 33, this codex reads the gloss in the following way: *baratrum lōh t dāl*, the *s* above

the interpretations evidently standing for *Saxonice* (cp. *Ahd. Gl.* 2. 597. 27, *rogus beël t eād*, *ibid.* 2. 597. 29, *fatum wyrd*; *ibid.* 2. 597. 47, *lineolis drēdū*, as readings of the same codex). It would seem that Kluge's reason for rejecting the gloss was the apparently Old High German character of *loh*, which he evidently read as *lōh*. But for all that the *o* of the word may be long, and *lōh* easily connects itself with either *slōh*<sup>1</sup> (*WW.* 220. 32, *deuium*), or *clōh* (= Modern English *clough* = NHG. *Klinge i. e. Gebirgsbach, Schlucht*). The initial *s* (or *c*) may have dropped through the carelessness of some scribe. *S* especially, if that was the initial, was liable to disappear, as it might be taken for *š* = *siue*. Perhaps even *lōh* can stand; it may represent a Latin *lanc*-, on record in *lanx* and *lancinare*. At any rate, I believe I have shown the possibility of crediting the testimony of the St. Gallensis as to the Old English character of *loh*. *Lōh* certainly seems to me to make as good, if not a better, showing than the alleged OE. interpretations of either of the two following glosses, not challenged by Kluge:

No. 242 *philocain scopon*

No. 254 *sanguisugae levas*.

*Philocain* is of course the *φιλοκαλιν* of *C. G. L.* 3. 321. 50, and as that is interpreted by *scopa*, suspicion is very strong that the above alleged OE. *scopon* goes back to an original Latin *scopā*; *φιλοκάλιν* is late Greek for *φιλοκάλιον*. As to *levas*, note in the first place that Sweet, against the clear testimony of Steinmeyer, gives *lecas*<sup>2</sup> as reading of the MS. (see *Anglia* 26. 301). Secondly, Steinmeyer distinctly says that *levas* is Middle Latin (see *Anglia* l. l.), referring to the gloss in the Schlettstadt Cassian-glossary (*Ahd. Gl.* 2. 153. 55), *sanguisuges. levas egila*. I do not see how we can afford to disregard such

<sup>1</sup> *slōh* appears only as masculine or neuter in Sweet's *Dictionary*, p. 156a, but it is on record also as a strong feminine in *fisuras scisuras idest sloaesax* of *Erfurt*<sup>2</sup> (Sweet's No. 1114). The Glossary to Sweet's OET. takes no cognizance of the word. I once tried in this *Journal* to explain *sloae* as corruption of *slaed*; I take this occasion to retract my conjecture as unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> Also in No. 22 Sweet gives *poaas* (for *poccas*) as the reading of the MS.



testimony, especially when coupled with the fact that the *Leidensis* fails to mark *lexas* in the usual way as OE. interpretation. *Lexas* may be by-form of *lixas*; they are called blood-suckers because of the well-known tendency of these traders to overcharge and cheat the soldiers they dealt with out of their money.

## VI. THE LORICA GLOSSES.

It is to be regretted that Kluge did not include the Lorica glosses as a new feature of the *Lesebuch's* 3d edition. He would perhaps have cleared away all doubt concerning some points of Sweet's text which are still left problematical even by a comparison with the latest print of the glosses as published on pp. 85-88 of Dom A. B. Kuypers' complete edition of Ædeluold's Prayer Book, commonly called the Book of Cerne, Cambridge, 1902. In the first place, we should like to get certainty as to what glosses really are the work of the first hand, and how far Sweet's text is reliable as a presentation of it. I have noticed two important discrepancies between Sweet's text and that of Kuypers: (1) After Sweet's No. 59, Kuypers stars <sup>sconcan</sup> *crura* as gloss by the first hand. The gloss is absent from Sweet's text, and should be inserted as No. 59<sup>a</sup>, if Kuypers is right; (2) as No. 56 Sweet prints *genuclis*:.....*banū*; in a note he says that the whole word is erased; may be *hweorf-banū*, certainly not *speorbanum*, as suggested by Cockayne. Kuypers fails to star the gloss, thereby indicating that he does not consider it the work of the first hand; he also has *baanum* for Sweet's *banū*; as to the word erased, he agrees with Sweet that it may have been *hweorf-baanum*, 'altered to *cniewum* later.' Now neither Sweet nor Kuypers is explicit enough to settle all doubt concerning this gloss. Kuypers prints <sup>(cniewum) baanum</sup> *genuclis*, and from that it would appear, as it seems to appear from Sweet's print, that only *hweorf* is erased, while the wording of Sweet's note at least implies that the entire *hweorfbānū* is erased. Kuypers' note, '*hweorf-baanum* (?), altered to *cniewum* later,' when taken together with the way he prints the gloss, might

easily lead one to infer that he wishes to convey the idea that *cniewum* is on the erasure of *hweorf* only. The same lack of explicitness is to be observed in the following instances where Kuypers' print diverges from that of Sweet:

- (1) Sweet's No. 11<sup>b</sup> *pelta plægsceldæ*: (Kuypers) <sup>plæg sceldæ\*</sup> *pelta* ;
- (2) Sweet's No. 14 *cephalem heafudponnan*: (Kuypers) <sup>heafud ponnan\*</sup> *cephalem* ;
- (3) Sweet's No. 16 *conas egan*: (Kuypers) <sup>ða egan\*</sup> *conas* ;
- (4) Sweet's No. 20 *michinas næsðyrel*: (Kuypers) <sup>ða næs ðyrel\*</sup> *michinas* ;
- (5) Sweet's No. 33 *supercilis oferbruū*: (Kuypers) <sup>ofer bruum\*</sup> *supercilis* ;
- (6) Sweet's No. 42 *gurgilioni ðrotbollan*: (Kuypers) <sup>ðrot bollan\*</sup> *gurgilioni* ;
- (7) Sweet's No. 43 *sublinguaetungeðrum*: (Kuypers) <sup>tung eðrum\*</sup> *sublinguē* ;
- (8) Sweet's No. 51 *renibus lundleogū*: (Kuypers) <sup>lund leogum\*</sup> *renibus* ;
- (9) Sweet's No. 52 *catacrinas huppbaan*: (Kuypers) <sup>hupp baan\*</sup> *cata crinas* ;
- (10) Sweet's No. 62 *reniculos lundleogan*: (Kuypers) <sup>lund leogan\*</sup> *reniculos* ;
- (11) Sweet's No. 63 *fithrem snēdelðearm*: (Kuypers) <sup>snēdel ðearm\*</sup> *fithrem* ;
- (12) Sweet's No. 66 *toracem feoluferð*:<sup>1</sup> (Kuypers) <sup>feolu ferð\*</sup> *toracem* ;
- (13) Sweet's No. 67 *fibras smaelðearmas*: (Kuypers) <sup>smæl ðearmas\*</sup> *fibras* ;
- (14) Sweet's No. 68 *bucliamine heorthoman*: (Kuypers) <sup>py heorthoman\*</sup> *bucliamine*.

<sup>1</sup> I wish to reiterate what I have said on this word in *Anglia* 26. 287-288, and again draw attention to *WW.* 203. 11 *feleferð* (*centumcilio .i. pellis ⁊ centumpellis*), *ibid.* 610. 37 *the felvalde* (*scruta exta .i. tripe*, and *Ahd. Gl.* 3. 321. 22 *uileuar*, (*omasus*). In addition, cf. the Papias gloss quoted by Goetz, *Thes. Gloss. Emend.* s. v. *omasum stomachus uel uenter centipellis uel uentriculus*, whence it is clear, I hope, that we have to do not with the bird-name *fieldfare*, but with a term for the tripe called *manifold*. Of course, that is not the proper interpretation of *thoracem*; it belongs rather to the preceding *toleam* as alternative with *readan*, and *readan* is not plural, as Sweet would have us believe (see his *Dictionary*, p. 139b), nor does it mean 'tonsils', but it is the acc. sg. of *rēada*, which is mod. dial. *read*, 'the stomach of an animal, spec. the fourth stomach of a ruminant,' as *NED.* explains it. The *WW.*-gloss, 159. 38, *tolia uel por-unula reada* quoted there, is not the earliest instance, but our *Lorica*-gloss (Sweet's *Lr.* 65). Also in the Irish *Lorica tolea* is interpreted by a word for 'stomach' (*ingaile*).

In regard to all of the instances quoted, there is, in the absence of an explicit statement on Kuypers' part and in view of his varying practice,<sup>1</sup> considerable doubt left in our minds as to the scope of the star he affixes to the gloss, and we are led to ask whether the star is to mark off as work of the first hand *all* parts of the gloss printed above the Latin word, including the articles, etc., appearing in *Nos.* 2, 3, 4, and 68, or just that part to which it is affixed.<sup>1</sup> In view of the divergencies of Sweet's print, it is surely important to get authentic information about this point. Explicitness is also required in regard to what Kuypers means by 'later' as applied to alterations of glosses. Does he use it (laxely) as an equivalent of 'in the later hand' or to convey the idea that the alteration is by the same hand that wrote the original gloss, only later in time? The question is pertinent, considering the divergencies of statement I observe relative to *ofer* in (*ofer*)*bruū* (*tautonibus*), Sweet's No. 38. Sweet says that *ofer* is prefixed in the later hand; according to Kuypers, *bruum* was altered to *oferbruum* 'later.' Just so the *e* of *alle* (*pantes*), No. 72, is erased; *e* prefixed by the later hand, *teste Sweetio*, but Kuypers says that *alle* was altered to *eall* 'later.' Compare also his use of 'later' in regard to the alteration *cniewum* in No. 56. Of other divergencies between Sweet's and Kuypers' prints I have noticed the following:

- (1) In No. 35 *buccis smerum* Sweet fails to indicate that the *u* of *buccis* seems to be over an erasure.
- (2) In No. 48 *cubitis fæðmū* Sweet fails to indicate that the reading of the first hand was probably *cubis*, altered to *cubitis* (*ti* interlined) by the second hand.
- (3) No. 52 Sweet prints *catacrinas* against *cata crinas* of Kuypers.
- (4) In No. 55 Sweet has *suras*, failing to indicate that the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e. g. Sweet's No. 2 *lacerandum*: *to teorenne* with Kuypers' *lacerandum*. Here the star evidently refers to *teorenne* and *to*, as the facsimile of the opening page, printed on p. 84a of Kuypers' work, shows. But Sweet's No. 74 appears as *ic\*siu\*wegen\** in Kuypers' print.

original reading was *surras*, altered later to *suras* by erasure of the first *r*.

- (5) In No. 58 Sweet prints *tibiis sconcū*, failing to indicate that the original *tibis* was altered to *tibiis* later.

Why Sweet should have chosen to print as a unit No. 7, *omne malum a me pereat gewite*, while it appears from Kuypers' print that *gewite* glosses only *pereat*, or No. 4, *ceteros agonithetas cempan*, when, according to K., *cempan* glosses only *agonithetas*, or why in No. 8 he should have printed as one gloss *pactum firmum feriat were trume fæstnie*, or in No. 11 *libera tuta pelta gefria ðine plægsceldæ*, when in reality (see Kuypers) there are as many different glosses as there are words, seems all the more strange, as he prints as two separate glosses No. 70 *turtuosis gebegdū* and No. 71 *intestinis isernum*, which appear as *turtuosis* <sup>gebegdum</sup> *cum* <sup>isernum</sup> *intestinis* in Kuypers, and form just as much a grammatical unit as the above quoted, and No. 9 *mei gibrae mines lichoman*.

On p. 84b of Kuypers' work there is a facsimile plate of the opening page of the *Lorica* (Book of Cerne, fol. 43). This plate enables us to check the reliability of about the third part of Kuypers' print of the *Lorica*. It would seem from it that it has not been Kuypers' aim faithfully to reproduce in his transcript the exact state of things in the original. Fol. 43a, ll. 1-2 appear in Kuypers' transcript thus: *hanc luricam loding cantavit ter in omne die*

<sup>gemiltsa</sup> <sup>Sio byrnes</sup>  
SUFFAGARE TRINITATI

As a matter of fact the ms., as shown by the facsimile, has *luricā*; *ter* is quite faint and appears to have been erased; the words *in omne die* are written below AGARE. In the marked off space above ARETRINITATI traces of capital letters appear very faintly outlined; inspection of the ms. itself would perhaps enable us to read them.

L. 4	Kuypers	has	<sup>ic bidde</sup>	<sup>me</sup>	<sup>ic bidde me</sup>				
			<i>quacesso</i>	<i>mihi</i>	against	<i>quacesso</i>	<i>mihi</i>	of facsimile.	
			<sup>mid him</sup>			<sup>midhi</sup>			
5	"	"	<i>secum</i>		against	<i>secum</i>	"	"	

L. 7 Kuypers has <sup>from þam hyhstan</sup> *á sublimibus* against <sup>frö þā hyhstan</sup> *á sublimib*; of facsimile.  
<sup>þam hiofoncundan<sup>1</sup></sup> *caelestis* against <sup>þā hiofoncundan</sup> *caelestis*

8 “ “ <sup>forlæton</sup> *linguant* against <sup>forlætan</sup> *linguant* “ “

13 Kuypers agrees with Sweet in stating that the first hand's *ðicce* above *denso* was altered to *þy ðiccan* by the later hand; but this is not borne out by the facsimile. After repeated inspection and comparison, I feel bound to say that the alteration appears to be made by a hand at least contemporary with the first. There is hardly any difference in either the tracing of the letters or the color of the ink. But there is a marked difference in either respect with the following *gescyldende*, which plainly betrays its origin by the later hand.

OTTO B. SCHLUTTER.

WOLFENBÜTTEL, GERMANY.

<sup>1</sup> *sic*!

## CHAUCER'S VERSE-TAGS

## AS A PART OF HIS NARRATIVE MACHINERY.

WE have been familiar since Homer's time with fixed phrases recurring regularly whenever the same thing is to be described. Many of Homer's recurring expressions like *κορυθαίολος Ἕκτορ, πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς, λευκώλενος Ἥρην*, come to serve as verse-tags which conveniently fill out the line, even when their applicability is not the most evident. When we read Chaucer we notice that he has certain frequently recurring expressions which sometimes seem to serve a like purpose as verse-tags. Such are: 'There nis namore to seye,' 'soothly for to seyn,' 'I dar wol seyn,' 'it is no lye,' 'withouten wordes mo,' 'out of doute,' 'what shuld I more seyn,' 'as men may see,' 'als ever mote I thryve,' and many more confirmatory expressions; not to speak of single asseverative words like 'trewely,' 'verraily,' 'trusteth,' 'certes,' 'soothly.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. Lange in *Die Versicherungen bei Chaucer*, Halle-Wittenberg Diss., Berlin, n. d., has collected and classified profitlessly Chaucer's asseverations, chiefly those in the form of oaths. He draws no conclusions. Max Kaluza, in a review of this (*Eng. Stud.*, 22. 77-9) says: 'Chaucer's werke enthalten eine reiche fülle von derartigen betheuerungsformeln, die in der mehrzahl der fälle wohl nur den zweck hatten, den vers oder die strophe zu füllen oder ein bequemes reinwort zu bieten. Chaucer hat die meisten dieser typischen wendungen der früheren me. dichtung, insbesondere der romanzendichtung, entnommen, wenn er sie auch etwas mehr variirt und dem jeweiligen zusammenhange besser angepasst hat als seine vorgänger. Er hätte vielleicht richtiger daran gethan, wenn er seine dichtungen von diesem immerhin etwas überflüssigen ballast befreit hätte, . . . in dem übermässigen gebrauch der versicherungen ist er durchaus ein kind seiner zeit, nicht der schöpfer einer neuen ära der dichtkunst. Ich glaube auch, dass die rein formelhaften ausdrücke in seinen späteren werken, also namentlich in dem *Canterbury Tales*, wohl seltener geworden sind, als in seinen erstlingsgedichten.'

The question of their artistic propriety at once arises. Why did Chaucer use these phrases, if he is the consummate artist in narrative that he is generally held to be? What is their origin? Why do we not find them in the narrative poetry of Browning, or Tennyson, or other modern poets? Why do they sometimes please us in Chaucer and sometimes fail to please? Of what sort of speech are they characteristic?

Now, the most cursory survey of contemporary literature makes it evident that these expressions are not peculiar to Chaucer. Gower has similar phrases,<sup>1</sup> though less frequently I think. The ballads<sup>2</sup> are not without them. The English verse-romances have them. Further, we find kindred expressions in French, Spanish, and Portuguese tales<sup>3</sup> of this period, and in fact, in mediæval narrative verse in general.<sup>4</sup> They are not of the same sort as the set phrases of Homer, and can not be traced to classical sources. Neither are they characteristic of modern polite literature. It would seem, then, that they are characteristic of mediæval literature.<sup>5</sup> Why is this so?

<sup>1</sup> I cite a few. The references are to pages of volume I of Pauli's edition: 'As the chronique telleth,' 31; 'as the chronique saith,' 243; 'as ye before have heard devise,' 31; 'never a dele,' 33; 'as I recorde,' 36; 'as I you telle may,' 45; 'and for to telle thus,' 78; 'as I well dare,' 83; 'now herken me what I shall sey,' 95.

<sup>2</sup> I note a few references: 'Without any lesynge,' *A Gest of Robyn Hode* 322.2; 353.2; 'Forsoth as I you say,' *ibid.* 373.2, *Robin Hood and the Monk*, 27.2; 63.2; 66.2; 78.2; 'I tell you in certen,' *ibid.* 46.2; 48.2; 'Sertenly withouten layn,' *ibid.* 17.2; 'Sertan withouten layn,' *ibid.* 81.2; 'The sothe for to say,' *A Gest of Robyn Hode*, 65.2; 130.2; 'I dare well say,' *ibid.* 71.4; 'I dare well undertake,' *ibid.* 96.2; 'And herken what I shall say,' *ibid.* 282.2.—Gummere, F. B., *Old Eng. Ballads*, Boston, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> In Portuguese, *chevilles* (stop-gaps, verse-tags, flickformeln) such as the following are common: 'assi Deus me ajude'; 'assi Deus me perdon'; 'sen engano,' 'sen arte'; 'assi veja prazer'; 'assi Deus me ajud'e parca'; 'Deus, que pod'e val'; 'O Diabolo, negro como pez'; 'Deus que nonca mente.'

<sup>4</sup> Such expressions are not absent in prose, but it is their use in verse that I am specially considering. E. g., in *The Persones Tale*, Chaucer has 'certes,' 'trusteth,' 'soothly,' very often, 'that is to seyn,' 543, and the like. The occurrences in the *Tale of Melibeus* are mostly monosyllabic ('certes' in more than half). Their use is the ordinary expletive one rather than the fuller narrative asseveration.

<sup>5</sup> Their firm establishment as narrative machinery in mediæval times is illustrated by their occurrence in the wretched verse-treatises on alchemy contained

Here it befits us to inquire what is the essential nature of these phrases. In almost every case they could be cut out without altering the construction or the logical sense in the least. Only the metre would suffer. Logically, then, they are pleonasms. Now pleonasms are a marked characteristic of popular speech. Cultivated speech uses what words are necessary to express the idea. Popular speech is full of detail and circumlocution.

He never yet no vileinye ne sayde  
In al his lyf, unto no maner wight (A. 70-1)

is a typical example. In reality, the negation is here repeated five times. This is the characteristic method of popular speech. This mode of procedure is due to its general unreflective nature, and sometimes to ignorance, as when in modern English we say 'full panoply' without realizing that the Hellenic already contained the idea of full. (This is a regular occurrence in Scott's novels, and may almost be said to have established itself in English in spite of its illogical character.) There are some good examples of pleonastic expressions of popular origin in modern French, such as the negatives *ne . . . pas*, *ne . . . point*, the interrogative *qui est-ce qui, aujourd'hui (au jour d'hui (hodie))*. Thus are the forms of the old popular speech preserved in a language after it has become literary and self-conscious.

This pleonastic tendency of popular speech is especially characteristic of mediæval productions, for the language of mediæval literature is the popular language. It was a choice between that and Latin, and those who wrote for the people naturally chose the speech of the people. But deeper than this, there was something in the mediæval mind especially akin to the child-mind in its reliance on authority, its almost total lack of critical faculty, its general habit of taking things on hearsay.

in E. Ashmole's *Theatrum Chem. Brit.*, London, 1652 ; T. Norton (*f.* 1477), *Ordinal of Alchemy*, 'What should I more of him report,' p. 27 ; 'It may be none other,' p. 33 ; 'there is noemore to sayne,' p. 105 ; *et al. passim*.



As with children to-day, the far-off, the imperfectly known, was wonderful; and the far-off for the mediæval mind began much nearer home than it does for any but young children of the present time. It is the attitude of mind typically romantic, left to its own resources. The scientific attitude of mind is not even dreamed of. To this illogical and imperfectly educated mind belongs the popular speech with its windings, its frequent repetitions, and its general pleonastic tendency. That we find these expressions in Chaucer, a polished writer of the fourteenth century, but not in Tennyson, a polished writer of the nineteenth century, is due to the fact that men of culture of the fourteenth century shared the popular attitude of mind. Men of culture of the nineteenth century do not. The part of reason in human life has been enlarged.

Now, why does the popular language resort to asseveration? What end is served? How is expression clarified by saying 'Ther nis namore to seye'? What is the psychology of it?<sup>1</sup> All comprehensible discourse must have emphasis. Proper emphasis is a means of economizing the reader's attention and his power of receiving sensory impression. This need of emphasis appeals as strongly to the popular as to the sophisticated mind. Now emphasis may be obtained by increased intensity of utterance or by giving time for the mind to dwell on the emphatic point. It is the second of these, emphasis of space, that is involved in the feeling that the expression 'It is grand' is less emphatic than 'It is magnificent.'<sup>2</sup> The polysyllable 'magnificent' holds our attention longer upon the idea than the monosyllable 'grand.' It is this sort of emphasis that Chaucer seeks in closing a passage with 'Ther is namore to telle' (F. 1584) or 'What sholde I lenger of this cas endyte' (F. 1550). He turns us back and rivets our attention on what he has just said. Such expressions are visible emphasis-marks.

We have only to refer to the colloquial language of to-day

<sup>1</sup> W. Wundt will perhaps touch upon this in the second volume of his *Völkerpsychologie*.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Herbert Spencer's *Philosophy of Style*, N. Y., 1880, pp. 13-14, for my illustration.

to find this sort of emphasis still in use. How often do we hear statements 'clinched' by the addition of 'That's all there is about it,' 'There's no two ways about that,' 'That's no lie,' and the like. Turning to modern folk-lore, Uncle Remus offers us numerous examples of pleonastic emphasis :

'Den he take en walk up ter de little gal, Brer Rabbit did';

'En Brer Rabbit, he say, sezee';

'Now you yeer wat I tel yer: He broke and run, he did.'<sup>1</sup>

This last parallels exactly Chaucer's 'Nu herkneth what I telle.' Examples can be added at pleasure. The speech of the common people is full of them. These expressions are the natural emphasis devices of a simple people.

Now to trace Chaucer's use of them. For this purpose I have examined carefully certain portions of his work of all periods, and in a more hasty examination of all his work I have found nothing to contradict my conclusion. I have chosen the works hereafter referred to to represent the three periods of his activity. I cite them in chronological order as arranged by Skeat. We find the phrases in work of all periods. In *The Romaunt of the Rose* (lines 1-1705, conceded to be by Chaucer) they are plentiful, and are frequently mere tags.<sup>2</sup> Nor can they be excused as attempts to translate the French, for it is but rarely that they are so. Such expressions are, of course, current in the French text, and in a general way doubtless served as models, but it is evident that they

<sup>1</sup> J. C. Harris, *Nights With Uncle Remus*, 11th ed., Boston, 1889. These expressions can be collected at will from its pages.

<sup>2</sup> I add references showing where the examples may be found. All references are to Skeat's edition and by his system of reference. *x* after a line number means that it is not in the French text, *y* that the phrase ends a line and therefore may be a true tag: 'sooth to seyne,' 117xy; 'I dar sey hardely,' 270xy; 'I sey no more,' 1249xy; 'what sholde I telle you more of it,' 1387y; 'the sooth of this matere,' 1632; 'o thing soothly dar I telle,' 1570 (O. Fr. 'une chose vous dirai'); 'sooth to telle,' 943xy, 1463xy; 'certeyn,' 'certes,' 'y-wis' *passim* xy; and various expressions as follows: 131xy, 1038xy; 1442xy; 170y, 263, 673; 175xy, 230xy, 461xy, 997xy; 232xy, 460xy, 805xy, 1296xy; 879xy; 470xy; 476y; 670y; 494xy; 574xy; 732xy; 641y; 740xy; 930xy; 947xy; 1012xy; 1140xy; 1288y; 1501; 1528y; 1572xy.

were a part of Chaucer's conventional vocabulary, from the fact that out of the whole number of occurrences in his version only a few are translations of the French. The *A B C* is not a narrative, and has only monosyllables like 'certeyn' (169y). The *Book of the Duchesse* has these phrases frequently, and more than half seem to be used as tags. The whole poem is excessively pleonastic in its method of expression. Besides, it is not a genuine story.<sup>1</sup> *The Seconde Nonnes Tale* of St. Cecilia, probably a translation of the first period (from a Latin prose original), only a little reworked later, has but few occurrences. Of these about half are to be classified as verse-tags. No deduction can be made from so small a basis.<sup>2</sup> *The Complaynte unto Pite*, a lyric in narrative form, of the second period has several occurrences which seem well in place.<sup>3</sup> *Troilus and Criseyde*, Book I, uses them sparingly, and then with good effect.<sup>4</sup> Book II makes excellent use of them for purposes of emphasis.<sup>5</sup> No instance in either book could be surely classed as a tag. In *The Hous of Fame* pleonasm is rife, as in *The Book of The Duchesse* (supposed to be much earlier), and asseveratives abundant. More than half of them are mere verse-tags.<sup>6</sup> Chaucer shows a falling off here from the mastery of these expressions revealed in the *Troilus and Criseyde*. *The Hous of Fame* is not a real story, *Troilus and Criseyde* is, and these expressions are most in place in the genuine story. *The*

<sup>1</sup> I add a few of the worst instances: 35y; 98y, 590y; 147y; 190y; 514y; 520y; 1065y, 1120y. Some of the better instances are 321; 341; 711y; 980; 755y; 830y. The average is poor.

<sup>2</sup> I find nine: G. 155y; 168y; 222y; 229y; 289y; 329y; 360y; 391y; 551y.

<sup>3</sup> 21, 77; 51; 56; 96; 113.

<sup>4</sup> I add a few: 501y; 34y; 572; 574y; 770y; 1007y. Of the poorer are: 12y; 159y; 802y; 893y; 996y.

<sup>5</sup> I add a few: 140y; 520y; 735y; 744y; 1126y; 1503y. Of the poorer are: 312y; 1516; 629y. The number of occurrences is large.

<sup>6</sup> I give a few of the very many references: good: 292y; 674y; 883y; 1012; 1335y; 1542: tags: 109y; 44y; 1368y; 1917y; 641y; 713y; 812y; 1066y; 1183y; 1324y; 1448y; 1464y; 1471y.

*Legende of Goode Women*<sup>1</sup> uses them very sparingly in lines 1-1366, comprising the prolog and the legends of Cleopatra, Thisbe, and Dido. Their use on the whole is good. A few are markedly bad, and a few markedly good. Perhaps the lack of character drawing here has something to do with their absence. No distinction can be made in the usage of the two versions of the prolog, tho they are probably not of the same date.

Right thru *The Canterbury Tales* it is not so much a diminution in the number of occurrences of asseverative phrases that we notice, as an increased ability to make them indispensable. The best tales are well besprinkled with them, and I should be loth to lose them. The prolog, it is true, has few occurrences, owing to its descriptive nature, but in *The Milleres Prolog and Tale* which abound in graphic descriptive narration, are many instances, and all thoroly in place.<sup>2</sup> The same is true of *The Frankeleyns Tale* of Arviragus and Dorigen, it being especially noticeable that at the climax of the story, when the characters are vying with each other in nobility and generosity, many paragraphs end with one of these phrases, in several instances occupying a whole line.<sup>3</sup> The same is true of *The Chanouns Yemannes Tale*, where they are abundant and very effective.<sup>4</sup> These phrases occur frequently in the burlesque *Sir Thopas*,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I add a few instances: prolog A: 16y; 502y; 521y; 285; 367 (B 383); 243y (B 317y); 452 (B 462); 407y (B 419y); 454y (B 464y); prolog B: 57y; 181y; 217y, 357y; 34; tales: 588; 715; 1022y; 1180. 'And this is storial sooth, hit is no fable,' 702y, is very good.

<sup>2</sup> *Milleres Tale and Prolog* (A. 3109-3854). I add a few references: 3114; 3167; 3281; 3337; 3391y; 3425y; 3461y; 3512y; 3541y; 3575y; 3766y; 3815y.

<sup>3</sup> *Frankeleyns Tale* (F. 709-1624). 'Saufly dar I seye' 761y; 'if I soth seyen shal' 770y; 'what sholde I make a lenger tale of this' 1165y; 'I dar wel seyn' 1249y; 'what sholde I lenger of this cas endyte' 1550y; 'I wol not lye' 1570y; 'ther is namore to telle' 1584y; 'there is namore to seyn' 1606y; 'it is no drede' 1609y; *et al.*

<sup>4</sup> *Chanouns Yemannes Tale and Prolog* (G. 554-1481). 599y; 662y; 1111y; 1129y; 1430y; *et al.*

<sup>5</sup> *Sir Thopas* (B. 1902-2108). 1902, 2023, 2083; 1903; 1918y; 1939; 1948; 1956y; 1976y; 1980y; 2000y; 2007y; 2010y; 2081y. Other gross pleonasmns are at 1910; 1939; 1986; 2070.

and are nearly all dangerously near tags. They fit perfectly into the pleonasm of the whole tale, which in 206½ lines says nothing at all, but piles up heaps of words and rimes which the host well characterizes as 'drasty speche.' We should expect this exaggerated use of them in such a burlesque of the romances of whose vocabulary they were a part. Chaucer's conscious art is here very evident to me.

Now since Chaucer uses these to the end, and since his best work stands or falls with them, what is the artistic justification? It seems to me that it is this. Besides being a feature of all popular speech these phrases are the especial outfit of the story-teller, his especial means of establishing credence; and it is as such that I hold that Chaucer is the perfect artist in using them in his best work. Chaucer aims to keep us, and to an astonishing degree succeeds in keeping us exactly in the position of people listening to (not reading) a story. He makes a point that he would be sure we understand and believe. He stops and says "It is no lye." We are reassured and strengthened in our naturally credulous feeling that whatever he says must be so. The unsophisticated story-teller always uses such devices, and the unsophisticated listener always accepts them at full value. We moderns have reasoned ourselves out of these simple devices in writing or speaking formally. We have not changed our nature so much that we do not fall a ready prey to their genial assurance. Such a type of story-teller as Chaucer had in mind is described by J. F. Campbell.<sup>1</sup> He was one of the old men who told the Gaelic tales which are recorded in Campbell's book. 'He had the manner of a practised narrator, and it is quite evident that he is one; he chuckled at the interesting parts, and laid his withered finger on my knee as he gave out the terrible bits with due solemnity.'

I shall find it hard to believe that Chaucer did this in the innocence of his heart—laying aside for the present the question whether he was ever for one moment innocent and simple of heart. I am prone to regard his skilful use of asseveratives

<sup>1</sup> *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, Paisley and London, 1890, vol. 1, p. xxii.

as one of the triumphs of his art, one of the touches which preserve that perfect verisimilitude, which give us ever the flavor of living oral speech.

In conclusion we may say : (1) that Chaucer in taking up the art of poetry found these phrases a part of the stock in trade of the poet, that he made use of them in his early work as verse-tags in a way far from artistic ; but (2) as he grew in conscious artistic power he came to understand the nature of these phrases and the psychology that lies back of their use, and no longer used them freely as convenient stop-gaps, tho custom occasionally caused him to yield a point to metrical convenience ; that (3) in his best work these phrases, like all his materials, are perfectly under control, and occur rarely or frequently in accord with the nature of the work, but are always fitly placed. They are no longer verse-tags. Chaucer, like other great artists, was able to pour new life into all the conventions of his art.

CHARLES M. HATHAWAY, JR.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

## BROWNING, ABT VOGLER 69 ff.

**A**MONG the best known lines of Browning are these from *Abt Vogler*, but I do not remember to have seen any discussion of their philosophical basis, or any hint of the source from which the theory is derived. The lines are :

There shall never be one lost good ! What was, shall live as before ;  
 The evil is null, is naught, is silence implying sound ;  
 What was good shall be good, with, for evil, so much good more ;  
 On the earth the broken arcs ; in the heavens the perfect round.

And what is our failure here but a triumph's evidence  
 For the fulness of the days ? Have we withered or agonized ?  
 Why else was the pause prolonged but that singing might issue thence ?  
 Why rushed the discords in but that harmony should be prized ?

The thought is that of Leibnitz, *Théodicée* 1. 12, 16, 17, and perhaps it would be fair to characterize it as Leibnitzian : 'Un peu d'acide, d'acre ou d'amer, plait souvent mieux que du sucre ; les ombres rehaussent les couleurs ; et même une dissonance, placée où il faut, donne du relief à l'harmonie.<sup>1</sup> Nous

<sup>1</sup> Somewhat like this is the thought of Pope (*Essay on Man* 1. 291-2) :

All discord, harmony not understood ;  
 All partial evil, universal good.

Cf. Shakespeare, *Hen. V.* 4. 1. 4-5 :

There is some soul of goodness in things evil,  
 Would men observingly distil it out.

Also Wordsworth, *Old Cumberland Beggar* :

'Tis Nature's law  
 That none, the meanest of created things,  
 Of forms created the most vile and brute,  
 The dullest or most noxious, should exist  
 Divorced from good.

And Tennyson, *In Mem.* 54. 5-8 :

That nothing walks with aimless feet ;  
 That not one life shall be destroyed,  
 Or cast as rubbish to the void,  
 When God hath made the pile complete.

voulons être effrayés par des danseurs de corde qui sont sur le point de tomber, et nous voulons que les tragédies nous fassent presque pleurer. Goute-t-on assez la santé, et en rend-on assez grâces à Dieu, sans avoir jamais été malade? Et ne faut-il pas le plus souvent qu'un peu de mal rende le bien plus sensible, c'est-à-dire plus grand? . . . Il faut avouer cependant qu'il y a des desordres dans cette vie, qui se font voir particulièrement dans la prospérité de plusieurs méchants, et dans l'infélicité de beaucoup de gens de bien. Il y a un proverbe Allemand qui donne même l'avantage aux méchants, comme s'ils étoient ordinairement les plus heureux :

Je krümmer Holz, je bessre Krüke :  
Je ärger Schalk, je grösser Glücke.

Et il seroit à souhaiter que ce mot d'Horace fut vrai à nos yeux :

Raro antecedentem scelestum  
Deseruit pede poena claudo.

Cependant il arrive souvent aussi, quoique ce ne soit peut-être pas le plus souvent,

Qu'aux yeux de l'univers le ciel se justifie. . . .

Mais quand cela n'arriveroit pas ici, le remède est tout prêt dans l'autre vie. La religion, et même la raison, nous l'apprennent ; et nous ne devons point murmurer contre un petit délai, que la Sagesse supreme a trouvé bon de donner aux hommes pour se repentir.'

The general doctrine that the imperfection of the part may be necessary to the perfection of the whole, and that therefore God was under no obligation absolutely to exclude evil from his universe, is already professed by Thomas Aquinas, *Contra Gentiles*, l. 3, c. 71, p. 136 : 'Bonum totius praeeminet bono partis. Ad prudentem igitur gubernatorem pertinet, negligere aliquem defectum bonitatis in parte, ut fiat augmentum bonitatis in toto ; sicut artifex abscondit fundamentum sub terra, ut tota domus habeat firmitatem. Sed si malum a quibusdam partibus universi subtraheretur, multum deperiret perfectionis universa, cujus pulchritudo ex ordinata bonorum et malorum



adunatione consurgit, dum mala ex bonis deficientibus proveniunt, et tamen ex eis quaedam bona consequuntur ex providentia gubernantis, sicut et silentii interpositio facit cantilenam esse suavam.<sup>1</sup> Non igitur per divinam providentiam debuit malum a rebus excludi.'

A century and a quarter earlier than Thomas Aquinas, the famous mystic, Hugh of St. Victor (*ca.* 1097-1141), the friend of St. Bernard, thus expressed himself (*De Sacra. Fidei*, 1. 4. 23; Migne 176. 243): 'Contingit autem quod bonum est alicujus bonum esse illius, et non esse bonum ad omnia; et iterum quod malum est alicujus malum esse illius, et bonum omnium esse, quoniam ex eo bonum est omnium. . . . Et diximus quod majus bonum est esse bonum ex malo et bono, quam ex solo bono. Permitti itaque mala debuerunt ut essent, quoniam ut essent id bonum erat ex quibus bonum futurum erat.'

King Alfred must have been familiar with the doctrine, for he says (Hargrove's translation of the *Soliloquies*): 'Thou hast shapen them all orderly and peaceable, and so harmonious that none of them can altogether destroy the other, but the ugly ever adorneth the beautiful,' where the Latin of Augustine has only (*Yale Studies in English* 13. 5): 'Deus, a quo dissonantia usque in extremum nulla est, cum deteriora melioribus concinunt.'

In the third century A. D. we find the Neo-Platonists, or at least Plotinus, expressing a similar view. Thus Plotinus, *Enn.* 2. 9. 4, 8, 16 (Taylor, *Select Works of Plotinus*, pp. 74, 84, 113): 'Nor must we grant them that this world was produced in an evil condition, because there are many molestations in it. For this arises from forming too exalted an opinion of this sensible world, and conceiving it to be the same with that which is intelligible, and not the image of it. For what more beautiful image of it could have been generated? What other fire could be a better image of the fire which is there than the fire which is here? Or what other earth than this, of the earth which is there? What sphere, also, could be more accurate and venerable, or more orderly in its motion [than that of this

<sup>1</sup> This is a remarkable anticipation of Leibnitz and of Browning.

sensible universe], after the comprehension which is there of the intelligible world in itself? And what other sun, after the intelligible sun, can be prior to this which is the object of sight? . . . . The bodies, however, which are naturally moved, are moved in a beautiful manner, as being parts of the whole; but certain things are corrupted, in consequence of not being able to sustain the order of the whole. Just as if in a great dance, which is conducted in a becoming manner, a tortoise being caught in the middle of the progression, should be trod upon, not being able to escape the order of the dance; though if the tortoise had arranged itself with the dance, it would not have suffered from those that composed it. . . . But his mind must be dull and sluggish in the extreme, and incapable of being incited to anything else, who, on seeing all the beautiful objects in the sensible world, all this symmetry and great arrangement of things, and the form apparent in the stars though so remote, is not from this view mentally agitated, and does not venerate them as admirable productions of still more admirable causes.'

Whatever intermediaries there may have been, this doctrine goes back to the Stoics,<sup>1</sup> our information being chiefly derived from utterances of Chrysippus (ca. 280-206 B. C.), the second founder of Stoicism, especially as reported by Plutarch and Aulus Gellius. The principal passages are as follows.

The first, from Plutarch, *Contrad. of the Stoics* 44. 6 (*Morals*, ed. Goodwin, 4. 472), reminds us of Hugh of St. Victor and Thomas Aquinas: 'The world indeed is a perfect body [according to Chrysippus], but the parts of the world are not perfect, because they have in some sort respect to the whole, and are not of themselves.'

Aul. Gell. 7. (6.) 1, 2: 'Chrysippus, in his fourth book concerning Providence, . . . observes that nothing can be more absurd or foolish than their opinion who think that there can be good without the existence of evil. For as good is contrary to evil, and it is necessary that both should exist, opposite to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the statement of Hatch, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church* (Hibbert Lectures), p. 170: 'The basis of Christian society is not Christian, but Roman and Stoical.'

each other, and, as it were, dependent upon mutual and opposite exertions, so there can be no opposing thing exist without its particular opposite. For how could there be a sense of justice if there were no injustice? or what indeed is justice but the absence of injustice? In like manner, what can we imagine of fortitude but as opposed to pusillanimity? What of temperance but from intemperance? What would prudence be but for its opposite imprudence? Why also should unwise men not require this, that there should exist truth, and not falsehood? In like manner exist good and evil, happiness and misery, pain and pleasure. Each, as Plato remarks, is confined to the other by contrary and opposing vortices, so that if you remove one you take away the other. . . . But as, he continues, he [the Creator] produced and formed many and great things, most convenient and useful, there are other kindred inconveniences adhering to the things which he created.'

Plutarch, *Com. Con. against the Stoics*, 16. 2 (*Morals*, ed. Goodwin, 4. 387): 'They say that prudence, being the knowledge of good and evil, would be wholly taken away if there were no evil. For as, if there are truths, it is impossible but there must be some lies also near them, so it stands with reason that if there are good things, there must also be evil things.' Again, 13. 2 (*op. cit.* p. 384): 'Vice, saith he [Chrysippus], has its limit in reference to other accidents. For it is also in some sort according to the reason of Nature, and, as I may say, is not wholly useless in respect of the universe; for otherwise there would not be any good.'<sup>1</sup> And again (*op. cit.* p. 385): 'For, says he [Chrysippus], as comedies have in them sometimes ridiculous epigrams, which, though bad in themselves, give nevertheless a certain grace to the whole poem, so, though you may blame vice in itself, yet is it not useless to other things.' To the same purpose is the *Hymn to Zeus* of Cleanthes (ca. 300-225 B. C.): 'No work upon earth is wrought apart from thee, O lord, nor through the divine ethereal sphere, nor upon the sea, save only whatsoever deeds wicked men do in their own foolishness. Nay, thou knowest how to make

<sup>1</sup> So also Plutarch, *Contrad. of the Stoics* 35. 3 (*Morals*, ed. Goodwin, 4. 464.)

even the rough smooth, and to bring order out of disorder ;<sup>1</sup> and things not friendly are friendly in thy sight. For so hast thou fitted all things together, the good with the evil, that there might be one eternal law over all.'<sup>2</sup>

Coming down to Roman Stoicism, and to one of its most eminent representatives,<sup>3</sup> we note that he reiterates the doctrine (8. 35): 'Rational nature continually modifies each form of resistance or obstruction, subordinates it to the scheme of destiny, and so incorporates it with itself.' Again (6. 42): 'One and all we work towards one consummation, some knowingly and intelligently, others unconsciously. Just as Heraclitus—was it not?—said of those who sleep, that they too are at work, fellow-workers in the conduct of the universe. One works in one way, another in another; and not least he who finds fault, and who tries to resist and undo what is done. Even of such the world has need.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Milton, *P. L.* 7. 615-6 :

His evil

Thou usest, and from thence creat'st more good.

Thomson, *Hymn* 114 :

From seeming evil still educing good.

Coleridge, *Religious Musings* 58 :

Alike from all educing perfect good.

<sup>2</sup> The mention of Cleanthes suggests that in his hymn there is a kind of parallel to the lines in *Pippa Passes* where Ottima is reminding Sebalde of an episode in their guilty past :

And ever and anon some bright white shaft  
Burned through the pine-tree roof, here burned and there,  
As if God's messenger through the close wood screen  
Plunged and replunged his weapon at a venture,  
Feeling for guilty thee and me.

Cleanthes uses the same figure of a sword for lightning :

So great is the power thou confidest, with strong, invincible hand,  
To thy mighty ministering servant, the bolt of the thunder, that flies  
Two-edged, like a sword, and fervent, that is living and never dies.

Note that Shelley says (*Defense of Poetry*, ed. Cook, 19. 28): 'Poetry is a sword of lightning, ever unsheathed' ; cf. *Naples* 158-9 :

'Oh bid those beams be each a blinding brand  
Of lightning.'

More remote are *Culderon* 2. 26; *Cenci* 3. 2. 4; Tennyson, *To J. M. K.* 14.

<sup>3</sup> Marcus Aurelius.

In a longer passage he enters the domain of æsthetics, reaffirming the same essential principle in another form (3. 2): 'Watch well the grace and charm that belong even to the consequents of nature's work. The cracks, for instance, and crevices in bread-crust, though in a sense flaws in the baking, yet have a fitness of their own, and a special stimulus to tickle the appetite. Figs again, just at perfection, gape. In ripe olives the very nearness of decay adds its own beauty to the fruit. The bending ears of corn, the lion's scowl, the foam that drips from the wild boar's mouth, and many other things, though in themselves far from beautiful, yet looked at as consequents on nature's handiwork, add new beauty and appeal to the soul, so that if only one attains deeper feeling and insight for the workings of the universe, almost everything, even in its consequents and accidents, seems to yield some pleasing combination of its own. Thus the actual jaws of living beasts will be not less picturesque than the imitations produced by artists and sculptors. The old woman and the old man will have an ideal loveliness, as youth its ravishing charm, made visible to eyes that have the skill. Such things will not appeal to all, but will strike him only who is in harmony with nature, and her sincere familiar.'

It appears, then, that Browning's affirmation reposes upon a doctrine ultimately Stoic, reiterated in the Middle Ages by men as unlike as Hugh of St. Victor and the Angel of the Schools, and again enounced in modern times by Leibnitz, in whose theology the principle occupies a conspicuous place. The striking verbal resemblances are these:

(1) *Silentii interpositio facit cantilenam esse suavem* (Thomas Aquinas).

The evil is null, is naught, is silence implying sound.

Why else was the pause prolonged, but that singing might issue thence?

(2) *Même une dissonance, placée où il faut, donne du relief à l'harmonie* (Leibnitz).

Why rushed the discords in, but that harmony should be prized?

ALBERT S. COOK.

## THE BOOKS OF LYDIA LANGUISH'S CIRCULATING LIBRARY.

A COMMUNICATION to the London *Morning Post*, of February 3, 1775, begins with these words: 'Mr. Editor, I desire you will inform the Author of the *Rivals* that his attack upon *Circulating Libraries* in his first act is unjust, and very impertinent: Besides his sentiments are so inconsistent—He pretends to make such fine speeches in his play about *love*, and to pay such a compliment in the Epilogue to the Ladies, yet would decry novels, which form the very food and sustenance of love. I should be glad to know what are most of the modern comedies but *dialogue novels*? Are the two Play-houses better than circulating libraries?' The 'malicious scene' which 'Sukey Saunter' thereupon calls on Sheridan to 'expunge' is the second scene of the first act. Somewhat covertly in the dialogue between *Lydia Languish* and *Lucy*, more openly in *Sir Anthony's* denunciation of the circulating library as 'an evergreen tree of diabolical knowledge,' Sheridan hits at the sentimentality of the day, especially as represented by the popular novels of the circulating library. *Lydia Languish* who 'projected one of the most sentimental elopements!—so becoming a disguise!—so amiable a ladder of ropes!—Conscious Moon—four horses—Scotch parson—with such surprise to Mrs. Malaprop—and such paragraphs in the newspapers!' is, after all, the product of the sentimental novels of the circulating library which have become to her 'very food and sustenance.'

Thorough appreciation not merely of Sheridan's text, but of his whole attitude toward the spirit of sentimentality run riot in drama and fiction alike, demands an account of the books of

Lydia Languish's circulating library. The very few editions of Sheridan that contain any notes whatever explanatory of the text, present only incomplete and inaccurate accounts of some of the books mentioned by Sheridan.<sup>1</sup> Twenty books, in all, are named in *The Rivals: The Reward of Constancy; The Fatal Connexion; The Mistakes of the Heart; The Delicate Distress; The Memoirs of Lady Woodford; The Gordian Knot; Peregrine Pickle; The Tears of Sensibility; Humphry Clinker; The Memoirs of a Lady of Quality written by herself; The Sentimental Journey; The Whole Duty of Man; Roderick Random; The Innocent Adultery; Lord Aimworth; Ovid; The Man of Feeling; Mrs. Chapone; Fordyce's Sermons; and Lord Chesterfield's Letters.*

The following analysis, based solely upon contemporary book-notices and reviews in English periodicals, is intentionally confined to the books never previously located, those located incorrectly by previous commentators on Sheridan, and a few unfamiliar books about which new material from contemporary sources can be profitably supplied. Smollett, Sterne, Mackenzie, and Lord Chesterfield can be located readily in the manuals of literature, but most of the sentimental novels of the day have been obscured so effectually that the contention is not infrequent that Sheridan coined many of the extravagant titles mentioned in his list. Contemporary evidence, however, proves indisputably that this was not the case. The subjoined extracts from various reviews not merely prove the facts of the case, but give instructive side-lights on the conflict between sentiment and sentimentality.

*The Reward of Constancy.*

This is the only book mentioned by Sheridan that I have been unable to locate positively. My conjecture is that Sheridan had in mind the sub-title of *The Happy Pair; or, Virtue and Constancy Rewarded.* A Novel. By Mr. Shebbeare [no-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e. g., Sheridan's *Comedies*, ed. Brander Matthews (Osgood & Co., 1885), notes, pp. 320-321; *The Rivals*, Temple Edition, notes by G. A. Aitken, p. 168.

ticed in the Supplement to *The Universal Magazine*, Jan.-June, 1771]. In support of this conjecture it may be pardonable to quote from a recent personal letter from Mr. W. Fraser Rae of London, the greatest authority on Sheridan: 'I have applied to many friends, of great bibliographical learning, to help me to reply to you. The general opinion is that your guess is correct and that the work in question was *The Happy Pair; or Virtue and Constancy Rewarded*.' Since, however, Sheridan's other titles can be located definitely, this suggestion is offered only as a reasonable conjecture.

*The Fatal Connexion.*

*The Fatal Connexion* (1773), by Mrs. Fogerty.

'Surely Mrs. Fogerty was begotten, born, nursed, and educated in a circulating library, and sucked in the spirit of romance with her mother's milk.'—*The Monthly Review*, August, 1773.

'Romantic nonsense, as usual.'—*The London Magazine*, September, 1773.

'Whether Mrs. Fogerty is a real or a fictitious personage, is of no sort of consequence to the public; of less consequence is the production under her name, which has very little to recommend it to their attention.'—*The Critical Review*, November, 1773.

*The Mistakes of the Heart.*

*The Mistakes of the Heart; or, Memoirs of Lady Caroline Pelham and Lady Victoria Nevil.* By Treyssac de Vergy, Counsellor in the Parliaments of Paris and Bourdeaux. 3 vols. (1769).

'This writer imitates Rousseau and Richardson. His performance is not without merit, and we might commend it to the ladies if there were not some scenes too luxuriant for the eye of delicacy.'—*The Town and Country Magazine*, April, 1769.

'These memoirs are related in a collection of letters, in the manner of Richardson, to whom this writer is very inferior in



point of language, manners, and sentiment.'—*The Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1769.

'If Monsieur de Vergy had ever been really acquainted with persons of distinction in this country, he could not have so egregiously mistaken their style and manner . . . . The mistakes of the pen, however, may be pardoned in a foreigner, although we are quite wearied with their perpetual repetition,—and the frequent instances of broken English into the bargain.'—*The Monthly Review*, February, 1772 (on vol. 4).

*The Delicate Distress and The Gordian Knot.*

*The Delicate Distress and The Gordian Knot.* 1769. Two Novels, in Letters. By the Authors of Henry and Frances. In Four Volumes. The first and second, entitled, *The Delicate Distress*, by Frances; the third and fourth, entitled, *The Gordian Knot* or, *Dignus Vindice Nodus*, by Henry.

'In *The Delicate Distress*, Mrs. Griffith, whose productions we have occasionally recommended to the public, has told us an interesting tale, embellished with an agreeable variety of characters.

'In *The Gordian Knot*, Mr. G., under the assumed name of Henry, gives us, as his title-page may seem to import, a more complicated and more elaborate, but less sprightly and less pleasing history.'—*The Monthly Review*, September, 1769.

*The Memoirs of Lady Woodford.*

*The Memoirs of Lady Woodford*, written by herself, and addressed to a Friend.

'Tenderness and simplicity are the principal characteristics of this innocent novel.'—*The Monthly Review*, June, 1771.

*The Tears of Sensibility.*

*The Tears of Sensibility*, Novels. Namely, 1. The cruel Father. 2. Rosetta. 3. The rival Friends. 4. Sidney and Silli. Translated from the French of M. D'Arnaud, by John Murdoch, 2 vols.

'These novels are highly interesting, and written with senti-

ment and delicacy. The translator has done them ample justice: His version is elegant, and discovers a rare propriety of expression and language.'—*The Universal Magazine*, January, 1773.

'In this work, as is usual to the French novelists, nature is painted very warmly but chastely. The translation has preserved the spirit of the original.'—*The London Magazine*, January, 1773.

'Amongst the various translations which we have read of this kind from the works of our ingenious neighbours, we recollect scarcely any which can come in competition with these productions of M. D'Arnaud . . . We should be better pleased were not some of the incidents beyond the reach of probability.'—*The Critical Review*, March, 1773.

'The Author aims, for the most part, to keep his Readers on the rack. He deals only in those virtues and vices which astonish and exercise our sensibility in the extreme. He therefore defeats his own purpose. A tale made up wholly of wonders, never excites admiration; and a novel, which in every page is to harrow up the soul, leaves it in great quietness.'—*The Monthly Review*, April, 1773.

### *The Whole Duty of Man.*

'*The Whole Duty of Man*, necessary for all families, with private devotions for severall occasions. [By Lady Pakington? or R. Sterne, Archbishop of York? With a prefatory letter by H. Hammond.] 2 pt. London, [December? 1658—] 1660.' So entered in the catalogue of the British Museum. This once famous religious work had almost a score of editions during the century after its first publication. It has been ascribed conjecturally to a great variety of authors. It is highly probable that Sheridan's allusion to it may have been prompted by the publication of a new and revised edition, extensively advertised before the production of *The Rivals*. In *The Universal Magazine*, February, 1773, for example, after a full prospectus of the work appears this explanatory note: 'It being now upwards of

100 years since the publication of the *Old Whole Duty of Man*, it need not be matter of surprise if the generality of readers begin to be little affected by that work. I have endeavoured to supply all these deficiencies of the *Old Whole Duty of Man*, by furnishing the age we live in with a *Duty of Man* much better adapted to the Christian religion, and the occasions of the present time.'

*The Innocent Adultery.*

This thoroughly indecent romance was a translation of Paul Scarron's *L'Adultère Innocente*. The British Museum has an edition of 1722. The Yale University Library contains an edition of 1729, which I have read: '*The Innocent Adultery*. Translated from the French Original of Monsieur Scarron. London: MDCCXXIX.' (Included in vol. 4 of *A Select Collection of Novels and Histories*. London, 1729.) The British Museum has several early eighteenth century editions of *The Whole Comical Works of Monsr Scarron* (including 'All his novels and histories'). Scarron's work was well known in English translations.

Mr. Brander Matthews has asserted (*Sheridan's Comedies*, p. 321) that '*The Innocent Adultery* was the second title of Southerne's tragedy, the *Fatal Marriage*, revived as *Isabella*; or, *the Fatal Marriage* for Mrs. Siddons, after Sheridan became manager of Drury Lane theatre.' Mr. G. A. Aitken, Temple Edition of *The Rivals*, adopts this explanation without question. In the first place, the context of the play itself is a strong presumption against this theory, for many other novels, including translations from the French, are mentioned, but no other plays. Very definite proof, however, may be had. Briefly condensed, the essential facts are these. *The Fatal Marriage*; or, *The Innocent Adultery* was produced at the Theatre Royal in 1694 (Genest 2. 56.) It was revived at Drury Lane in 1757.

'Dec. 2.—On this evening will be revived a Tragedy called the *Fatal Marriage*, altered from Southerne. . . . Garrick omitted the comic under-plot' [Genest 4. 511.]

The printed version of the play reads '*Isabella ; or, The Fatal Marriage*. A play. Alter'd from Southern (by David Garrick). London, 1757.'

Numerous references can be given showing that the version known in Sheridan's day, both on the stage and in the library, was Garrick's revision (1757), which dropped entirely Southerne's old sub-title. March 31, 1770—Covent Garden, 'Mrs. Bellamy's bt. [*i. e.*, "benefit"]'. Never acted there [that is, as altered by Garrick] *Isabella*' (Genest 5. 286). November 25, 1774—Drury Lane. 'Acted but once these 14 years, *Isabella*' [Genest 5. 443].

I have been utterly unable to find any reference during Sheridan's day to Southerne's play by its original sub-title, *The Innocent Adultery*. It is doubtful if Sheridan knew any version save Garrick's; it is certain that theatre-goers in 1775 could not have understood a recondite allusion to a discarded sub-title of a play known to them in Garrick's revision (1757), and regularly called *Isabella*.

It may be added that Mrs. Siddons' appearance in *Isabella*, alluded to by Mr. Brander Matthews above, was not until October 10, 1782 (according to Genest 6. 251), twenty-five years after Garrick's revival of Southerne's play, and the revision of the title, both on the stage and in the printed edition of the play, to *Isabella ; or, The Fatal Marriage*. The proofs here given have been necessitated by the fact that the mistake has seemingly passed unchallenged.

#### *Lord Aimsworth.*

*The History of Lord Aimsforth, and the honourable Charles Hartford, Esq.; in a series of letters.* A novel in three vols. by the author of *Dorinda Catsby* and *Ermina, or the fair recluse*.—*The Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1773.

In a quaint foot-note, however, to *The Rivals*, included in the *British Theatre* (Leipsic, 1828, p. 654), occurs this clause: 'Lord Aimsworth (see *Maid of the Mill*) has debased himself by a *mésalliance*.' *The Maid of the Mill*, a comic opera, by

Isaac Bickerstaffe, acted at Covent Garden Theatre in 1765, contains the character, *Lord Aimworth*. The only possible point in favor of this explanation is the spelling *Aimworth*, while the reference from *The Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1773, has *Aimsworth*. The context, the date of the novel, its title, and the improbability that the opera would be mentioned by the name of one of its characters instead of by its real title, are some of many reasons for belief that Sheridan refers to the novel. Finally, in the *General Index to Fifty-six Volumes of the Gentleman's Magazine* (London, 1818), the above-quoted book-notice is catalogued (2. 237) with the spelling *Aimworth*, presumably a correction of the error.

*Mrs. Chapone.*

Letters on the Improvement of the Mind. Addressed to a young Lady. 2 vols. 1773. [by Mrs. Chapone].

'These letters are ten in number, 1. On the first principles of religion. 2 and 3. On the study of the Holy Scriptures. 4 and 5. On the regulation of the heart and affections: these are contained in the first volume—Letter 6. On the government of the temper. 7. On œconomy. 8. On politeness and accomplishments. 9. On geography and chronology. 10. On the manner, and course of reading history, with the conclusion, make up the second. They are addressed from an aunt to her niece, (a young lady in the 15th year of her age) for whose use the letters seem originally to have been written. The language is the language of the heart; and the instructions are conveyed in so kind and engaging a manner, that they cannot fail of being extensively useful.'—*The Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1773.

*Fordyce's Sermons.*

Sermons to Young Women. 2 vols. 1765. By James Fordyce.

(Fordyce was a popular Presbyterian divine (1720–1796), whose popularity was waning, however, at the time of *The Rivals*).

‘There are indeed, to the best of our recollection, no compositions of this kind in the English language, in which are to be found greater delicacy of sentiment, correctness of imagination, elegance of taste, or that contain such genuine pictures of life and manners.’—*The Monthly Review*, June, 1766.

In brief review of the sentimental novels of *Lydia Languish's* circulating library, and of the eminently respectable works which she hastily substituted for them, may be quoted these sentences from *The Monthly Review*, July, 1773, in the criticism there given of Mrs. Chapone's *Letters*: ‘This is a sensible, pleasing performance, happily adapted to improve the minds and form the manners of those young persons who will attentively peruse it. In our opinion, these letters have a tendency to do them much more essential service than the general run of novels and romances; although it is confessed that in some of the latter there is excellent morality, united with the most lively pictures of the human mind, and with all that can entertain the imagination and interest the head. Yet most of them, as this writer observes, are calculated to inflame the passions of youth, while the chief purpose of education should be to moderate them. The writing, and the sentiments of these *fictitious stories*, it is here farther remarked, often tend to vitiate the stile, and to mislead the understanding. The expectation of extraordinary adventures,—which seldom if ever happened to the sober and prudent part of mankind,—and the admiration of extravagant passions and absurd conduct, are some of the usual fruits of this kind of reading:—which, adds our Authoress, (for we are informed this is a lady's production) when a young woman makes it her chief amusement, generally renders her ridiculous in conversation, and miserably wrong-headed in her pursuits and behaviour.’ Broadly speaking, these abstract truths of the reviewer have concrete presentation in Sheridan's *Lydia Languish*, who finds ‘her chief amusement’ in the books of the circulating library.

GEORGE HENRY NETTLETON.

## ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES.

1) **M.** E. *bewschers*. This word, so far as I know, occurs only once (*Morte Arthure*, v. 1047). It is quite clear from the context that it must have denoted some part of the body.<sup>1</sup> But I have never met an explanation of the word. Mätzner, in his *Wörterbuch*, p. 215, says: "Wir können das Wort unmöglich als mit dem gleichlautenden unter *bel*, *beau* angeführten identisch und etwa bildlich gebraucht betrachten, auch dürfte es kaum anderswo bis jetzt nach zuweisen sein, als in der angeführten stelle." Perry and Brock translate it by 'buttocks,' Banks (*Morte Arthure*, 1900) by 'the lower parts of the body.' In the Oxford Dictionary the word is translated by 'the buttocks.' The explanation of the word I venture to offer here is by no means certain and is only given for what it may be worth. The word is most probably a compound. I take its first part to be O. E. *bōȝ* 'shoulder, arm,' also 'shoulder of an animal'; in M. Sc. the word meant also 'limb, leg,' and no doubt it had in M. E., at least accidentally, the sense so common in German: "Gelenk, wodurch Schenkel und Hüfte verbunden werden, Hüftgelenk, das obere Gelenk des Schenkels, die Hüfte." It is to be noted that in the *Morte Arthure* the result of O. E. *ōȝ* is often written *ew* (concerning this spelling, see Luick, *Studien zur englischen Lautgeschichte*, pp. 165-182); cf. v. 202 *ynewe*, v. 3366 *bewes* 'boughs,' 1639 *clewes*, etc. I suppose that *bōȝ* appeared originally in a sense akin to that one stated here as rather frequent in German. The origin of the

<sup>1</sup> *Morte Arthure*, v. 1045 ff. :

*He* (the giant) *lay lenand on lange, lugande unfaire,*  
*þe thee of a manns lymme lyfte vp by þe haunche ;*  
*His bakke, and his bewschers, and his brode lendes,*  
*He bekcs by þe bale-fyre, and breklesse hym semede.*

second part of the word is more obscure. One may compare O. E. *scaru* 'groin, private parts'; the original meaning of *scaru* was 'fissure, excavation' and O. E. *bōzscaru* may have meant 'rima podicis,' hence 'one of the two protuberances of the rump.' This is, of course, very uncertain; but if my attempt towards a solution of the problem should make some more palpable explanation suggest itself to the reader, it has not been made in vain.

2) M. E. *brayell* (Morte Arthure v. 793). Perry and Brock have *brathelle*, which they translate by 'brisket.' Banks has *brayell*, no doubt the correct reading, but offers no explanation or translation of the word. The context points to the sense of some part of an animal's body. The word occurs in a passage describing King Arthur's dream before his departure for the war with the Roman Emperor. He dreams of a fight between a dragon and a bear. The dragon assailed the bear, fighting like a falcon with beak and claws.

*The bere in the bataile þe byger hym semyde,  
And byttes hym boldlye wyth balefull tuskes;  
Suche buffetes he hym rechez with his brode klokes  
Hys brest and his brayell whas blodye all ouer.*

In my opinion this *brayell* is the same word as Mod. E. *brail* 'a kind of ligature or fastening.' The only sense recorded otherwise in M. E. is that of 'small ropes fastened to the edges of sails to truss them up before furling;' but in the passage in question the sense of our word is much more akin to its original meaning in O. French, which was 'breech-girdle, waist-belt for keeping up the breeches, girdle, cincture.' I suppose that from this sense the word has come to denote 'the part of the body where the girdle or cincture is placed, the waist.' This sense of the word has in our passage been transferred to a being that does not wear the garment in question, showing that the original meaning has gradually disappeared.

3) M. E. *gawen*, *gawen* 'to look on, gape, stare,' is a Scand. loan-word, from a prehistorical Scandinavian \**gawa* = West Scand. *gá* 'to heed, observe.' Related native words in English



are O. E. *ȝe-iewan* 'to show,' *iewan* 'to show, reveal,' *ēawunga* 'openly, publicly,' N. E. *awwenn* 'to show, declare,' M. E. *taunen* 'to point out.' Scand. *\*gawa* is formed with the Teutonic *ga-* prefix from the Indogermanic root *\*ogī-* 'eye,' Teutonic *\*awi-*. I refer, for further details, to my article on W. Scand. *gá* in *Nordiska Studier, tillegnade Adolf Noreen på hans 50-årsdag den 13 Mars, 1904* (Upsala, 1904), p. 169 ff., where the words in question have been treated in full.

4) M. E. *irspil* (gen. *irspilles*) 'a hedgehog' A. R. 418. The correct form is, no doubt, *īles-pīl*, see N. E. D., Strattm-Bradley. Ms. T has *yleslipes*, ms. C. *ylespilles*. The form *irspil* is hardly anything else than a mere scribal error, very easily accounted for as due to the influence of the synonymous M. E. *irchoun* (Mod. E. *urchin*).

5) Mod. E. *lad* 'a youth.' It is not my intention to offer any new explanation of this word. I only wish to call attention to Norw. *-ladd* in *tusseladd* 'one who walks clumsily,' *askeladd*, *oskeladd* 'the youngest of several brothers' (= *askefise*, Scand. *Loan-words*, p. 135). Falk and Torp, *Etymol. Ordbog*, p. 439, say with regard to the Norw. word: "maaske laant i eng. *lad* 'gut.'"

6) M. E. *līðe*, *lythe* 'people, subjects, vassals.' In my book on Scandinavian loan-words, p. 114 ff., I have enumerated some M. E. words in which *ī* is a reliable criterion of Scandinavian origin. All these words contained the diphthong *iū* in pre-historic Teutonic times and this diphthong when liable to *i*-mutation in Scandinavian, became *ȳ*, whence M. E. *ī*, whereas the corresponding native sound-development was M. E. *ē*. To the material collected in the quoted passage of my treatise two additions are to be made: 1. M. E. *līte* 'flaw, vice,' see Scand. *Loan-words*, p. 296 and foot-note 1. 2. M. E. *līthe* 'people, subjects, vassals.' In the N. E. D. the word is said to be "of somewhat uncertain origin, most prob. an O. N. *lǫðr* 'people, vassals collectively,' but it may wholly or partly be a use of *lith* 'body of men, help, remedy.'" I am fully convinced of the etymological identity of O. E. *lēode*, M. E. *lēde* (native) and

M. E. *līðe* (Scand. loan-word). There is one fact which especially favors this assumption. In M. E. there are many instances known of *lēde* used alliterating with *land* (see N. E. D., Mätzner); the identity of *lēde* and *līðe* is rendered more than probable by the fact that *līðe* only occurs in alliterative phrases where the other word is 'land.' Also in Scandinavian such alliterative phrases are known: cf. *stjórn, lýðs ok lands* (Fritzner<sup>2</sup>). In this connection attention may be called to the fact that also the English word was introduced into Scandinavian, viz. in the compound *lēodbiscop* 'bishop of a district;' *lēod* became here 'Scandinavianized' into *lýð*, *líð* in O.W. Scand. *lýðbiskup*, *líðbiskup*, O. Swed. *lyþbiskoper*; cf. Taranger, *Den Angelsaksiske Kirkes Indflydelse paa den norske* p. 226.

7) Mod. E. *reel*. In the above-mentioned *Nordiska Studier*, p. 174, I have ventured an explanation of Mod. E. *reel*, O. E. *hrēol*. I consider the prehistorical English form to have been *\*hrōhila*, which became by *i*-mutation *\*hroehil* > *\*hrēhil*, and later, owing to the interchange of the suffixes *-il* and *-ul*, *hrē(h)ul*, whence O. E. *hrēol*. Professor Pogatscher kindly calls my attention to the very striking analogue offered by O. E. *eosol* in which *e*, due to *i*-mutation of *a* (in *\*asil* > *\*esil*), was subsequently liable to *u*-mutation, *\*esil* having become *\*esul*, owing to the above-mentioned interchange of the suffixes *-il* and *-ul*.

ERIK BJÖRKMAN.

GÖTEBORG, SWEDEN, May, 1904.

## ZU EBERNAND VON ERFURT.

**B**ECHSTEINS herausgabe von Ebernands *Heinrich und Kunegunde* (Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1860) hat viel zu wünschen übrig gelassen. in seiner rezenzion dieser einzigen herausgabe hat Bech (*Germ.* 5, 488 ff.) manches berichtet und zum besseren verständnis mancher dunklen stellen vieles beigetragen. in neuerer zeit hat Jellinek der früheren textkritik einige bemerkungen hinzugefügt *Zfda.* 43, 391 f. es sind aber noch recht viele von Jellinek und z. t. von Bech unberücksichtigt gebliebenen stellen, wo der herausg. und die überlif. zu weit auseinander gehen oder wo der herausg. schlecht interpunktiert hat, auch wo er die überlif. missverstanden hat. daher darf man folg. emendationen und berichtigungen aufstellen; sie sind die vorläufer einer untersuchung der sprache Ebernands. das genaue citieren der betreffenden seiten und zeilen der quelle habe ich hier unterlassen, da sie sich mit hülfe des vom herausg. einl. s. II ff. angegebenen leicht nachschlagen lassen.

73-4. *die schönen* bezieht sich nicht auf *krönen*, sondern auf *sie*, d. h. *keiser unde keiserin*. vgl. *sie helfen mir die suozen* 117. das komma nach v. 73 ist also zu streichen.

79. der herausg. hat hier *es* statt des handschriftl. *ez* in den text gesetzt; da kein citat im mhd. wb. s. v. *reichen* einen objekt. gen. zeigt, so lässt es sich fragen, ob es nicht besser wäre, *ez* zu behalten und eine neue konstruierung von *reichen* mit akkus. und *an* anzunehmen. demnach würde die stelle etwa heissen (da *ez* unpersönlich ist): "ob wir sie erreichen, zu ihnen kommen können."

106. statt *dize* hat die hs. *düsse* und ähnliches ist auch v. 2701 geschehen. an beiden stellen hätte der herausg. entweder

*dusse* beibehalten oder das thüring. *ditte* einsetzen sollen. zu der form *dusse*, welches nach Weinholds aufzeichnung (mhd. gram. §§ 485–7) der verschiedenen formen von *dirre* nur als nom. akk. neutr. vorkommt, kann Weinh. nur unsere stelle und eine aus hess. urkunden I 1237 citieren.

208. in der einleitung s. XXIV zeichnet der herausg. diese form *hêren* auf als = mhd. *hërre*; aber auch v. 206 ist kaum zwingend genug, um dadurch den einzigen beweisenden reim für *hêren* (= *herre*) herauszubringen. *hêren* kann hier ganz gut subst. adj. sein; das adj. kommt sehr oft bei Ebernand vor, im reim *hêren* 3239. *hêre* 245. 819. 1093. u. s. w. das subst. kommt sonst nur zweimal im reime vor 1305. 4061. beidemal: *mêren* "den grösseren, bedeutenderen," also unbeweisend.

335. die hs. hat *do* statt *die*; daher und der quelle zufolge darf man vielleicht *mêre* für sw. v. inf. "erhöhen" ansehen. in der quelle steht: *aeclesias ditare possessionibus et inmensis ornatibus augere coepit*. dieser satz der quelle bezieht sich zwar nicht auf *Strassburc* allein, aber der dichter scheint doch "augere" verwerten zu wollen. vgl. hierzu die nächstfolgende anmerkung.

350. die hs. hat *uffinte*. vgl. des herausg. anmerkung zu v. 708, wo dieselbe redensart *die gotshûs offen* wiederkehrt. an den beiden stellen steht *gotishusere* 350. *gotishusir* 708. des herausg. lesart der beiden stellen ist zu behalten wegen des metrums; die bedeutung der redensart ist zu erklären. vgl. nächstens die quelle zu beiden stellen: 1) *aeclesias ditare possessionibus et inmensis ornatibus augere coepit. sedes autem episcopales, Hiltensheim, ubi a puero enutritus et litteras edoctus fuit, Magdeburch, Argentinam, Misenam et Merseburch, quae barbarica immanitate adiacentium Sclavorum vastatae fuerant, restauravit; et tam ipsis, quam aliis episcopatibus per universum regnum, in possessionibus et ornatibus innumerabilia contulit.* 2) *cum fama incliti principis ubique divulgaretur, et hostes fidei per eum iugo Christi subderentur, ecclesie nove construerentur et primitus destructe reedificarentur, atque sicut imber temporaneus terram solet irrigare, sic iste*

imperator gloriosus victoriosus rem publicam augeret et exaltaret, universitas principum eius glorie congaudebat. 1) dass er "augere" schon einmal durch *mære* wiedergegeben hat, ist dem dichter entschlüpft; hier bringt er es wieder an und übersetzt einfach "aeccelesias augere" = *gotshús offen*, denn auf nichts in der quelle kann sich diese redensart sonst beziehen. dass der dichter oft tatsachen und begebenheiten in anderer reihenfolge als die quelle wiedergibt, ist an einem anderen ort nachgewiesen (Princeton University Bulletin Vol. xv, No. 1, s. 1 ff.). 2) ebenso wie der autor dieser zweiten stelle der quelle auf vorherbeschriebenes hinweist und dabei daselbst gebrauchte Wörter wieder anwendet, so macht es Eber. ihm nach und hier kehrt dieselbe redensart wieder, durch "augere" der quelle veranlasst. *offente* heisst also "augere, erhöhen" wie der herausg. vermutet; es kann aber nicht von *oben* swv. intr. "empor—, hervorragen" abgeleitet werden; dazu fehlen belege und das wort ist trans. es ist aus *úffen*, *úfen* swv. trans. "emporheben, erhöhen, in die höhe bringen, aufbringen." vgl. Pass. 359, 49 (zwar in der bedeutung "aufhäufen"): *dó sie begunden úfen von kalke einen grózen húbél*; Pass. K. 139, 80: *begonden úfen an einsít wol die wáge, daz si von der láge krefteclích hin nider seic*; vgl. ferner (mit der bedeutung "in die höhe bringen") Barl. 115, 33 Pf.: *den drucken, disen úfen* usw. zu der form des worts: an der ersten stelle (v. 350) steht in der hs. *uffinte*, an der zweiten (708) *offente*; doch kann das letztere ebenso gut schreibfehler sein wie das erstere. sonst kommt das wort *offent* bei Eber. zweimal vor 569. 2795. wo es ohne zweifel aus *offenen* swv. "öffnen" ist; beidemal steht in der hs. *uffinte* statt der form des herausg.; doch darf dieser scheinbare zusammenfall nicht befremden. das md. wort für mhd. *offenen* ist *uffen*, vgl. Pass. Elis.; der herausg. hat *offent* willkürlich in den text gesetzt. *uffinte* < *offenen* und *uffinte* < *úffen* sind ja ganz verschieden; in unserer überlieferung sind sie aber in der schreibart eins; längezeichen gibt es hier nicht.

688. die hs. hat: *daz bischtom wart wedd<sup>5</sup> dar geleit*. vgl.

Bech in seiner rezension von Bechsteins herausgabe unseres gedichts (Germ. v 506. anm. zu v. 4538): "v. 688: *das bist-uom wart dar widergeleit* = "restitutum est" nicht *darwider geleit*." Bechs vermutung wird durch die quelle bestätigt: "restaurare." Bech hat die quelle nicht angesehen.

849-56. der herausg. hat diese stelle schlecht interpunktiert; viel klarer kommt der sinn heraus, wenn man folg. änderungen vornimmt: nach v. 849 punkt statt komma, nach v. 850 komma statt semikolon und nach v. 853 das komma streichen; v. 854 ist in klammern zu setzen und nach v. 855 kolon oder semikolon statt komma. der eine satz endet mit v. 849 und v. 850-2 heissen etwa: "ich vermute, sie hat es beweint, denn sie hatte ihr *magetuom* Gott gelobt." v. 853 wird damit eng verbunden, d. h. "sie trauerte um diese werbung" und der vers soll mit einem punkte enden. vgl. die quelle: *enimvero pudicissima, cui longe mens erat alia, audiens de nuptiis secum tractari, cepit inestimabiliter contristari et toto nisi reluctari* usw. nach des herausg. interpunktion dürfte man die stelle auffassen: "sie trauerte um den tod ihrer eltern." schon einige zeilen vorher hat die quelle den tod der eltern erwähnt und Eber. bringt es hier an, hauptsächlich wol um den nötigen reim auf *nôt* herbeizuschaffen. v. 854-6 stehen in der hs. folgendergestalt:

*or muttir unde or vater waz tod*  
*de selbin vrowē wūne*  
*se waz vō keiser kūne*

dazu schreibt Bech. a. a. o. s. 492: "v. 854-5 ist vielleicht zu lesen: *muoter unde vater was tót der selben vrouwen wunne*. vgl. Adrian, *Mittheil.* s. 454: *allir vroudin ein vrou wunne, von der ich wider jungin*. über den singular, der hier nicht auffallen kann, sieh Gramm. 4, 198." durch *de selbin* der hs. bekommt man gewissermassen recht mit Bech zu lesen; aber diese wiederaufnahme einer eben erwähnten person durch ein pronomen *die . . . wunne*, sie ist der periode und Eber. so charakteristisch, dass man an den versen nicht rütteln darf, vgl. *sent Adrián der*

*was ouch dā* 575. v. 854 steht für sich und durch seine isolirtheit gewinnt er an nachdruck und betonung. bei v. 855–6 kann man eine gewisse dichterische absicht des dichters leicht bemerken. ab und zu versucht er seine abschnitte abzurunden, indem er durch ein, zwei verse auf den inhalt oder den charakter derselben hinweist, so z. b. 94–96 (abschn. 1), 621–2 (x), 693–6 (xi) u. ö. so sind wol diese verse aufzufassen.

896. die hs. hat *also* statt *só*. ebenso wie v. 4082 (vgl. Bechs anm. das.) haben wir hier mit *al* = "obgleich" zu tun und demnach ist *al* statt *só* einzusetzen und komma am versende statt semikolon.

998. in der hs. steht: *ane daz ríche*. die vermutung des herausg. dass man hier *āne daz ríche* zu lesen hat statt *an daz ríche* des textes wird bei näherem ansehen der quelle bestätigt. dort heisst es: (sc. Heinricus) disposuit, ut . . . episcopatum Babenbergensem . . . ex rebus hereditariis construeret. ferner heisst es an einer anderen stelle der quelle, in der notitia de synodo Francofurtensi, welche Eber. wahrscheinlich zugänglich war: (sc. Heinricus) disposuit, ut . . . episcopatum in quodam suae paternae hereditatis loco Babenberc dicto ex omnibus suis rebus hereditariis construeret.

1549. die hs. hat *itezūt* statt *hüte*; so auch v. 1803. die form *itezūt* soll stehen bleiben vgl. Herb. 6144. 88. *iezū* ist im md. sehr häufig, vgl. mhd. wb. und diese form setzt Bech wol deswegen in den text ein (a. a. o. s. 493), aber ohne not.

1629–30. die hs. lautet:

*togint volgit ome ūmir mit  
daz tet her do uñ tet daz sit*

liest man mit dem herausg., so ist die bedeutung sehr dunkel; *ime* ist schwerlich auf *der kunic* (1632) zu beziehen, da die beziehung dazu viel zu locker ist. ferner soll man sich vor unreinen reimen hüten, wie *mit: sit* vgl. des herausg. einl. s. xviii und s. xxxiii. statt des herausg. lesart will Bech folg. lesen (a. a. o. s. 494): *tugent volget ie mete nít*. "hierzu passt das folg. vortrefflich, indem es zu der eben ausgesprochenen

lebenserfahrung einen beleg abgibt." so weit hat Bech wol recht, aber wenn *er* (1630) sich auf *kunic* (1632) bezieht, wie Bech zu meinen scheint, worauf bezieht sich *daz* (1630)? der könig hat im vorangeh. abschn. eine sehr passive rolle gespielt, bemerke man *dó* (1630) mit hauptaccent. dass Eber. *nît* statt *mit* schrieb, ist wol gewiss; nur lese man statt des herausg. lesart und mit einer kleinen veränderung von derjenigen Bechs, indem man dabei noch näher an der überlieferung hält: *tugent volget iemer nît*. *tugent* im gen. und dat. sing. ist die regelrechte form bei Eber.; er reimt es zwar fast ausschliesslich mit *jugent* aber dabei ohne unterschied zwischen nom. akk. und gen. dat. vgl. 171. 1218. 1345. u. ö. *nît* ist also subjekt und auf *nît* bezieht sich *er* (1630). 1627–30 ist also eine in sich abgerundete nebenbemerkung.

1644. *gewuoc* heisst hier "gedenken," kaum "bedenken" nach des herausg. angabe in seinem wörterb. s. 200.

1650. Bech (a. a. o. s. 494) liest: *sîn schilt unde ouch sîn sper, zâi!* dies findet zum grösseren teil seine bestätigung in der quelle: non declinavit clypeus eius in bello, et hasta eius non est aversa.

1654. *Kriechen* soll man mit Bech (a. a. o.) lesen statt *Kristen*; *Grecis* steht in der quelle.

1913–4. in der hs. steht:

*daz der babist was so nahe*  
*daz man solde on entpha*

*nâ*: *entphâ* soll man lesen; sonst kommt *nâhe* gar nicht im reime vor; dagegen *nâ* öfters vgl. 576. 1666. 2029. usw. *entphâhe(n)* kommt sonst auch nicht vor, nur *entphân* vgl. 628. 2270. usw.

1922. *dó* der hs. statt *só* ist zu behalten, vgl. mhd. wb. I 375 a 14 ff.

1977. *enwêne* statt *wêne* ist nicht vorzuziehen vgl. des herausg. anm.; besonders nach *wêne* in untergeordnetem satze steht *ie* öfters mit negativer bedeutung vgl. Parz. 299, 23. 464, 2. 785, 30. Wigal. 7946.



1973. der herausg. stellt auf im wörterb. s. 190 *gehören* swv. "den gottesdienst celebrieren" und er citiert nur diese stelle. im mhd. wb. scheint das wort gar nicht vorzukommen und Lexer citiert s. v. *gehören* nur diese stelle. *gehörte* muss doch part. adj. aus *hêren* "schmücken" sein und so soll man die stelle verstehen. die flexion des dem hauptworte nachgesetzten adj. ist bei Eber. oft schwach vgl. 201. 1548. 997. usw. Eber. kommt bei der beschreibung dieser ausserordentlich feierlichen messe nur hier auf die gewänder der priester zu sprechen, aber dass die erwähnung des gewands gerade den papst betrifft wird für das ganze einigermassen bezeichnend. diese vermutung wird auch durch die quelle bewiesen: ... ipse apostolicus recitaret terciam [lectionem], "omni denique ornatu" et elegantia processionis sollempnia agerentur.

1994. heisst *niete* "genügen"? ferner darf man einen intransiven gebrauch davon annehmen? versuche man folg. interpunktion: nach v. 1993 punkt statt komma, nach v. 1994 komma statt punkt und nach v. 1997 punkt statt kolon. ein satz endet mit v. 1993, denn v. 1992 gehört dem folg. vers ebenso gut wie dem vorangehenden, vgl. die quelle: ad quam (sc. ecclesiam) dedicandam Benedictum papam, . . . venire rogavit (sc. Cunegundis). nach dieser interpunktion hiessen v. 1994–7 etwa: "es mochte (konnte) sich immer (er)freuen über die gnädige art und weise, wie das geschah, nämlich dass man nach dem papst 72 bischöfe gehen sah." die bedeutung "sich erfreuen" steht zwar im mhd. wb. nicht aufgezeichnet für *nieten*; kommt aber mehrmals unter *genieten*: vgl. Eneit 266, 11: *er sal dînes lîbes niemer sich genieten*. Herb. 828: *sint ich arme nu niht mag helfe mir gebieten noch arzedige genieten*. in diesen citaten steht das reflex. pronomen (im zweiten ist es aus dem vorhergehenden *mir* zu ergänzen); dagegen fehlt es bei Diemer 121, 24: *mir ni werdi daz schôni wîb, ich virlusi den lîb, daz ich geniti mînis lîbis in samint demo scônin wîbi*. an unserer stelle könnte man entweder *sich* oder *ge-* einsetzen, auch beide, da zweisilbige senkung bei Eber. oft vorkommt vgl. 803. 2449. u. ö.; so könnte man lesen: *ez*

*mohte immer geniete* oder *ez mohte immer sich geniete*. *nieten* ohne reflex. pron. kommt auch v. 838 vor.

2022. die vollere form *geladet* ist zu behalten vgl. des herausg. anm. sie kann erklärt werden entweder als eine übertragung der bedeutung des stv. oder mit der bedeutung: "er läßt den bann zu sich ein", so *harte unsêlic muoz er wesen*.

2212. *schöne* vgl. des herausg. anm. im mhd. wb. ist unsere stelle aufgeführt unter: "*schöne* adv. 7. bereits, schon?" citate folgen daselbst aus Augsb. str. 103. und Schmeller 3, 368; darauf unsere stelle mit weiterbemerkung: "doch darf hier auch die unter 2. aufgeführte bedeutung "in geziemender weise, wie es sich gehört," oder "vollständig" (vgl. 5) angenommen werden." die bedeutung "schon" ist wahrscheinlich zu modernen aufwachsens, um sie bei Eber. anzunehmen, wenn sie sonst nicht vorkommt, wie es der fall ist. ferner ist enjambement (*schöne gereit*) bei Eber. zu vermeiden; das wort ist hier kaum adv. vielmehr ist *schöne* hier adj. das fehlen des umlauts ist schon bewiesen worden durch v. 213-4 *frône*: *schöne* beide adj. dat. sing. neutr. die nachstellung des adj. kommt mehrmals vor bei *schöne* vgl. 214. 751. 1935. u. ö. bei anderen adj. kommt es sehr oft vor vgl. 2221. 2239. usw.

2315. die hs. hat: *die erde jâmern machte*. zwei vermutungen liegen gleich nahe: 1) da Eber. subst. inf. liebt, fasse man *jâmern* als solches auf, d. h. "die erde erhob ein wehklagen." 2) lese man: *die erde jâmer machte* d. h. "die erde jammerte" und vgl. dazu Swanr. 234. 2315. letzteres wäre ein gutes gegenbild zu Eber.'s *vroude machen* 1774. *der erde ez jâmer machte* zu lesen ist wohl ausgeschlossen, weil Eber. *erde* als sw. ohne ausnahme gebraucht.

2319. vgl. des herausg. anm. in der quelle steht: in eius vero transsиту, terra plorante, coelum exaltavit, sicut Dominus per suam misericordiam revelare dignatus est. sub ipsa etenim hora etc. hiernach muss man *eroffent* = *revelare* auffassen; es bezieht sich nicht auf *himel*, sondern auf *urkunde*. Eber. hat hier den anfang eines kapitels der quelle an das ende von einem

seiner abschnitte gesetzt; im folg. abschn. verwertet er den inhalt dieses kapitels. das latein. "etenim" bindet diese einleitung und das folgende der quelle eng zusammen; Eber.'s schluss mit der erwähnung d. *urkunde* sieht dem folg. abschn. entgegen. *daz* (2319) bezieht sich auf *des* (2318). hier muss man bei der hs. bleiben.

2330. die hs. hat: *her wolde sich ome entwilde*. die bedeutung von *sich entwilden* "aus der Wildheit heraustreten, sich verleugnen", wie sie der herausg. im wörterb. s. 187 aufstellt ist nicht genügend; Lexer hat es richtiger getroffen: "in verkappter gestalt zeigen" (Lexer weist auf unsere stelle hin). dies wird klar durch den zusammenhang mit dem folg. verspaar und die quelle: . . . *diabolus sub humana specie traditur apparuisse. quem vir Dei per spirituum discretionem protinus agnovit*. ferner wäre es besser, bei der hs. zu bleiben und demnach einen punkt nach 2329 zu setzen statt komma und zu lesen: *er wolde im sich entwilde*.

2439–43. in der hs. sind 2441–2 umgestellt und 2442 lautet: *von deme ich oz began*. Bech will die ganze stelle umbilden (a. a. o. s. 496 f.), aber ohne not; auch des herausg. änderung ist wol unnötig und wahrscheinlich ist nichts ausgefallen. die quelle lautet: *de eodem quoque calice quid religiosorum virorum relatione in veritate audierimus, futurorum memoriis intimare operae precium duximus. cum enim praedictus Christi confessor Henricus pro disponendis regni negotiis Marsipolim venisset, accidit, ut quadam die ad altare sancti Laurentii missam attentissime audiret; qua completa, sicut semper facere consueverat, ablutionem calicis sumere volebat, sed interveniente magno negotio regni, quod vir sanctus proposuit, tunc temporis fieri non potuit*. den einleitenden satz der quelle hat Eber. weggelassen; es schien ihm wol unnötig, weil die rede eben 2418–32 von dem kelch gewesen war. nächstens hat er das latein.: *sicut semper facere consueverat, ablutionem calicis sumere volebat* bedeutend erweitert und vorangesetzt. ferner macht er 2440 eine gewohnheit aus dem: *attentissime audiret*, das nur von dem einen: *quadam die* gesagt ist.

wenn man die stelle so auffasst, so kann man ganz ohne anstoss lesen :

*diz tet der keiser rîche*  
 2440 *vil andêhtliche*  
*von deme ich ez began.*  
*dô was der selbe gotes man*  
*ze Merseburc mit fursten vil. usw.*

*dise rede* statt *ez* 2441 würde das ganze klarer machen ; doch ist auch das kaum nötig.

2484. *enswendet* soll man auffassen = *en* (negativ) + *swendet* < *swenden* swv. ; nicht < *enswenden* nach dem herausg. vgl. wörterb. s. 187. im mhd. wb. steht unsere stelle richtig citiert s. v. *swende* ; falsch aber bei Lexer s. v. *enswenden*.

2625-9. punkt am versende 2625 wäre besser als komma, denn 2625 steht in keiner engen beziehung zu den folg. versen. *daz* 2626 wird durch *des* 2628 wieder aufgenommen und dieser zusammenhang verlangt komma 2627 statt kolon. mit 2629 endet der satz und hier wäre punkt dem kolon gewiss vorzuziehen.

2636. statt *guot* hat die hs. *gud*. in der schreibung vom adj. subst. *guot*, *guote* und *god* ("Gott") ist die hs. nicht konsequent. in der regel steht für *guot gut* : *gute* 2627. *gute* 2646. *got* ist gewöhnlich *god* : *gode* 2626. *godesz* 2633. dagegen *gote* 2631. demnach könnte man hier ebenso gut *got* wie *guot* lesen und *got* passt dem zusammenhang entschieden besser ; man bemerke die wiederholung des wortes 2626-33.

2682. vgl. des herausg. anm. *belûten* ist beizubehalten ; vgl. Dm. 105 : *als vor beleutet* ("auseinandergesetzt") *ist*. vgl. auch Türl. Wh. : *diu* (sc. *matérje*) *iu baz wirt belîutet* ("erläutert"). es passt hier vortrefflich und heisst etwa : "bekannt geben."

2841-2. die hs. hat *venie : menie*, welches zu behalten ist ; derselbe reim kommt auch vor Erlös. 1130. 3351. Elis. 599. 736. 715.

2963-4. statt *jârá* hat die hs. *nara*. entweder ist diese form zu behalten und das erste *a* für angleichung < älterem *nurá*

zu halten, oder *nurđ* ist zu setzen. *járd* ist gewiss unnötig. zu *nurđ* vgl. Herb. 9953 u. anm. und Wigal. 11360. dieses reimpaar rührt vielleicht vom schreiber her, da es nur im vagsten zusammenhang mit seiner umgebung steht und da solche einschiebsel gegen Eber.'s sonstige dichtungsweise sind.

3343. *der werlde* der hs. ist zu behalten vgl. 3381. Bechstein hat die hs. falsch gelesen vgl. seine lesart *de* im anhang s. 180.

3511. die hs. hat :

*de vrowe hatte oz gar vorsast*  
*wy waz or bette dāne gefast*

der herausg. und Bech (a. a. o. s. 500) gehen zu weit ; an der überl. ist wol wenig zu ändern : *vorsast* < *vorsetzen* swv. (I<sub>2</sub>) = "verwehren, abwehren, parieren," "die *vrouwe* hatte es streng verboten." vgl. Chr. 5, 283 anm. 2 : *etw. verbieten und versetzen* ; Wolk. 96, 3, 22 : *des teufels ger versetzen* ; so auch im Narrensch. und bei Schmeller 3, 298. *gefast* < *vesten* swv. (I<sub>2</sub>) "erbauen." oz der hs. beruht vielleicht auf einem missverständnis des schreibers ; in seiner vorlage stand vielleicht *hātes* = *hāte sie* d. h. *covertüre* und dies hat er für *hāte es* (*ez*) gehalten und demgemäss oz geschrieben. also darf man oz (*ez*) behalten und wie oben lesen : *die vrouwe hāte ez gar versast* oder *die vrouwe hātes gar versast* "die *vrouwe* hatte sie streng verboten."

3665. statt des handschriftl. *meisterschaft* liest der herausg. *mezeschaft* und Bech (a. a. o. s. 500 f.) *wertschaft*. letzteres scheint etwas gewagt zu sein und *mezeschaft* kommt im reinmhd. sonst nicht vor. versuchsweise stellen wir ein im reinmhd. zwar auch sonst nicht vorkommendes neues kompos. auf, indem wir dabei näher an der überl. halten : *mesteschaft* < *mesten* + *schaft*. dass Eber. *mesten* (*masten*) eine höhere bedeutung beifügt als nur "schweine füttern" wird durch v. 3312 bewiesen : *ir lip vil lutzel maste* (*sie*), wo die rede von Kunegunde ist. *mesteschaft* hiesse denn etwa : "Mahl, Mahlzeit."

3911-2. klarer käme der sinn heraus, wenn man nach 3911 komma statt punkt setzte und nach 3912 punkt statt semikolon.

3941-2. die hs. hat:

*daz lant on allesz was gelegen  
daz streich mit or ī allin wegin*

wenn man hinter 3940 komma statt punkt setzt und nach 3941 punkt statt komma und ferner *on* 3941 in *ān* (*āne*) ändert, so hat man alles in ordnung. *ān* ist hier mit dem akk. verbunden und *gelegen* ist natürlich p. prät. zu *ligen*. der vers heisst der quelle gemäss etwa: "das land blieb ohne alles volk liegen." vgl. Nibel. 437, 5: *der sprunc der was ergangen: der stein der was gelegen*. v. 3942 kann man an der überl. halten und *ir* d. h. "der kaiserin" lesen oder mit dem herausg. *in* d. h. "den herren"; *daz* bezieht sich auf *vole* und der vers heisst: "es (das volk) zog mit ihr (oder ihnen) auf allen wegen."

3952. *sāmeliche* der hs. steht wol für *samentliche*; es steht nichts in der quelle von "quidam, nonnulli" (vgl. Bech a. a. o. s. 502) und die vermutungen des herausg. und Bechs beruhen nur auf *maneger* 3954. Eber. scheint *sament* zu vermeiden oder nicht zu kennen; dagegen kommt *samen* dreimal im beweisenden reime vor 534. 1459. 1791 (: *namen swm.* dat. akk. sing.). vielleicht ist der strich der hs. über dem *ā* falsch gesetzt und hätte über dem *e* stehen sollen, also *samenliche*; doch ist dies unnötig, *sameliche* = "sämmliche" ist bei DFG. 269 b aufgeführt. v. 4206 hat der herausg. auch *sameliche* statt des handschriftl. *sōmeliche* in den text gesetzt; dort passt das oben ausgeführte noch besser.

3983. am versende gehört wol punkt statt komma; *ir bete unde ir gebotes* hat mit dem *zeichen gotes* nichts zu tun, dagegen sehr viel mit 3985 ff. vgl. besonders *des* 3986, wodurch Eber. zum genitiv *gebotes* gekommen ist.

4043. in der hs. steht: *vor alle de dar manē god*. es ist leicht möglich den vers zu behalten wie er in der hs. steht: *fur alle die dār manen got*. *dār* ist verstärkendes adv. und v. 4042 ff. heissen etwa: "er gibt sich grosse mühe, Gott an

alle diejenigen zu erinnern, welche von denen, die dort waren, ihm in ernst" usw.

4246. statt *enruoeche es ūch* hat die hs. *entruchet uch* und wenn man längezeichen hinzufügt, ist wol nichts mehr zu ändern. vgl. *jener sprach "enruoeche dich!"* Marleg. 19, 70. *dô sprach der bischof sâ zestunt "enruoeche dich, nûn lieber sun, lâ si tuon, swaz si tuon"* Pass. K. 134, 5.

4298–4300. vgl. die hs. :

*gelebit her alsin iar*  
*de her mir vorlegin hat*  
*so had her war an allir tadel*

Bech (a. a. o. s. 504 f.) bleibt meist dabei, wenn er liest : *gelebet er al sîne jâr die er mir verjên (vergigen) hât, so hât er wâr an aller tât.* mit Bech ist zu lesen mit einer ausnahme ; zu behalten ist *verligen* < *verlihen* stv. I., das wort heisst "mitteilen, zu erkennen geben." vgl. *verlihe dem tûvel dînes mûtes nichts nichts* der vâter buch (vom dichter des Passionalis) 50, 26.

4528. statt *ichs* hat die hs. *ichsz* ; also wäre *ichz* besser. vielleicht ist *ichs* nur druckfehler.

4545. *im (ome)* der hs. ist zu behalten ; es bezieht sich auf Gott und bringt den sinn klarer heraus. der herausg. hat es weggelassen.

4548–9. die hs. hat :

*daz ich se nente paradis*  
*de met czuchtin czu clostir stan*

Bech (a. a. o. s. 506) liest : *daz ich sprêche paradis ze clôstern die mit zuhten stânt.* der herausg. hat die stelle gewiss ebenso wie Bech verstanden, d. h. dass der dichter die klöster *paradis* nennen wollte, nicht *die mit zuht ze clôstern stânt.* wir haben hier nur mit einer lockeren zusammenbindung zu tun ; wenn man die verse fester verbunden haben will, so tut man ihnen weniger zwang, wenn man liest :

*daz ich (sie) nente paradís  
die klóster die mit zuhten stánt*

v. 4550 hat die hs. *oren* statt *ir* ; daher hätte wol der herausg. *iren* einsetzen sollen.

4689. *verdróz* der hs. ist wol zu behalten ; die wiederholung von motiven und wörtern geschieht besonders oft in diesem abschn. vgl. *wäre minne* (*wären minnen*) 4454. 4605. 4640. 4680.

4273. Bech (a. a. o. s. 506) liest *vor* statt *von* ; der herausg. (*Germ.* VI, 423) verteidigt seine lesart, da sie auf der überl. beruhe, aber er bestätigt sie nicht. bestätigung findet sie v. 3580 *sint daz vom sūgene sie genas* und v. 4284 *von sūche maneger dār genas*. die bedeutung an unserer stelle ist also : "sie können desto besser die plage erleben", nicht "der plage entrinnen."

GEO. M. PRIEST.

PRINCETON, N. J.



STRONG FORMS OF *EIN* BEFORE NOUNS IN THE  
NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE MASC.  
AND NEUT.

THE School grammars state as the general rule that the numeral *ein* is declined like the indefinite article *ein* if limiting a noun, and has the strong endings when not modifying a noun, that it follows the weak declension of adjectives if preceded by another limiting word like the definite article or the pronouns *dieser*, *jeder*, *jener*, etc., that *ein* takes the mixed adjective declension if preceded by a limiting pronoun of defective declension like *mein*, *dein*, *sein*, etc. Examples: *ein Mann*, *einer*, *der eine Mann*, *dieser eine Mann*, *mein einer Sohn*, etc.

According to this rule and the more detailed specifications we should expect that combinations like *einer Sohn* could only occur in connection with preceding possessive pronouns. Where shall we place then the following *eines Ende*?

In Grillparzer's *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*, Sauer Ed., Vol. VII, p. 75, a stage-direction runs thus: "Er trägt einen Stab in der Hand und unter dem Arme ein Schleiertuch, dessen *eines* Ende er während des folgenden in eine Schleife bindet."

The example cited evidently does not come under any of the specified rules. The antecedent *dessen* is not limiting the noun *Ende*, in the same way as a demonstr. or poss. pronoun would, nor is it a "Bestimmungswort mit mangelhafter Biegung" (Lyon, *Deutsche Grammatik*, p. 271), nor does *ein* take the mixed adjective declension after *dessen*, as we say also, *e. g.*, *mit dessen einem Ende*.

If we look about for similar combinations, we shall find that

after any preceding genitive we have the strong endings with *ein*, as, *e. g.*, *des Königs einer Sohn, der Frau eines Kind*.

In all these instances, of course, *einer* and *eines* are contrasted with *anderer* and *andres* even if not expressly mentioned by word of mouth; *einer* and *eines* mean one of two. In the passage from *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*, the one end which is tied into a bow or knot, suggests to the reader that the other end is hanging down loose. If we hear some one speak of *des Königs einer Sohn* we conclude directly that he has only two sons, and we do not mean by *dessen eines Ende* or *des Königs einer Sohn* the same as *einziges Ende* or *einzigiger Sohn*. It cannot be asserted, therefore, that the strong endings are used for the sake of emphasis which, besides, would be at variance with established usage since, when limiting nouns, the indefinite article and the numeral *ein* are distinguished solely by stress of voice. Is it, possibly, caused by analogy with a following or understood *anderer* or *andres* that we say *deren einer Sohn* or *dessen eines Ende*? But we say *ein Sohn dieser Frau ist Soldat, ihr anderer ist Kaufmann*, or *dessen eines Ende grün ist, das andre dagegen weiss* or *während das andre weiss ist*.

Nothing else seems, then, left as an explanation but the depending genitive *dessen* preceding the *ein Ende* which changes it to *dessen eines Ende*. Perhaps we may charge this change to the *Sprachgefühl*, which objects to the admission of a word that sounds just like the indefinite article between the limiting genitive and the noun limited by the latter.

I did not find any allusion to this occurrence of strong forms of *ein* in the grammars and dictionaries at my disposal. They state, either briefly or more detailedly, in substance the same that is found in Lyon's *Deutsche Grammatik*, in the passage mentioned above.

I may suggest, therefore, that, *e. g.*, the rule 3 in Lyon's *Grammatik* (p. 271) be altered to read:

“Geht ihm (*i. e. ein*) ein Bestimmungswort mit mangelhafter Biegung, z. B. mein, dein, sein, unser, etc., voran so erhält es die gemischte Adjektiv-Biegung, indem es im Nominativ

aller Geschlechter und im Accusativ des Neutrums die Geschlechtszeichen annimmt, es mag ein Substantiv folgen oder nicht; z. B. mein einer (Sohn), meine eine (Tochter), mein eines (Pferd); Gen. meines einen Sohnes, meiner einen Tochter, meines einen Pferdes. Nach einem abhängigen Genitiv behält *ein* dagegen die starke Adjektiv-Biegung auch in den andern Fällen z. B. mit dessen einem Ende; er ging nur zu des Königs einem Sohn, dem jüngern; des Königs einer Sohn; dessen eines Ende."

CARL OSTHAUS.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY.

## EXPERIMENTAL PHONETICS AND VERNER'S LAW.

THE application of experimental methods to the explanation of phonetic laws is of comparatively recent origin. Its results have as yet been meagre, and indeed this entire branch of the science of language is regarded with distrust by the more conservative group of both philologists and phoneticians. This is doubtless due in a large measure to the inaccuracies in philological fact to which insufficient linguistic training renders the experimentalist peculiarly liable. On the other hand, those who attempt to explain such laws as those of Grimm and Verner from the purely philological standpoint, while comparatively immune from the danger that besets the experimentalist, give themselves little enough trouble to ascertain whether the cause assigned will really affect the change in question. After a rather careful consideration of the problem, the writer must confess that all the explanations of Grimm's or Verner's laws that have come to his notice rest upon either gross misstatement of linguistic fact, physiological claims as yet unsupported by experimental evidence, or glaringly fallacious reasoning. One of the most recent of these theories contains all three elements of weakness.

We do not believe that there exists for the laws of Grimm and Verner any tenable explanation based upon purely physiological grounds. As Grimm's law is, so far as experiment shows, inconsistent within itself, it can hardly be expected to show consistency with Verner's law. As a matter of fact the two processes are physiologically contradictory, and it is futile to attempt to establish any physiological explanation for both, or to hold either physiologically accountable to the other. It is therefore believed that there is perfect justification for treating

the physiology of Verner's law as though no such change as Grimm's law entered the range of Germanic Philology.

The chronological relation of Verner's law to Grimm's law is not to be dismissed so lightly as Verner himself has dismissed it. It will not suffice to accept unquestioningly Verner's dictum that voicing must have occurred after spiration, since  $f-v^1$  is quite as much against the permutation's *Hauptrichtung*—if it has any—as  $p-b$  or  $ph-bh$ . The process  $f-v$  might, it is true, take place under conditions of insufficient intensity to effect  $p-b$  but it could certainly never be reconciled to an actual  $b-p$ . It would, therefore, be futile to discuss the relative chronology of spiration and voicing save that there seems to exist here some support of the statement of the coincidence of the *idg. tenues* and *aspirates* previous to spiration,<sup>2</sup> which has hitherto been practically an *obiter dictum*. There are two ways in which the *urg. spirants* may have arisen from their *idg. originals*, either  $p, ph-ph-f^3$  or  $p, ph-p-pf-f^4$ . Neither has the support of any direct historical evidence, but if  $p, ph-p-pf-f$ , there is no satisfactory answer to the question why *urg. p* ex *idg. b*, did not fall in with these *p*'s. It is, therefore, best not to involve the process in an intermediary *p*, unless one is prepared to defend the very unsafe position that this *p* had become *f* before *idg. b* had suffered any change. Consider, however, the process  $p, ph$  over  $ph$  to *f*. The change of explosive plus spiritus asper to spirant—nothing more formidable than a sort of assimilation—occurs in various languages, and is paralleled in Germanic by  $bh-b$ . Now, it would obviously be unfair to subject *urg. p* ex *idg. p, ph* to Verner's law and exempt *p* ex *b*; but the subjection of  $ph$  to this process involves no inconsistency with *urg. p* ex *idg. b*. It is, therefore, impossible to say positively that the voicing of Verner's law occurred before spiration, but in such a case the crucial point of the intermediate aspirate stage would receive important confirmation, while  $p, ph-p-pf-f$  must in any case be excluded.

<sup>1</sup> Bilabial.

<sup>2</sup> Streitberg, *UG.*, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Streitberg (as above), Oertel, p. 211.

<sup>4</sup> Scripture, *Elements of Experimental Phonetics*, p. 464.

Of course, it must not be inferred from the mere fact that the law operates only 'bei tönender Nachbarschaft'<sup>1</sup> that it is due to the tönender Nachbarschaft without some further evidence that the tönende Nachbarschaft would be likely under the circumstances to take up any voiceless sound in its vicinity. Verner's own treatment of this matter is wholly inadequate.<sup>2</sup>

The two most frequent causes of an improper coördination of the factors of speech,—breath, vocal and oral movements are (1) increased utterance speed and (2) lack of attention, and these two causes are necessarily often present together. The purely psychological grounds for assuming here an increased utterance speed are ably stated by Wundt<sup>3</sup> and need not be entered into here, save to note the fact that these arguments hold for almost all other languages, and are, therefore, of themselves insufficient bases for such complicated reasoning as Wundt constructs upon them. Parallel to this process, however, we have in Germanic a shifting of the chromatic to the expiratory accent, which, of course, later became fixed on the first syllable. It is very evident that the concentration of the expiratory stress upon a single syllable tends to accelerate the enunciation of the unstressed syllables, and also to their more careless enunciation, as the instances of extreme ecthipsis known to all philologists amply testify. There being this ground for the assumption of a considerable disturbance in the coördination of the factors of speech at this period in the history of the language, there may now be cited some experimental data regarding the effect of this impaired coördination on the proper definition of the limits of voice.

In the examination of the speech curves of nearly all persons, and especially of those given to rapid utterance, it will be observed that there is very imperfect differentiation of the intervocalic<sup>4</sup> voiceless explosives and spirants from the voiced. The cord action of the preceding voiced sound is projected into

<sup>1</sup> KZ., 23, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> KZ., 23, pp. 115, 116, 117.

<sup>3</sup> Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, Part I, Vol. I, pp. 418–419.

<sup>4</sup> Synonymous with Verner's 'Bei tönender Nachbarschaft.'

the following properly voiceless sound; the cord action may also be begun again too soon through the influence of the following voiced sound,<sup>1</sup> by a psychological process analogous to that of Umlaut, but this latter is improbable. Under either of the conditions, however, the unvoiced interval becomes less and less marked and may finally disappear altogether, while the oral articulation is unchanged. That the speaker does not possess such prompt or accurate control over the cord action as over the oral movements is also well illustrated in the comparative reaction times of the two classes of movement. These may best be recorded upon an ordinary kymograph running at a known speed (not less than 75 mm. per second), as small a tambour as obtainable being used as a recorder while the stimuli are registered by an electric pen connected with the sound hammer and adjusted to the tambour pen.

Using the above apparatus the following results have been obtained:

Subject.	avAmv.	avBmv.	avCmv.	avDmv.	avEmv.
React by labial movement...	204 17	120 14	212 15	149 13	126 10
React by dental movement...	148 15	125 12	234 29	155 21	168 14
React by guttural movement	197 20	122 14	225 16	123 10	146 13
Cord innervation.....	232 18	156 17	190 20	179 11	177 17
Cord relaxation.....	257 21	165 33	253 16	178 21	207 36

Thousandths of a second.

It will be observed that the cord reaction times are in each case considerably longer than the oral. The longer relaxation time is in agreement with general psychological observation on contraction and relaxation reaction-time. B is a trained linguist, the other subjects are naive. The large mean variations are no doubt due to lack of practice. The point at issue is perhaps shown more clearly in reactions in which the subject reacts by changing from a voiced expiration to a voiceless consonant, preferably an explosive. In these cases it is found that cord action persists long after the commencement of the occlusion, and occasionally even into the explosion, the sound produced being in this case, not voiceless, as directed, but

<sup>1</sup> Wundt, as above, p. 423.

voiced. For easily assignable anatomical reasons the dentals exhibit the least resistance to the voicing process and the gutturals the most, the labials occupying an intermediate position. As a check on the results thus obtained, the experiment was reversed, the subject being directed to react from voiceless expiration to a voiced explosive. These experiments resulted in a confirmation of the previous data in every particular. The consonant is frequently unvoiced if guttural, less frequently if labial and infrequently if dental.

If, then, it be shown that the two prime causes of imperfect coördination existed in primitive Germanic, and that the first manifestation of this condition is the improper definition of the limits of voice, it is fair to assume intervocalic voicing as the principle operating in Verner's law. The test of a proposed explanation of the law is to demonstrate the conditions of its operation as those most favorable to the phenomenon of intervocalic voicing.

And if once the true nature of Verner's law be sufficiently understood, it will be obvious that its conditions are exactly those most favorable to intervocalic voicing. But Verner's law has been largely misinterpreted. The correctness of the usual statement of its operation 'when the accent did not fall on the next preceding syllable' is wholly empirical. Verner himself fails to state the law as accurately as he conceived it, for his statement of its operation outside the 'Nachlaute betonter silben' takes no account of the fact subsequently cited by him, of the peculiar Primitive Germanic syllabic division indicated in the Hendingar,<sup>1</sup> which associates a consonant not, as at present, with the following, but with the preceding vowel. It is unfortunately impossible to determine if this division was both physiological and psychological in character; it was certainly the latter; that it was the former it is, judging from present utterance, exceedingly difficult to believe. But granted only the psychological character of this method of enunciation, it is clear that Verner's law must be stated not as operating when the accent does not fall on the next preceding syllable,

<sup>1</sup> Sievers, *Agerm. Metrik*, Sec. 60, 7, pp. 93-94.



but as operating when the sound affected is not contained in the syllable bearing the principal accent. This appears the only theoretically correct statement of the law and is the one upon which the present explanation hinges. For, as above noted, the effect of a stress accent is to concentrate attention upon the accented syllable at the expense of the unaccented, thus disturbing the coördination of the speech movements constituting the latter; for the maintenance of this coördination requires a high degree of attention, higher than is given in normal speech. The effect of this impaired coördination is demonstrated to be the voicing process which actually occurs.

The great weakness of most attempted explanations of phonetic laws is their offense to the laws of causality; their failure to show why under identical conditions elsewhere the same change does not result. From this objection it is believed the present theory may be shielded without difficulty. The conditions of a shifting accent-quality, a general increase in utterance speed, together with the absence of the restraining force of a written language, are not likely to be paralleled elsewhere. Obviously only the rudiments of a tendency to phonetic change are to be sought in any language after the introduction of a phonetic alphabet. Insufficient attention has been paid to the enormous inhibitory influence of writing upon phonetic change, which in reality can not be too strongly emphasized. No sound could show a tendency to change save one that was rare in the language, whose phonetic value the alphabet had therefore failed to firmly impress upon the mind. Let it only be said that in the sole case known to the writer in which the requisite conditions are reproduced with anything like accuracy, the change of Verner's law operates without exception. The case in question is that of modern English *x*. Observe *execrate*, *exit*, *exercise*, etc., with the letter *x* as *ks*, but *examine*, *exact*, *exert*, etc., with the letter *x* as *gz*. In *exhibition-exhibit*, *luxury-luxurious*, etc., we have nothing more nor less than Grammatischer Wechsel.

FREDERIC LYMAN WELLS.

## NOTE ON BASIL'S ADDRESS TO YOUNG MEN.

IN Basil the Great's *Address to Young Men on the Right Use of Greek Literature* IX, occurs the following passage: Τὸ γὰρ τὴν πᾶσαν σπουδὴν εἰσφereσθαι ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα ἔξοι, οὐ διαγινώσκοντός ἐστιν ἑαυτόν, οὐδὲ συνιέντος τοῦ σοφοῦ παραγγέλματος, ὅτι οὐ τὸ ὁρώμενόν ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ('Indeed, to be very zealous in making the body appear very beautiful is not the mark of a man who knows himself, or who feels the force of the wise maxim: "Not that which is seen is the man"').

In a recent translation of this essay (*Essays on the Study and Use of Poetry, Yale Studies in English* xv.), I suggested that the above maxim may have been borrowed from Ps.-Plato, *Axiochus* 365: τῆς συγκρίσεως ἅπαξ διαλυθείσης καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐς τὸν οἰκίον ιδρυθείσης τόπον τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν σῶμα, γεῶδες ὂν καὶ ἄλογον, οὐκ ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ('When once the union is dissolved and the soul is established in its own place of abode, the body which remains behind is earthy and without reason, and is not the man. For we are soul, a thing of life and immortal, shut up in a mortal prison').

Since publishing the translation I have found the same thought expressed in the *Alcibiades* I. Socrates is discussing the relation of a man to his soul and to his body, and he so guides the conversation that he leads Alcibiades to acknowledge that a man is not the same as his own body:

Soc. "Ἐτερον ἄρα ἄνθρωπός ἐστι τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ;  
Al. "Εοικεν.

As the ancients themselves regarded the *Axiochus* as spurious, and as both in theme and in literary character the *Alcibiades* was designed to appeal to Basil, it seems likely that if he had either of the above passages in mind, it was the passage from the *Alcibiades*.

FREDERICK MORGAN PADELFORD.

## AN OLD ENGLISH PROVERB.

IN the Old English Chronicle A. D. 1003 (C, D, E), the story of Ælfric's treacherous behavior is followed by the general remark: *Donne se heretoga wacað, þonne bið eall se here swiðe gehindred*. To judge from Plummer's edition, the sentence is marked as a quotation in MS. E (by the use of red letters?), and the introduction: *swa hit gecweden is*, seems to point to its proverbial nature; cf. A. D. 1130: *oc man seið to biworde, hæge sitteð þa aceres dæleth*. How far the passage is to be claimed as an Old English proverb in the strict sense, we are not certain.

Plummer (2. 183) has called attention to a similar saying: *si dux timidus erit, quomodo salvabitur miles?* occurring in Alcuin's letters (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* 3. 535). (It is preceded by two rhetorical interrogations in the same strain: *Si fugit vexillum ferens, quid facit exercitus?* *Si tuba tacet in castris, quis se praeparat ad bellum?*<sup>1</sup>)

Also a passage in Ælfred's *Pastoral Care* (129. 8 ff.) deserves to be compared with it: *sua eac bið se here eal idel, ðonne he on oðer folc winnan sceal, gif se heretoga dwolað*. Though it is founded on Gregory's original: *in exploratione hostium frustra exercitus velociter sequitur, si ab ipso duce itineris erratur* (Bk. 2, chap. 7), the rather free and pointed version seems suggestive of proverbial wisdom.

FR. KLAEBER.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.

<sup>1</sup>This last evidently from 1 Cor. 14. 8.—ED.

A NOTE ON *KING LEAR*.

IN *Lear* 3. 4. 89 ff. is found the following passage : ‘False of heart, light of ear, bloody of hand ; hog in sloth, fox in stealth, wolf in greediness, dog in madness, lion in prey.’

In the Variorum Edition Dr. Furness gives this note :

‘90–91. hog . . . prey] WRIGHT : Mr. Skeat has pointed out to me that in the *Ancien Rivle*, p. 198, the seven deadly sins are typified by seven wild animals ; the lion being the type of pride, the serpent of envy, the unicorn of wrath, the bear of sloth, the fox of covetousness, the swine of greediness, and the scorpion of lust.’

A still closer parallel is to be found in Chaucer’s translation of Boethius : ‘For yif he be ardaunt in avaryce, and that he be a ravinour by violence of foreine richesse, thou shalt seyn that he is lyke to the wolf. And yif he be felonous and withoute reste, and exercyse his tonge to chydinges, thou shalt lykne him to the hound. And yif he be a prevey awaitour yhid, and reioyseth him to ravisshe by wyles, thou shalt seyn him lyke to the fox-whelpes. And yif he be distempre and quaketh for ire, men shal wen that he bereth the corage of a lyoun. . . . And if he be plounged in foule and unclene luxuries, he is withholden in the foule delyces of the foule sowe’ (Boethius. Book IV, Prose III, p. 103, ed. Skeat). In the omitted lines the cowardly man is compared to a deer, the slothful to an ass, and the inconstant to a bird. The subject of the following metrical passage is the enchantments of Circe. This is the source of the passage in the *Purgatorio* 14. 40–54, in which Dante says that the dwellers in the valley of the Arno have so changed their nature

che par che Circe gli avesse in pastura.

Here the Casentines are likened to hogs, 'brutti porci,' the Aretines to curs, 'botoli ringhiosi,' the Florentines to wolves, and the Pisans to foxes, 'volpi, sì piene di froda.'

In the Procession of the Seven Deadly Sins in Spenser's *Fairy Queen* 1. 4, Idleness is represented as riding on an ass, Gluttony on a swine, Avarice on a camel, Envy on a wolf, Wrath on a lion, and Lechery on a goat. In Dunbar's *Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis* occur these lines :

Syne Sweirnes, at the secound bidding,  
Come lyk a sow out of a midding.

WILLIAM S. JOHNSON.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

THE NORWEGIAN DIALECT AND FOLKLORE  
SOCIETY.

IN the early Spring of 1881 an invitation looking toward the formation of a Norwegian Folklore and Dialect Society appeared in the Christiania papers signed by P. Chr. Asbjörnson, Ivar Aasen, Sophus Bugge, Johan Fritzner, Moltke Moe, Hans Ross, Joh. Storm, and C. R. Unger. On the 2nd of April of that year a society was formed in Christiania University which took the name: *Forening for norske Dialekter og Folketraditioner*. The chief activity of the new society, as outlined in the invitation, was to be directed toward the publication of suitable works, and a year book was planned whose contents were to be devoted, as the name of the society implied, to 1, a study of the life and traditions of the Norwegian people; 2, a scientific investigation of the Norwegian dialects. The proposed year book was to be called *Norvegia*, the name being chosen in conformity with recognized foreign periodicals such as *Anglia*, *Germania*, and *Romania*. As editors were elected Professors Joh. Storm and Moltke Moe, the former to take charge of the linguistic, the latter the folkloristic side. The first volume of *Norvegia* was to have appeared in 1884. To this Professor Storm contributed the first 132 pages of *Norsk Lydskrift med Omrids af Fonetiken*, which was printed that year. But the publication was not continued; the time did not yet seem ripe for the undertaking and the society ceased to exist. It was indeed a misfortune that the society did not continue an activity so auspiciously begun. Under the direction of such men much could have been accomplished, but without an organ and without a directing center comparatively little has been done until the last few years. In the meantime, however, the

movement in the early eighties was not without result. Interest in dialect study was as a direct result of it undoubtedly quickened in the sister country Sweden. The first *Landsmålsförening* in Sweden was patterned after *Det norske Samlaget*.<sup>1</sup> The dialect societies of Lund, Upsala, and Helsingfors later united in a general society and began the publication of *Nyare bidrag til kännedom om de svenska landsmålen och svenskt folkliv*, under the editorship of Professor J. A. Lundell. What this society has done for the advancement of dialect study in Sweden is well known. The movement certainly also at the time served to arouse a more general interest in the native dialects and the popular traditions and legends that were fast disappearing. In recent years a number of younger scholars have been engaged in such study in Norway with excellent results, while many of the older scholars have continued their already large collections of folktales, and popular ballads. The differences that for a long time divided the 'language-strivers'—the advocates of the *landsmaal*, from those who studied the living dialects for the sake of their philological importance have gradually been levelled. In the meantime P. Chr. Asbjörnson, Ivar Aasen, C. R. Unger and Johan Fritzner have died. Among those who, on the 24th of October, 1901, formed a new society, *Samfundet for norske Maal og Traditioner*, are three of the directors of the original one, Sophus Bugge, Joh. Storm and Moltke Moe. Professor Gustav Storm was chosen President of the society and A. Taranger, Secretary. The old name of the year-book—*Norvegia*—will be retained; it will appear in quarterly numbers of ca. 80 pages each. The editors are Marius Hægstad and Amund B. Larsen; later have been added A. Taranger and Harry Fett.

The aims and purposes of this society are essentially those of the old one, although the later addition of the two last named scholars to the editorial staff indicates that its publication activity will be widened somewhat in its scope.

There are in Norway at present a number of scholars who

<sup>1</sup> J. Storm, *Norsk Lydskrift*. Intr. p. 16. *Svensk Tidsk.* I. 505.

have done much to further Norse dialect study in recent years. A systematic investigation of the dialects is being carried on, the results of which will be published for a large part in the *Norvegia*. The first editor of this department, Amund B. Larsen, is well known through his various works on Norwegian dialects. The 'traditional' or folkloristic side of the study has of course been fostered for a much longer time and private collectors have at hand ready for publication a large amount of such material. The first issues of *Norvegia*, four numbers of which have appeared, contain some legends, tales and ballads from the collections of Ivar Aasen, Hans Ross, Sophus Bugge, Moltke Moe and others. Prof. Joh. Storm's *Norsk Lydskrift* has also been reissued and completed, while Dr. A. B. Larsen offers a study of the phonology of one of the most archaic dialects, that of Selbyg. The introduction gives a history of the society, its aims, etc., by the late Professor Dr. Gustav Storm.

Scandinavian scholars will welcome heartily the Norwegian Dialect and Folklore Society—*Samfundet for norske Maal og Traditioner*—of whose great usefulness in the future the names alone of those directing it are a sufficient guarantee.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

IOWA CITY, March, 1904.



## REVIEWS.

Louis P. Betz,<sup>1</sup> *Studien zur vergleichenden Litteraturgeschichte der neueren Zeit*. Frankfurt a. M., Rütter & Loening. 1902. 264 pp.

The attractive volume by the author of *La Littérature Comparée* (Strassburg, 1900) will be of interest to all students of comparative literature, especially in America. Mr. Betz, who was born in New York and is well acquainted with American life, has much to say about the influence of American authors upon European literature. The volume is dedicated to the memory of Karl Hauselt, the German-American philanthropist in New York. It is well written, though at times not free from affectation, and illustrates the fact, familiar to students of modern German literature, that German scholars no longer disregard form, as was so common fifteen and twenty years ago.

In the introduction Betz calls attention to the establishment of chairs of Comparative Literature at French universities and of departments of Comparative Literature at American universities (Columbia and Harvard). Germany, which has always eagerly followed the development of foreign literatures, has as yet no professorship of Comparative Literature. In justice to Germany, Betz should have mentioned that German scholars published a journal of Comparative Literature some time before chairs in this subject were established in France or America.

<sup>1</sup>Professor Betz's sudden death at Zurich is a great loss to the science of Comparative Literature, of which he was one of the ablest representatives. As a German-American with a broad knowledge of German and American literatures, he was especially qualified to act as mediator between the intellectual classes of the two countries. The studies reviewed here give ample evidence of that. His business experience in New York may have developed in him that commonsense view of things which is so characteristic of his work. Professor Betz started on his scholarly career rather late in life, but within the space of a few years he published several very substantial contributions to comparative literature, and yet greater things were to be expected of him.—J. A. W.

Betz sees the beginning of the comparative study of literature in the celebrated *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* of the seventeenth century. He does not allow the claim of Jos. Texte that Germany is the home of this study, though he admits that the full significance of the method was first brought out in Germany by men like Lessing, Herder, Tieck and the two Schlegels. Later, however, he calls Herder the father of the comparative study of literature in the modern sense. The author then points out the fallacy of the common belief that the comparative study of literature is the result of increasing literary cosmopolitanism. In France and Germany the method was applied during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the advocates of national literature. After mentioning briefly some of the scholars that have been most eminent in this field, the author states the problems of Comparative Literature: 1st, the comparative study of folk-lore; 2nd, the influence of Classical upon modern literature; 3rd, the study of sources and subjects, including the migration of literary types and motives from nation to nation and their modification according to time and place; 4th, the inter-relation of modern literatures including comparative poetics and the influence of translations; 5th, the synthetic presentation of literary epochs.

The first essay, *Edgar Poe in der französischen Litteratur*, discusses Edgar Allan Poe's influence upon French literature. It is in many respects the most interesting study in the series. By way of introduction the author gives a brief sketch of American literature during the nineteenth century. Emerson, Hawthorne, Poe and Walt Whitman are the men who gave to their country literary independence and repaid a large part of America's literary debt to Europe. Poe is for Betz the greatest representative of American letters, greater than Emerson and Walt Whitman. He combines all the typical phases of American life; his moods reflect the contrast between the inner life of the American and the outside world: on the outside the struggle for money and power, but within the idealism 'of the most sentimental, enthusiastic and naive human being.' Like Schönbach, the Austrian professor at Graz, Betz tries to impress upon the German public the intellectual achievements of the American people. (Cf. his appreciative essays in the *Literarische Echo*, 1902-3.)

Poe, abhorred and neglected by his countrymen, became the idol

of the French symbolists and *décadence* poets, as such second only to Richard Wagner. It was Charles Baudelaire, the author of *Fleurs du mal*, who made himself the apostle of Poe in France, though he was not the first Frenchman to 'discover' Poe. Betz very justly looks upon the *décadence* movement as essentially a self-assertion of the individual against the mass, a reaction against naturalism and materialism, and Poe, himself a protest against the materialism around him, was the very artist to attract and inspire the *décadence* poets. Betz does not fail, however, to point out the difference, 'great as a yawning abyss,' between Poe and his French admirers: Poe's terrible imagination was as 'pure as an angel,' it has not a trace of sensuality. Poe is the forerunner not only of the symbolistic and occultistic 'atmospheric' novel, but also of the metaphysical novel—the *roman scientifique*—and the detective story.

The second essay deals with Gérard de Nerval, the author of the most important French translation of *Faust*, the literary *commis voyageur* between Paris and Munich. Gautier tells the story that Goethe, after reading Nerval's translation of *Faust*, wrote a letter to him containing the phrase: 'Je ne me suis jamais si bien compris qu'en vous lisant.' Other French writers enlarged upon Gautier's account and no one questioned Goethe's correspondence with Nerval. Betz shows that Gautier's story is without any foundation and that Goethe's letter to Nerval is probably an invention of J. Janin.

The subjects of the third and seventh essays are the German-Swiss writers, Heinrich Leuthold and Gottfried Keller. Leuthold is represented as the unrivalled translator of French poetry, the poet of artistic form. The essay on Gottfried Keller is disappointing. It was written for the feuilleton of a Zurich paper and, in its present form, did not deserve a place in the collection. Its serious part is a review of F. Baldensperger's French work on Gottfried Keller.

In the fourth essay Betz discusses Émile Montégut, the versatile and scholarly contributor to the *Revue des deux Mondes*, the interpreter of foreign literature. He takes up Montégut's translations from the English and German and his critical essays. Though Betz purposely omits Montégut's publications on sociological, moral and historical subjects, we are impressed with the stupendous activity of this man who, at the time of his death, was almost forgotten in France. Montégut's complete translation of Shakespeare with introduction and commentary is the most important contribution to

Shakespeare literature in a country so uncongenial to Shakespearean art. Montégut's interest in German literature is chiefly due to a conversation with Heine in 1855, when the latter was approaching death. His essay on Heine, published many years later (*Revue des deux Mondes*, 1884), is one of the most brilliant studies of Heine. Montégut was one of the few Frenchmen who, in these latter days, did not allow chauvinism to blind him as regards German literature, but had the courage to continue the work of Madame de Staël.

The fifth essay deals with J. J. Bodmer and his relation to French literature. The essay first appeared in the Bodmer memorial volume (Zurich, 1900) and was generally recognized as a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Bodmer and his critical theories. Betz attacks the traditional view of Bodmer as the advocate of English literature in Germany and shows that Bodmer throughout his life was influenced by French literary ideals. But in spite of Betz's strong arguments, the traditional view is the correct one. What distinguishes Bodmer from his contemporaries is not his French training but the fact that, in spite of his French training, he recognized the value of English poetry for the development of German literature. That has given Bodmer so important a place in the history of German criticism (cf. Sulzer-Gebing in Koch's *Studien zur vergleichenden Litteraturgeschichte*, II, p. 113), that is Bodmer's claim to distinction even in the eyes of eighteenth century critics. Herder in the first collection of his *Fragmente* (edition of 1768, II, 6) praises Bodmer because he called attention to British poetry.

The sixth essay, entitled *Benjamin Constant's 'Adolphe'*, gives an account of Constant's relation to Madame de Staël, which he portrayed in his novel 'Adolphe.' Betz points out the connecting links between 'Adolphe' and Goethe's 'Werther.'

The eighth essay shows the influence of German Switzerland upon the life and poetry of Victor Scheffel, the author of the ever fresh 'Ekkehard.' It is not a study in comparative literature, but might well be called a study in comparative German literature, as it shows the mutual influence of German-speaking countries. As in the essays on Leuthold and Keller, we are impressed with the important position Switzerland holds in modern German literature.

The ninth essay takes up Heine and his influence upon foreign literatures. Betz, who has written a searching monograph on Heine in France, is an authority on this subject. While the Germans are

still quarreling about the merits of Heine, foreign countries, especially France and England, have long since recognized him as the greatest modern German poet. Betz discusses the French, English, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Slavic and Scandinavian translations. The best and most complete English translation of Heine's works is by an American, the lamented Charles G. Leland. The most important agents, however, in spreading Heine's poetry throughout the world were the great German composers who vied with one another in setting Heine's poems to music.

The concluding chapter takes up a few general questions of comparative literature. The author sketches the development of the literary hegemony of different nations from the Middle Ages down to the end of the nineteenth century, but does not touch upon the most interesting question: what factors, social, political or economic, rendered such a literary hegemony possible? The subject cannot be satisfactorily treated in a short essay. In modern times the author believes it is impossible for any one literature to exercise as dominant an influence upon the world as French literature did during the seventeenth century. No one will seriously question this statement, as long as present political and economic conditions prevail. It is perfectly conceivable, however, that such a literary hegemony may take place again as the result of political and economic changes.—The second part of the essay shows the cosmopolitan character of modern French and German literatures. In both countries, however, a reaction has set in which seeks inspiration at home among the people.

JOHN A. WALZ.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

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Rudolf Haym: *Gesammelte Aufsätze*. Besorgt von Wilhelm Schrader. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1903. v + 628 Pg. 12m.

Contents: Ulrich von Hutten, 1858; Schiller an seinem hundertjährigen Jubiläum, 1859; Ernst Moritz Arndt, 1860; Varnhagen von Ense, 1863; Arthur Schopenhauer, 1864; Die Dilthey'sche Biographie Schleiermachers, 1870; Ein deutsches Frauenleben aus der Zeit unserer Litteraturblüthe, 1870;

Die Hartmann'sche Philosophie des Unbewussten, 1873 ;  
Eine Nachlese zu Novalis' Leben und Schriften, 1873 ; Her-  
mann Baumgarten, 1894.

With the death of Rudolf Haym in August, 1901, Germany lost another of the grand old men who have taken so important a part in the literary and political movements of the last century. Active almost to the last as professor at the University of Halle, Haym exerted a great personal influence upon generations of hearers,<sup>1</sup> an influence of perhaps greater worth to the world than his publications, important as the latter are. The reviewer was fortunate enough to hear Haym in the winter of 1898-99, and he will long remember the great enthusiasm which greeted the old man whenever he entered the crowded auditorium, and the rapt attention with which the students followed his lectures. This direct personal influence is now at an end and it is to his publications that we must turn.

These works are preëminently of a biographical nature. Haym began his literary career as a philosopher and remained a philosopher until the end, but was drawn at the same time more and more into the field of history, especially biographical history. A great heart full of sympathy, joined with the keenest analytical reason, fitted him especially for the latter activity. 'Niemand hat es besser als Haym verstanden, das geistige Gewebe eines hervorragenden Menschen aufzulösen und die einzelnen Fäden bis zu ihrem Ausgangspunkt zu verfolgen.'<sup>2</sup> In this very analytical keenness we find the key to Haym's chief weakness, for, as Delbrück remarks, it is especially this entering into the minutiae of intellectual processes and the ensuing broadness of the presentation that are to be censured in his works. In his essays, however, Haym was obliged to refrain from too broad a presentation, hence the essays afford the choicest gems of Haym's literary production.

These shorter works have been as yet more or less inaccessible to the public, being buried in old files of the *Preussische Jahrbücher* and other periodicals ; therefore the collection by W. Schrader is to be warmly welcomed. As is seen from the table of contents,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hedwig Bleuler-Waser's glowing tribute in *Die Nation*, Vol. 19, Nos. 37 and 38.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. B. Delbrück in *Euphorion*, Vol. 8, p. 842.

it consists exclusively of contributions by Haym to the *Jahrb.* This fact, however, shows that the present collection, while of great value, cannot be considered as final, for besides the essays in the *Jahrb.* not included in the collection, there exist elsewhere others of great importance.<sup>1</sup>

In the first paragraph of the short foreword, Schrader characterizes the mission of the *Jahrb.* under Haym's editorship, and the influence which the magazine exerted in the public affairs of those troubled times. In the second paragraph, he explains his choice among the articles contributed by Haym to the *Jahrb.* According to Schrader, Haym would not wish to have his polemic essays reprinted in a period more in need of the union than of the excitation of national strength. Schrader assures us, moreover, that Haym would have opposed the reprinting of a number of the more strictly literary essays, among these the treatise on Macaulay, *Jahrb.*, Vol. 6, p. 353, 'whose intellectual and national limitations he recognized clearly later,' and that on Fichte 'whom he afterwards in his *Romantische Schule* characterized more carefully and in a manner more worthy of his importance.' "For other reasons," what they were Schrader does not state, Haym would have excluded still other essays.

Here the collector will doubtless meet with more or less opposition, for not every one will sanction his choice, still less the reasons for such a choice. In making this collection, reverence for the author can not have been a decisive factor, for, according to Schrader, Haym was opposed in principle to the reprinting of his essays. In general, one may well hesitate to consider the reasons given by Schrader as qualified to furnish a norm for the choice of articles written by a public man. Even if the author's opinion changed in later years, his essays would have, nevertheless, a certain historical interest and aid greatly in characterizing the man and the times.

In most instances, to be sure, Schrader's choice is to be commended, less for the reasons which he gives than because he has

<sup>1</sup> For example the essay on Macaulay, *Jahrb.*, Vol. 6, p. 353; then in other publications, the treatise 'Über die Bedeutung des Stils,' in Prutz' *Literarhistorisches Taschenbuch*, Vol. 6, and the review of Koberstein's *Literaturgeschichte*, mentioned by A. S. in *Euph.*, Vol. 11, p. 286, both of which were inaccessible to me.

chosen the more important essays and omitted the shorter, more incidental contributions. As will be seen from the complete list of Haym's contributions to the *Jahrb.* given below<sup>1</sup>, most of the omitted articles discuss political themes, matters appertaining more to the magazine itself, or, where they do discuss literature, are of less scope and general interest and are indeed often mere incidental communications of but a few pages. Thus the review of Kl. Groth's *Quickborn* with its discussion of dialect-poetry (p. 479 f.) and its fine description of '*De Heisterkrog*' (p. 483 ff.) is of

- <sup>1</sup> Vol. 1, pp. 186-213. Der Preussische Landtag während der Jahre 1851 bis 1857.
- " 1, " 487-532. Ulrich von Hutten.
- " 2, " 457-468. Zu den Wahlen in Preussen.
- " 3, " 1-15. Vorwort.
- " 3, " 657-683. Die Fabier. (Trauerspiel in 5 Akten von G. Freitag.)
- " 4, " 516-545. } Schiller an seinem hundertjährigen Jubiläum.
- " 4, " 626-664. }
- " 5, " 470-512. Ernst Moritz Arndt.
- " 6, " 353-396. Thomas Babington Macaulay.
- " 6, " 483-491. Zum Berliner Universitäts-Jubiläum.
- " 6, " 593-601. Zum Stieber'schen Prozess.
- " 7, " i-iv. Am 4 Januar 1861.
- " 7, " 244-260. Eine Erinnerung an Johann Gottlob Fichte.
- " 8, " 406-413. Aus der Lebensgeschichte eines Historikers (Fr. V. Raumer).
- " 9, " 245-249. Das Lessing Denkmal in Berlin.
- " 11, " 445-515. Varnhagen von Ense.
- " 11, " 627-644. Die Verordnung vom 1. Juni und die Presse.
- " 12, " 62-73. Ein Artikel der Grenzboten.
- " 14, " 45-91. } Arthur Schopenhauer.
- " 14, " 179-243. }
- " 21, " 347-356. Kleine Mittheilungen für Goethefreunde.
- " 21, " 682-690. Ein neuer Beitrag zur Biographie Goethes.
- " 24, " 261-295. Friedrich Schlegel und die Lucinde.
- " 26, " 556-604. Die Diltheysche Biographie Schleiermachers.
- " 27, " 479-487. Litterarisches. (Kl. Groth's *Quickborn*.)
- " 28, " 457-506. Ein deutsches Frauenleben aus der Zeit unsrer Litteraturblüthe.
- " 31, " 41-80. }
- " 31, " 109-139. } Die Hartmann'sche Philosophie des Unbewussten.
- " 31, " 257-311. }
- " 31, " 563-576. Eine Nachlese zu Novalis' Leben und Schriften.
- " 76, " 193-213. Hermann Baumgarten.



minor importance when compared with the essays in Schrader's collection. The essay on 'Fr. Schlegel und die Lucinde' is as expressly stated in the *Jahrb.* only a fragment from Haym's *Romantische Schule*. On the other hand, he might perhaps have included the essay on Fichte, written with the purpose of discussing but one phase of the subject, namely 'that Fichte, the orator, and Fichte the philosopher, were one and the same, and that Fichte's 'Wissenschaftslehre' and his 'Reden' sprang from the same root.'

Almost incomprehensible is the omission of the splendid essay on Macaulay with its excellent criticism of Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* (p. 363), his oratory (p. 366 f.), the essay (p. 370 and p. 374), style (p. 379), etc. Schrader emphasizes the fact that Haym recognized later Macaulay's 'intellectual and national limitations.' But he saw Macaulay's weaknesses clearly enough at the time of writing the essay. Compare, for example, p. 358, his criticism of Macaulay's æsthetic theory introducing the discussion of Milton's poetry. 'Einseitig und armselig' are the words he uses; or p. 373 where Macaulay's polemic is contrasted unfavorably with that of Lessing; p. 384 f. where his historical theory is compared with that of W. v. Humboldt; p. 386 f. where the national standpoint of Macaulay is especially emphasized. Surely Haym was not carried too far by his enthusiasm for the subject of the essay.

Inasmuch as a limited collection is by its very nature incomplete, and as there are other essays of Haym which will doubtless be incorporated sooner or later into a similar collection, the question arises whether it would not have been better to have had this in mind at the outset, and to have included these in the collection, even if another volume had been found necessary.

Schrader has printed the essays in their chronological order. In this collection one sees, as he explains in the foreword, Haym's inner development, the 'fine, tender understanding of mental processes' exhibited in the later sketch of Caroline Schelling as contrasted with the 'vehement strength' in the portrayal of Hutten.

As mentioned above, the essays are taken exclusively from the *Jahrb.*, the organ founded by Haym in 1858 and edited by him until 1864. They cover a period of thirty-six years, from 1858 to 1894. As the list (p. 1, note 4) shows, Haym contributed frequently to the *Jahrb.* during the first years of its existence (Vols.

1-31). Then came a long pause, no essay of his appearing from Vol. 31 to Vol. 76, in which volume is found his sketch of Herm. Baumgarten. For meanwhile Haym had withdrawn from active politics and contributing to magazines.

The articles chosen are admirably qualified to give a true picture of Haym, the philosopher, literary historian and biographer. At the same time certain of them are important and fundamental treatises upon the subject under discussion, for example, the clear and exhaustive criticisms of Schopenhauer and Ed. v. Hartmann, models of philosophical criticism, even if warmly polemic rather than dryly objective; the important essay on Varnhagen von Ense; the charming sketch of Caroline Schelling; the splendid essay on Schiller.

In general, Haym's method is much the same in all these essays. At the first glance, they seem to be reviews, the subjects of the articles being followed generally by the titles of the books prompting the composition. In reality, the appearance of these works was often but an excuse for Haym to enter upon an independent, always admirable treatise, where the material already presented is worked over with consummate skill, and presented in a new and brilliant setting, illumined by brighter, clearer lights.

It is hardly within the scope of this notice to discuss all the essays in Schrader's collection. Attention may be called briefly, however, to a few of the more important ones, which illustrate Haym's method, whether in the essays of this collection or those still scattered through the *Jahrb.* and elsewhere.

In the first essay of the collection, that on Ulrich von Hutten, based upon Strauss' *Ulrich von Hutten*,<sup>1</sup> Haym devotes several pages to a characterization of Strauss' share in the theological controversies of the first half of the nineteenth century, the gradual subsiding of these theological-philosophical contests due to the growing interest in political affairs, and the transference of Strauss' interests from theology to biography. These introductory pages (1-9) sum up clearly Strauss' mission and furnish moreover many interesting remarks upon the science of biography in general (p. 6). On page 9, Haym begins under the leadership of Strauss, a sketch of Hutten's life, clear, succinct, and full of excellent

<sup>1</sup> D. F. Strauss, *Ulrich von Hutten*. Zwei Theile, Leipzig bei Brockhaus, 1858.

characterizations, as for instance, that of the humanism of the time (p. 18 f.); the Pfefferkorn-Reuchlin controversy and the 'Epistolae obscurorum virorum' (p. 21 ff.), and Hutten's attitude toward Luther (p. 27). In the short analysis of the Hutten-Erasmus strife (p. 46), one recognizes Haym's characteristic attitude. Without being biased or blind to the truth, Haym emphasizes the part played by the men themselves, instead of dealing with tendencies, epochs and standpoints after the manner of Strauss. Clear and concise again is the summing up of Haym's importance for contemporaneous and subsequent times (p. 47 f.).

The essay on Schiller opens with short, incisive, critical characterisations of the biographies called into life by the centennial celebration of Schiller's birth, especially the works of Scherr, J. Schmidt and Palleske. Basing on these works and avoiding the two tendencies, the hostile criticism of the realistic school on the one hand, the prejudiced, fulsome enthusiasm of Schiller's defenders on the other, Haym then sketches most admirably Schiller's development and the chief phases of his activity. This treatise takes for granted a knowledge of the facts in the poet's life. Its purpose is not to convey facts, but to interpret those already known. Only the chief phases of Schiller's life and activity are illuminated, but so bright is the light thrown upon them that they stand out in amazing clearness and distinctness. Among the many interesting points touched upon by Haym may be mentioned the discussion of *Die Räuber* (p. 59 f.); the glowing account of the friendship between Schiller and Körner, a theme especially sympathetic to Haym (p. 72 ff.); the beginning of Schiller's interest in history (p. 82 ff.); his first meeting with Goethe (p. 87) and the beginning of their friendship (p. 105). As might be expected from Haym, especial attention is given to Schiller's philosophy, his relation to Kant (p. 93), his further philosophical development (p. 95 ff.), his æsthetics (p. 96). On page 108, the shorter poems are briefly characterized, on page 110, the *Xenien*. But few pages are devoted to the great dramas. Haym's opinion is expressed in observations, short but extremely to the point. In a few particulars, one may differ with him, for example, p. 55, where he emphasizes Schiller's willingness to mutilate the original ending of *Fiesco* for the sake of an effective scene in its production, or p. 115, where he states that Schiller, in his adaptation of Shakspeare's *Macbeth*, transformed the witches into the fates.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bellermann: *Schiller's Leben*, p. 209.

Turning from the glowing, eulogistic treatises on Hutten and Schiller, we find in the essays on Varnhagen von Ense and Schopenhauer, models of hostile criticism.

The few introductory pages to the sketch of Varnhagen illustrate well Haym's admirable satire and his telling use of comparisons.<sup>1</sup> How striking is the comparison of Varnhagen's 'portraits' with the exact, painfully true portraits of the photographer of the early sixties. A few sentences only are needed to show the character of the *Tagebücher* and the absurdity of Ludmilla Assing's fulsome adulation.<sup>2</sup> Against this diplomat, this actor who never quits his rôle, this petty conceited man of no genius but unpardonable productivity, Haym directs countless shafts of keenest satire and annihilating epithets. Cf. p. 196, 'Noch nie hatte dieser Mann irgendwo aus freiem, ursprünglichen Triebe etwas geschaffen oder geleistet'; p. 214, 'diese umbiegende, ausbeugende, leisetretende, flüsternde, düftelnde Schreibweise'; or p. 237, 'dieser höhrende geifernde, renommirende Politicus'. Still, Haym is not too much biased by the disgust which these 'nachgelassene Papierhaufen' (the *Tagebücher*) cause him. He recognizes Varnhagen's talent, characterizing it excellently in the description of Varnhagen's portrayal of the Congress of Vienna (p. 188 ff.); he praises the worth of the *Denkwürdigkeiten* as affording valuable pictures of the history of German literature and national life, as 'in ihrer Art unübertroffen und mustergültig, eine unschätzbare Fundgrube für den Historiker und Literarhistoriker' (p. 227). Varnhagen's life is excellently described, his transition from literary activity to diplomacy, his return from diplomacy to literature. This essay, too, is full of most valuable short characterizations. What a clear idea of the ferment of romanticism one obtains by reading Haym's description of the Varnhagen-Chamisso *Musenalmanach* (p. 171), or of the novel compiled by Varnhagen and his circle (p. 173). Excellent is the characterization of the relations of Varnhagen and Rahel (p. 205), Varnhagen and Goethe (p. 218 and p. 225), Varnhagen and Stein (p. 182), of his attitude toward Hegel's system of philosophy (p. 216); excellent the descriptions of the various per-

<sup>1</sup> Haym's essays teem with pointed comparisons. Cf. pp. 188, 211, 343, 577, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. her introduction to the *Tagebücher* and to the *Denkwürdigkeiten des eignen Lebens*.

sons who come in touch with the subject of the essay, for example, Rahel (p. 176) and Gans (p. 217).

A worthy companionpiece to the annihilating criticism of Varnhagen, the author and man, is the polemic against Schopenhauer, the philosopher and man. This lengthy article, printed also separately in book form (Berlin; G. Reimer 1864)<sup>1</sup> begins with a short characteristic exposition of the rise of Schopenhauerism, and of the biographical works of Gwinner,<sup>2</sup> and that of Lindner and Frauenstädt.<sup>3</sup> In a few pages (243-248) Haym gives a remarkably succinct, clear exposition of Schopenhauer's system. In the following (third) chapter, he discusses the system, showing clearly its contradictions. Interesting is the discussion of Schopenhauer's relation to Kant, taken up in chapter 4; Cf. p. 280, 'die Schopenhauer'sche Auslegung und Fortbildung der "tiefsinnigsten aller Kant'schen Lehren"' schliesst eine Vernichtung ihrer kritischen Grundlage, eine Entwertung ihrer ethischen Bedeutung, eine Depotenziierung von Freiheit und Vernunft in sich; of Schopenhauer's attempt to unite 'den transcendentalen Idealismus der deutschen Philosophie mit dem englisch-französischen Empirismus, Kant mit Locke und Cabanis in ein Verhältniss ergänzender Gegenseitigkeit zu bringen.' Excellent again is the following (p. 285): 'In der Metaphysik und Naturphilosophie Phantast mit naturalistischem Hintergrund, in der Erkenntnisslehre Idealist mit sensualistischem Zuschlag, ist unser Philosoph in der Ethik Empiriker mit mystischem Ausgang,' and the characterization of Schopenhauer's idealism as 'spielender Idealismus' (p. 287). In the fifth chapter Haym sketches Schopenhauer's intellectual development and the origin of his system, showing how little of the system belongs to him, how he borrowed from the men whom he was ever slandering so vilely, especially Fichte, to clothe and construct into a system his own observations, his own philosophy of self. Of especial note is the discussion of Schopenhauer's relations

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fr. Hoffmann's review in his *Philosophische Schriften*, Vol. 4, p. 147 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Arthur Schopenhauer aus persönlichen Umgänge dargestellt*. Wilhelm Gwinner. Leipzig, 1862. F. U. Brockhaus.

*Schopenhauer und seine Freunde*. W. Gwinner. Leipzig, 1864. F. U. Brockhaus.

<sup>3</sup> *Arthur Schopenhauer. Von ihm. Über ihn*. Ernst Otto Lindner und Julius Frauenstädt. Berlin, 1863. A. W. Hayn.

with Goethe (p. 301 f.), his study of Indian antiquities (p. 303), his relation to romanticism (p. 312 f.). The sixth chapter discusses the 'Krankheitsgeschichte' of Schopenhauer's system. Here Haym must enter upon a discussion of Schopenhauer's despicable personal character, the related development of system and man, a most unpleasant task withal. In the seventh and last chapters, he continues this condemnation of man and philosopher, the one dependent upon the other. 'Beide stehen und fallen miteinander, wie sie wechselseitig einander erläutern' (p. 343). In one respect, however, Schopenhauer excites Haym's admiration: whatever else he may be, he is an eminent writer, a remarkable stylist, and one of the masters of German prose, and has a place, therefore, in the history of German Literature as well as in that of Philosophy (p. 351 ff.).

Unique and charming is the essay on Caroline Schelling, entitled 'Ein deutsches Frauenleben aus der Zeit unserer Litteraturblüthe'. This striking personality, this woman full of life, of human frailty as well as strength, living in the period of the 'Romantische Schule', a period in itself of so great interest to Haym, could not fail to throw her spell upon him. Haym's enthusiasm, enthrallment, one would fain say, has given us one of the most delightful essays in German literature.

The orthography and punctuation of the collection are those of the essays as they appeared in the *Jahrb.* The following errata, some dating from the original essays in the *Jahrb.*, have been noted:

III, l. 21. Mac Aulay for Macaulay.

III, l. 22. *Jahrb.* V for *Jahrb.* VI.

V, l. 8. Mac Aulay for Macaulay.

P. 3, l. 39. Interesse, den for Interesse, das.

P. 12, l. 13, is the same as p. 12, l. 27. In its stead should appear the line 'Zwischenzeit zwischen seinem Leipziger und diesem Greifswalder Auf' (cf. *Jahrb.*, vol. I, p. 497).

P. 57, l. 35. 'Philosophie oder Physiologie', oder for der (Schiller's first thesis).

P. 58, l. 23. 'mit der geistigen' for 'mit seiner geistigen' (Schiller's second thesis).

P. 89, l. 18. einen Louisd'or nach dem andern aus der Tasche (Schiller an Körner, 17 Jan. 1789), should appear in quotation marks.

P. 216, l. 24. deshelb for deshalb.

P. 379, l. 16. Verständniß for Verständniß.

P. 468, l. 21. gewollte for gewollt.

P. 473, l. 39. mitleren for mittleren.

P. 486, l. 23. Seht for Steht.

P. 515, l. 9. psychiologischer for psychologischer.

P. 586, l. 19. beeinflusst for beeinflusst.

Kommt is generally printed kömmt. Pp. 48 and 269 it appears without the umlaut.

PAUL R. POPE.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

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*Eine neue Faust-Erklärung* by Hermann Türck. 2 ed. Berlin, 1901 (O. Elsner).

Türck's new explanation of *Faust* exemplifies once more Loeper's saying, that Goethe's *Faust* is differently reflected in each epoch. It seems to be a fact that each generation interprets *Faust* according to its own ideals, and it has been demonstrated over and over again that this tendency is latent even in our days, at a time when objectivity is considered the first requisite of investigation.

The book is an application and working out of the ideas which the author had laid down in his previous treatises *Der geniale Mensch* (1897) and *Das Wesen des Genies* (1888). This chronology is significant: Türck approaches Goethe's *Faust* with a preconceived and definite philosophy of life, a frequent almost unavoidable but nevertheless lamentable circumstance.

His philosophizing centers about the two conceptions *Genie* and *Philister*. Historically and as to significance the former is with him of primary importance, the second being simply the negation of the first. *Genie* has according to the most frequent definition three characteristics: 1, objectivity as regards the world; 2, genuine productivity; 3, recognition of the ideal world, of the Eternal. Of these three points, the second is the most important. Objectivity comprises a thorough knowledge of the world, an absolute contempt of it, and the renunciation of all hope of realizing peace in it. Again only that productivity is genuine which has permanent results. And what have we to understand by the recognition of the Eternal? Türck emphasizes: no special creed. It is, in short, the Hegelian pantheism which he has in mind, the consideration of the world as the temporary manifestation of the Infinite in finite garb. Thus we get the definition: the *Genie* is productive, wise, resigned, and

humble. Its exact counterpart is the *Philister*; he is dominated by the two emotions of fear and hope which are summed up by Türrck in the term *Sorge*. Under these two heads he would bring mankind, and in so doing he considers himself in accordance with Goethe (in *Gespr. m. Eck*. 1828, *Max. und Refl.*, *Zahme Xenien*, *Faust*) and with Spinoza's division into the free and the passive.

Concerning his interpretation of *Faust*, Türrck can claim to be original in two points: in his general method and in his definition of Faust's character. As to the first he does not avail himself of the well-established historico-critical method; he does not differentiate individual strata in *Faust*, and in this he goes back to the obsolete philosophical interpretation. Türrck's lack of historical sense and disregard to the genesis of the drama which he interprets is indeed remarkable. But he is not less original in the following. Heretofore the starting-point of elucidation has either been the prologue, or each stratum has been explained out of itself; Türrck starts from the close of the drama, from the fifth act of the second part.

As the vantage-point from which to introduce his theory of the *geniale Mensch* into *Faust*, he chooses the words of Mephistopheles in the II. part, 5. act, ll. 11587-93.<sup>1</sup> Faust dies with the words: 'Im Vorgefühl' etc., whereupon Mephistopheles remarks: 'Den letzten, schlechten, leeren Augenblick' etc. These lines have always been difficult to reconcile: How can Mephistopheles call a moment 'schlecht' and 'leer,' which to Faust seems glorious? Which is right?

Here, at this point, Türrck begins his new explanation of Faust's career and character; it centers about the two conceptions *Genie* and *Magie*, with their counterparts *Philister* and *Sorge*. At the moment, when Care blinds Faust, the process is closed which began with the appearance of the four women (l. 11384). Faust's blinding has a symbolical significance. His physical degeneration is parallel to a spiritual degeneration. The question arises: what has Faust become and what was he before? Türrck answers: he is changed from a *Genie* to a *Philister*. Here we reach the centre of his exegesis. Türrck does not believe in any gradual purification of Faust; on the contrary, he assumes that the

<sup>1</sup> According to Thomas' enumeration.



latter finally falls. Faust is essentially a *Genie*. His striving for the Eternal, Türck finds, is expressed in the prologue, in ll. 455 ff., 614 ff., 634 ff., 652, 1810 ff. and elsewhere. Further, Faust is dissatisfied and resigned, full of vague longings. In this condition we find him in the first soliloquy. He has looked at the world in the conventional manner in spite of his innate genius. Up to this time he has been a semi-*Philister*; now he determines to stand upon his own feet, to trust his own genius. This determination is first suggested in l. 377, where the word *Magie* symbolizes genius. The result of the decision is the emancipation of Faust from fear and hope (ll. 369-70). Faust does not persuade himself further (ll. 371-73); he recognizes that a genius cannot control his fate (ll. 454-55). Fear and hope suggest themselves to anyone under such conditions (ll. 640-51). But the genius does not resign itself to these feelings; it cannot perish on account of its indomitable vitality. So for Faust nothing remains but 'eine Tätigkeit auf gut Glück.' But since productive work must often, in order to accomplish its end, be destructive, genius often is obliged to make use of the evil in the world; so Faust enters into companionship with Mephistopheles. He storms life furiously, being productive in 'Liebesgenuss,' 'Schönheitsgenuss,' and 'Tatengenuss.' He remains a true genius, resigned, humble, wise, and energetic, never attaching any importance to the goods of the world, until he enters upon old age. Now everything changes. What he has up to this time treasured as a symbol of the Eternal he now finds 'personally significant.' He becomes conceited; he believes in the efficacy of the human will and sees in such an insignificant work as the draining of a marsh a great undertaking. At last he is wholly satisfied. Mephistopheles formally wins the wager; but since Faust remained a genius almost to the end of his life he still has hope of final salvation.

To sum up Türck's interpretation: in the Faust-drama Goethe describes the life and fate of the genius, utilizing the Faust legend. All is symbolic: Faust looks at the world as a symbol of the Infinite, and his own words are symbolic of his inner life; not only is for Faust, the man, the world a fleeting vision, but the drama itself is a symbol. The æsthete Friedrich Vischer, in his brilliant satire on Goethe's *Faust*, divides the extremists in Faust interpretation into two parties, the 'Sinnhuber' and the 'Stoffhuber.' If

we may apply these terms to the present case, then Türk must be placed in the first class. He is a 'Sinnhuber' of the extremest type.

The principal difference between this new and the common explanation consists in the following. In the latter, Faust's career is divided into two parts (before and after the night of Easter Sunday); Türk makes three divisions, adding the degeneration at the close of the second part. According to the old version Faust's life is destined to end in a purification, while in Türk's view he does not develop until his sudden fall; thus the second part is divided into two entirely different sections. Finally, the tendency of the old explanation is to interpret Faust's character by referring to each stratum of the drama; Türk, with sublime disregard to its genesis, recognizes only one Faust.

Every new theory which is in the least a serious one is serviceable to science, and according to this principle Türk is entitled to a hearing. It is, however, not probable that his theory will be widely accepted. A more detailed criticism of his views is of course not possible within the limits of this review; only a few points may be touched upon.

The names *Genie* and *Philister*, it seems to me, are badly chosen. Türk's *geniale Menschen* are *Tatmenschen* if not *Gewaltmenschen*. This becomes evident from his definition of genius as well as from the personages whom he chooses as types. It is true, Napoleon I and Bismarck are mentioned as geniuses par excellence together with Buddha, Christ, and Goethe; but the stress is laid on the first two. What was the chief characteristic of a Napoleon I? Certainly love for activity and power; impulse toward action, however, is rooted rather in the will than in the intellect. The terms *Genius*, *genial* refer, primarily, to intellectual greatness, while will-power is best expressed in German by such words as *gewaltig* or *titanisch*. The use of the notion *Philister* for a being moved by hope and fear, is especially unfortunate.

But is Faust really a genius, as Türk understands the word? To answer this question completely would mean to attack the deepest problems of Faust exegesis. But this much may be taken as certain. If we explain Faust's life from the standpoint of the prologue, then, it is true, he never seems to be satisfied. This would answer one side of the character of the Türk genius. But what

about its chief characteristic, the genuine productivity? What lasting work has Faust done when one leaves out the work along the ocean dikes, which falls in the time of his degeneration? It may be that Goethe at one time wished Faust to develop into a Türk-genius. In some passages (ll. 1663, 1750-59 and others) Faust is filled with a vague impulse to throw himself into a life of work and activity; but he is without any resignation; he expects pain and pleasure, happiness and sorrow.

Türk offers a nice solution of the difficulty in the fifth act of the second part. On the other hand the poetical beauty of Faust's last words would militate against the theory of his spiritual degeneration. No *Philister* speaks like that.

Nowhere does Türk's lack of historical sense and philosophical acuteness become more conspicuous than when he identifies his classification of mankind with that of Spinoza. He refers to Spinoza's saying: the more active a thing is, the more perfect it is and the more reality it possesses. But what does Spinoza mean by activity? Surely not Türk's genuine productivity. According to Spinoza the human mind is active when it has adequate ideas; all its passion consists in confused ideas. The essence of the mind is thought; volition is not only dependent on cognition, but at bottom identical with it. The highest good and the highest blessing is the knowledge and love of God, the *amor dei intellectualis*. In short, Spinoza's ethics is intellectualistic; his ethical ideal corresponds to the third element in Türk's definition, to the recognition of the Eternal which, as has been pointed out, is only of secondary importance in Türk's conception of genius.

PAUL REIFF.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY.

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*Geschlechtswandel der Substantiva im Deutschen mit Einschluss der Lehn- und Fremdworte.* Von Dr. phil. Albert Polzin. Hildesheim, Gebr. Gerstenberg, 1903.

The origin of grammatical gender and the changes in gender are having a revival of interest. Polzin's book is a distinct contribution to gender-change in German, but its value might perhaps have been increased, at least in a comparative way, if the author

had had access to what has been published in English on the general subject of gender and gender-change. It is of course possible that he is acquainted with some of the earlier of these publications, and that his failure to mention them is due to a belief that they do not directly bear upon the phase of the subject discussed by him. Among the articles in English that touch the matter more or less closely, and that have been published in the last few years, may be mentioned here in chronological order the following: Wheeler, *Grammatical Gender, The Classical Review*, III, 390-392, 1889; Brugmann, *The Nature and Origin of the Noun Genders in the Indo-European Languages*, New York, 1897; Wheeler, *The Origin of Grammatical Gender*, vol. II, pp. 528-545, of this *Journal*, 1898; Dodge, *Gender of English Loan Words in Danish, Americana Germanica*, II, 27-32, 1898; Wilson, *The Grammatical Gender of English Words in German, Americana Germanica*, III, 265-283, 1899; Fraser, *A Suggestion as to the Origin of Grammatical Gender, Fortnightly Review*, LXXIII, 79 ff., January 1900; Florer, *Gender Change from Middle High German to Luther, as seen in the 1545 Edition of the Bible, Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. America*, xv, new series VIII, 442-491, 1900; Flom, *English Elements in Norse Dialects of Utica, Wisconsin, Dialect Notes*, II, Part IV, 257-268, 1902; Flom, *The Gender of English Loan-Nouns in Norse Dialects in America*, vol. V, pp. 1-31, of this *Journal*, 1903; Stefánsson, *English Loan-Nouns used in the Icelandic Colony of North Dakota, Dialect Notes*, II, Part V, 354-362, 1903.

Polzin reviews first the opinion of Grimm as to the cause of change of gender, who maintained that it lies mainly in the history of inflection and in arbitrary fancy. Polzin grants the influence of inflection, but to attribute gender-change to fancy, he says, is to give up the problem. The case of foreign words, according to Grimm, confirms the influence of inflections, derivative endings, and meaning in determining gender. Polzin sees no serious objection to this, and with regard to the influence of meaning, he quotes from Michels to the effect that in a search for fully identical meanings one will not meet with much success, but that one must rather be satisfied with a relationship in meaning which is often supported by a similarity in sound. He then reviews the theory of Michels as to change in gender, who attributes it largely to association, and

makes the two divisions : association in sound and association in meaning. He accepts in the main Michel's views, but would give more prominence to similarity in sound. In fact, Polzin's book is really an exposition of a theory of gender-change based upon similarity of sound, or "rhyme-association", as the author chooses to call it. In M. H. G. we find *diu spange*, *diu stange*, *diu zange*, with *der slange* and *daz wange*. Every unprejudiced scholar must grant, Polzin declares, that rhyme-association has been the determining element for the N. H. G. *die Schlange* and *die Wange*. This contention is strengthened by the fact that these five words have not the remotest connection in meaning ; compare also the Latin *fructus* (m), M. H. G. *diu fluht*, *diu suht*, *diu zuht* and M. H. G. *diu vruht*. The author agrees with the principle laid down by Paul (*Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 219 ff.) and emphasized by Michels, namely, that the loss of inflection is only negative as regards change of gender, that is, it shows simply that the gender of a word becomes uncertain, but by it we cannot demonstrate why a certain feminine may become masculine and not neuter. This is just the point where rhyme-association can often put us on the right track.

The author now discusses the subject from the psychological side. That certain sounds leave in the brain their own impression, which may be quite independent of the meaning, is undisputed. Further, that rhyme-association is a very strong association is quite obvious. Now, when the sound *-ange* in *Schlange* and *Wange* is heard, it unconsciously suggests such forms as *Spange*, *Stange*, and *Zange*. The meanings of the words do not distinctly present themselves to the mind, and therefore the disagreement in meaning cannot prevent a grouping or association. The sound *-ange* in *Schlange*, *Spange*, *Stange*, *Wange*, and *Zange* is subordinate, just as the idea *Baum* is subordinate in the names of the individual trees as *Eichbaum*, *Apfelbaum*, *Birnbaum*. Following out this line of argument, we may incidentally explain the independent appearance of rhyme among different nations, which is certainly not merely a product of art, but it has its foundation in the organism of the human brain.

In the German language alone this theory of rhyme-association might indeed meet some difficulties, but certain foreign words come to our assistance. They show beyond a reasonable doubt in some typical cases how very effective rhyme-association is in German.

The French *étiquette*, f., appears in German as *die Etiquette* and *das Etiquett*. Of course, we could say *die Etiquette* with *die Sitte* (formerly *der site* though) and *das Etiquett* with *das Schild* (formerly *der schilt*), but why not *die Etiquett*, *das Etiquett* or *die Etiquette*, *das Etiquette*? The explanation appears under two heads : (1) the German feminines ending in *-ette*, and (2) the German neuters ending in *-ett* (*Bett*, *Brett*, *Fett*). But why these loan-words are sometimes borrowed as neuters with the ending *-ett* and sometimes as feminines with the ending *-ette*, cannot be determined in individual cases. There are, however, two general influences which affect each other ; on the one hand, persons unacquainted with French, on the other, French-speaking scholars. Compare, for instance, the popular forms *Fabrike* and *Musike* with *Fabrik* and *Musik*. Another interesting case is *die Tapete* (*Drommete*, *Muskete*, *Rackete*) and *das Tapët* (*das Beet*).

We have been dealing with loan-words with endings that found existing rhyme-forms in German, but now such phenomena as *le cigar* > *die Zigarre* and *le group* > *die Gruppe* prove what an important criterion the matter of rhyme is. Masculines in *-ar* and *-upp* (except *der Trupp*, probably from Low German *de tropp*) did not exist in German. Therefore, the feminines in *-arre* (*Darre*, *Barre*, *Schmarre*, *Schnarre*) and those in *-uppe* (*Suppe*, *Kuppe*) attracted these words to themselves in ending and in gender, and hence we have *die Zigarre* and *die Gruppe*.

The loan-words with the ending *-age*, which in French are masculine (except *la rage*) but feminine in German, have presented great difficulties. The rhyme-association of the *-age* with such words as *Frage*, *Klage*, *Sage*, seems to Polzin less probable than an association with words ending in *-asche* (*Flasche*, *Masche*, *Tasche*). Both these views seem to me rather far-fetched, and they are not supported by any evidence. Polzin thinks that possibly the simple ending *-e* fixes the gender. He presents some material on this point, but we have not time to discuss it here. His conclusion in brief is that loan-words of French origin show clearly, so far as choice of gender in German between masculine and feminine is concerned, that even to the most recent time rhyme-association has been very active in determining gender.

To help to prove his general theory of rhyme-association, Polzin draws attention to the suggestiveness of rhyme, even in verbs, by

quoting certain colloquial forms, as *jagen*, *jug*, suggested possibly by *schlagen*, *schlug*; *kaufen*, *kief*, suggested by *laufen*, *lief*; *laufen*, *geloßen*, suggested by *saufen*, *gesoffen*. I quote this view for what it is worth. Several examples of *geloßen* dating back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may be found in Lexer's *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, I, col. 1967.

In addition to rhyme-association, accentuation has its influence in fixing gender. As illustrating a remarkable agreement in this respect, Polzin mentions *das Fagott*, *Komplott*, *Kompott*, *Schafott* together with the M. H. G. *daz gebot*, which even to the present day in colloquial speech in North Germany is pronounced *das Gebott*.

The author devotes a few lines to words that assume two genders with a difference of meaning, and concludes that such distinctions are the product of "over-wise grammatical pseudo-learning." Hempl takes a sounder view of the matter when he explains that the "grammarian formulated the distinction" which originated among the people of different sections (cp. Hempl's article on *Der See and die See* in this *Journal*, vol. I, pp. 100-101).

The transition from O. H. G. to M. H. G. is not marked by such a great change in gender as the period of transition from M. H. G. to N. H. G. In many words the change does not begin until the M. H. G. period. Polzin sets forth two reasons for this difference: (1) The lengthening of short vowels in accented syllables and the development of long vowels into diphthongs; and (2) the ever increasing influence of Middle German and Low German.

The accompanying lists of words that have changed gender cover fifty-seven pages of the book. They are based upon Kluge's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, and are arranged in chronological order by the usual periods, O. H. G., M. H. G., and N. H. G. The author confesses (page 14) to an overworking of the rhyme-association theory. Florer's lists, which of course deal with only one period, are much more clearly subdivided, and they possess the additional advantage of an index.

The book is well printed. I noted one misprint, on page 7, line 15, for *wie* read *wir*. As said, the work is a distinct contribution, and the theory of rhyme-association will bear further investigation.

CHARLES BUNDY WILSON.

*Germanische Sprachwissenschaft* von Richard Loewe (Sammlung Göschén) Leipzig, Göschénische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1905. Pp. 148.

The author treats his subject in accordance with the well known habit of the Göschén series ; a large amount of information is forced into the smallest possible space. But unlike some of his predecessors, Loewe does, or tries to do, more than that : there is a breadth of view, an eye for underlying causes and principles, a tendency to give not a mere list of incoherent details, but a rational and synthetic presentation of a large subject in its manifold ramifications. One regrets all the more the limitations which the established character of the series inevitably imposed upon the writer ; yet, for a more thorough study we have Streitberg, and Bethge, Kluge, Noreen, and Brugmann, and since *Germanische Sprachforschung* had to have its turn in the Göschén collection, we are glad to note that the difficult subject has fallen to the share of a conscientious and clear-headed scholar. The wording of the rules is clear enough to be understood by readers who are somewhat familiar with the general aspects of language studies ; the book may, therefore, prove useful not only to students for a rapid review of the main data of Germanic grammar, but in a way it also places the subject within the reach of the educated and intelligent layman. We add a few remarks on details :

P. 12.—‘Die Veränderungen der Sprachen erstrecken sich theils auf die Lautform, theils auf die Bedeutung ihrer Wörter.’ But changes are going on constantly both in regard to form and meaning ; therefore read ‘einerseits—andererseits’ for ‘theils—theils.’

OHG. *magum* is in reality no more primitive than *mugum* ; some other illustration (e. g. *wurde* for *ward* after *wurden*) would be preferable.

The distinction between ‘spontaner’ and ‘combinatorischer’ Lautwandel is spurious ; there is no such thing as a spontaneous sound change anywhere.

P. 13.—German *s* has turned into *sch* not only before *l*, *m*, *n*, *w*, but also before *t*, *p*, *k* (the latter then disappearing), and the author might have improved the opportunity to say so, plainly, for the benefit of teachers and others who insist on considering the dialectal *s-tellen*, *s-prechen* as correct German forms.



‘Die Sprachveränderungen haben ihre wesentliche Ursache in ihrer Vererbung von Generation zu Generation.’ This is certainly true, and it is, I think, not generally enough recognized; but it is going too far, when in his next paragraph the author says: ‘Aus der Kindersprache stammen aber auch alle Analogiebildungen bei häufigen Wörtern.’

P. 14.—In regard to dissimilations it seems desirable to add, that they, after all, are mostly directed, if not caused, by some analogy, even though in individual cases we may not be able to tell with certainty the source of the influence.

Is the influence of the Babylonian sexagesimal system sufficient evidence to determine the question of the original home of the Aryans?

P. 15.—‘da sich gemeinsame Neuerungen natürlich nur über ein zusammenhängendes Gebiet ausdehnen können.’ This theory is applied repeatedly in the book, and conclusions drawn from it are stated as solid facts. But much is to be said against the theory and the actual conditions admit of other interpretations. The author himself once speaks of a sound change (*tt:ss*) as ‘so naheliegend, dass er griechisch unabhängig von den *satem* Sprachen stattgefunden haben kann,’ but on the whole he draws heavily on the wave theory to the exclusion of other motives; on p. 41 the *a*-Umlaut is supposed to have traveled across the sea.

P. 19.—It is not at all probable, but on the contrary it is practically impossible, that originally, or at any time, Germanic was spoken in Scandinavia and on the Danish islands only. This theory is not proved by any historical evidence, and it does not take into account the number and diversity of the Germanic tribes and the many early migrations of the same and of their neighbors, the Celts, Italics and Slavs.

P. 29.—The identity of the three persons plural in Old Saxon, and the *ō* of *gōs* and even the disappearance of *n* in *gōs*, *fīf* and *ūs*, etc., are ascribed directly to the influence of conquering Anglo-Frisians. Altogether, the author, like other philologists, seems inclined to overrate the historical and ethnological significance of linguistic phenomena.

P. 33.—*andawaúrd* instead of *ándawaurd*, evidently a misprint.

P. 38.—Indoeuropean *ei* and *eu* do not coincide with *ai* and *au*. Cf. Gothic *keinan*, *lukan*, etc.

Since Indoeuropean *eu* remains *eu* in Germanic (urgermanisch), there is no good reason for putting down *iu* as the representative Old High German development (*kiusu*) any more than *eo* (*keosan*).

P. 39.—Gothic *aukan* 'sich mehren'; so also on p. 127 (*nehme zu*); it should be 'vermehren.'

P. 42.—There is an essential difference, well worth noticing, between the early Germanic *i*-Umlaut, Lat. *medius*, Old English *mid* (not *midd*, as the author has it), and the later *i*-Umlaut in the various Germanic dialects. The latter is a shifting towards the front (*a: e*, etc., mid back to mid front, etc.), while in the early Germanic change of *e* to *i* it is not the front but the *high* articulation of the following *i* (or *u*) which determines the direction of the change, the same high articulation which also causes the retention of Indoeuropean *i* and *u* (in *\*fiskiz*, *stigun*, *\*buðilaz*, *buðun*).

It would have been better to use the macron everywhere as the sign of vowel length; the author uses the acute accent in Old English and Icelandic; this, together with an occasional misprint, is apt to become somewhat confusing to the beginner. Thus in the paragraph on the *i*-Umlaut in Old English we are told that 'á (aus urg. ai oder ē) wird zu é, ö zu é (sécan, got. sókjan), ú zu ý (ü),' etc. ! And by the way, Old English *ō* turns first to *æ* and thence to *ē*.

P. 44.—'Ahd. wird *au* vor *h* und allen Dentalen zu *ō*.' It should be 'vor germanischen *h*'; for the change does not take place before the OHG. *h* which has developed out of Germanic *k* (Goth. *auk*—OHG. *ouh*).

P. 46.—Under 'Quantitativer Ablaut' we read 'völlig ausgestossen wurden meist die kurzen Vokale *e*, *a*, *a*.' The 'meist' is quite wrong. *Only* short vowels disappear entirely; but they do not, in Germanic, disappear as a usual thing.

P. 47.—'Wenn in der zu kürzenden Silbe *r*, *l*, *m*, oder *n* vor oder hinter kurzem Vokal stand, so wurde die Liq. oder Nas. selbst silbisch.' It should be 'konnte—werden.' The *r*, etc., becomes syllabic before consonants, and it could become so before vowels.

'Die Adjective auf *-os* hatten idg. fast durchweg Endbetonung.' This is more particularly true of adjectives in *-nos* and *-tos*.

P. 51.—In Westgermanic as well as in Norse *p* became voiced after vowels.

P. 67.—The earlier Germanic disappearance of *i* consonant before *i* should have been mentioned by all means.

P. 111.—The numerals from 70 to 120 'sind unerklärt.' Some of them are difficult indeed ; but it might safely be said, that *hund* and Gothic *tēhund* are nothing but varieties of the form used as ordinal in Gothic *taihund-a*, etc., 'the tenth,' 'a decade,' *hund* representing a shortened \**dkmtóm*, and *tēhund* being derived from a lengthened \**dēkm*; *tēhund* retained, like *taihunda*, its old meaning, thence *taihuntēhund*, like Old Norse *tio tiger* = ten decades = a 'hundred,' while the more isolated form *hund* developed also the specific meaning 'the tenth number ten,' = ten decades = a hundred, and in the combination *þusundi* = \**tūs-kmtjē* = the 'large hundred' it even came to serve for a 'thousand.' In Old English, *hundseofontig*, etc., the *-tig* was added, when the meaning of *hund* had become obscured ; the *-ant* of Old Saxon *antsibunta* is a remnant of *hund*, developed as a pretonic syllable before voiceless *s*, while the ending *-ta*, OHG. *-zo* in *sibunzo* is a shortening of *-tah*, *-zuh*, the vowels as well as the *h* and *g* (*tigus*) alternating according to accent, and the *h*, of *-tah*, *-zoh* disappearing before vowels.

P. 113.—For 'wenig' (isolierte Reste) read 'wenige.'

P. 127.—The elaborate attempt again to explain the preterit forms ON. *hét*, *lét*, *fekk*, etc., on the basis of original reduplication does not seem to me satisfactory ; since the author found it impossible to account for the Norse and Westgermanic vowels by *ablaut*, a frank statement that the question is not yet completely solved would have been in place in a work of this kind.

P. 143.—In the preterit participle of the strong verbs the *a*-Umlaut of *i* has, after all, had its way in Icelandicic *beðenn*.

GUSTAF E. KARSTEN.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY,  
EVANSTON, ILL.

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*Shakespeare and Voltaire.* By Thomas R. Lounsbury. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902.

This book is part of a master-work on Shakespeare, the first volume of which—*Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*—appeared in 1901. According to Professor Lounsbury there existed, in the sixteenth as well as the nineteenth centuries, two forms of art, which may, for

convenience' sake, be called romanticism and classicism. When Shakespeare deliberately chose the former, he not only insured its success in his own time, but saved England from entirely falling under the bane of the latter, when French influence became most powerful. The great modern critics, such as Schlegel and Coleridge, who pleaded the cause of romanticism, did not effect a revolution, but vindicated one long effected, and lent the additional weight of right reason to a victory mainly won by instinct. Such is the general idea or thesis that gives the various parts of Professor Lounsbury's work clearness and cohesion.

The present book deals with only an incident in the long war waged between the two rival conceptions of art—with an important one, however, since the future of European literature hung upon its issue. The struggle between Voltaire and Shakespeare bore in letters the significance that the struggle between Louis XIV and William of Orange had borne in politics. Once more did England stand up as the champion of liberty, while France threw in her lot with arbitrary power; Shakespeare was contending for the rights of the individual imagination, Voltaire doing battle in the interest of fixed and traditional rules; to their mutual opponents the Frenchman appeared a reactionary, and the Englishman an anarchist. Of course the argument runs counter to the generally received opinion that Voltaire, having discovered Shakespeare, admired his plays, trumpeted his fame abroad, and borrowed from him hints for his own plays; but, seeing others go beyond his timid innovations, and fearing that the French drama might suffer in consequence, he attacked Shakespeare with a violence excusable only because resorted to in self-defense, and pulled down the idol that he had set up. For Professor Lounsbury, Voltaire's attitude is suspicious throughout. His opinion was in substance the same, whether embodied in the *Lettres Anglaises* or the *Letter to the Academy*: 'Voltaire's attitude toward Shakespeare and the English stage never really varied in its character from first to last (p. 138). As he advanced in years, his enmity steadily increased, and his disparagement became more frequent and pronounced. His change of attitude was not due at all to any change in his opinions' (p. 178). Voltaire reminds his readers of Louis XIV cajoling Charles II, the better to dupe and enslave him. His dealings are often downright dishonest, he misstates scenes in the plays, garbles his translations,

and displays an ignorance of the English language and the text of Shakespeare calculated to show the English dramatist in the worst possible light : "He deliberately misrepresented blank verse to those who knew nothing of its character (p. 225). He took at times studied care to lower the character of Shakespeare's language (p. 227). The misrepresentation was deliberate (p. 230). It is not always easy to decide whether his mistranslations are due to ignorance or intention' (p. 285).

To this severe indictment Voltaire might, perhaps not without good reason, plead not guilty. It is inconceivable, unless one admits a singular flaw of character, that Voltaire should have displayed such consummate duplicity in Shakespeare's case. Not that his subtle genius precluded an occasional use of intrigue. But Shakespeare seemed an unimportant opponent, at least for many years. Even with the *Letter to the Academy* thrown in, Voltaire's writings on Shakespeare do not amount to the twentieth part of his whole work. Professor Lounsbury says himself that the English stage was but a small preoccupation for a man unceasingly fighting the noble battle of freedom of thought. Voltaire was probably at first amused by Shakespeare. Anything strange and new attracted him. He spoke of him with careless praise, as the fitting poet for a people bold enough to depose or behead their kings.

Then the excuse for inaccurate translation is to be found in the chapter in which Professor Lounsbury shows us how little Voltaire knew English history. His had been no scientific, but a purely literary, training. In one sense, there was never a more perfect pupil of the Jesuits; he was able to write, in verse or prose, in an entertaining manner, on any conceivable subject. He could compose a novel or a tragedy, dash off a tale, review a book; but he was unable to collate a text, or ascertain a date. It is possible that when fairly roused against Shakespeare, he twisted the meaning of a line or two, though his knowledge of English must then have been very small; but what would in a modern scholar be unpardonable baseness, deserves in Voltaire to be dealt with only as a venial sin. As to his calling Lord Kames "Lord Makaimes," the blunder is perhaps intentional, since the name conveyed to Frenchmen an unmistakable idea of Scottish extraction.

The relation between Voltaire and England has often been discussed, but Professor Lounsbury puts the question in a new light

by studying England's attitude towards Voltaire; and giving a minute account of these forgotten English criticisms, he has written a valuable contribution to literary history. Voltaire's works were at first kindly received; then his attacks—in the prefaces to *Méropé* and *Sémiramis*—roused resentment. We observe that Voltaire's opponents were mostly obscure men; great critics like Johnson, when urged to take arms in Shakespeare's cause, declined to do so; the resentment, moreover, did not endure long: to the *Letter to the Academy* the English showed indifference. The reason was that the contest, as far as it interested England, had been decided in favor of Shakespeare; perhaps was it also because the English in the eighteenth century did not care much for literary disputes.

In conclusion, Professor Lounsbury regrets that Voltaire retarded on the Continent a due appreciation of Shakespeare. It seems hardly probable that Voltaire, had his authority, great as it was, been used in the interest of Shakespeare, could have altered his countrymen's taste. Even to-day, in spite of the romanticists, Voltaire's appreciation remains that of most Frenchmen: "an inspired barbarian" they call the English poet, some laying stress on the adjective, but the greater number on the noun.

A careful regard for composition and style enhances the value of a book which, though containing some points open to dispute, offers an undeniable interest. Students of comparative literature will especially be thankful to Professor Lounsbury for the chapters on the attitude taken towards Voltaire by the English.<sup>1</sup>

CH. BASTIDE.

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*Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors.* By John Garrett Underhill. New York: Published for the Columbia University Press by The Macmillan Company, 1899. Pp. x, 438.

This book, the object of which is 'to determine, within certain limits, the place which the literature of Spain and Portugal occupied

<sup>1</sup> The word *costume* (custom), p. 232, was, according to Littré, introduced into French from the Italian in the time of Louis XIII. With reference to Voltaire it could hardly be called a 'recent' word.

in the minds and lives of English writers previous to the death of Elizabeth,' forms a welcome addition to the goodly number of studies on the literary relations between England and Spain which have appeared during the last two decades or more. The author begins with a brief account of the contact between the two countries from the year 1170—when Henry II gave his daughter Eleanor in marriage, not to Alphonso VII of Castile and Leon (1126–1157), as Mr. Underhill says, but to Alphonso VIII of Castile (1158–1214)—to the second half of the sixteenth century. During that period, England was under the intellectual influence of Italy and France, while her intercourse with the Spanish peninsula was practically limited to politics and commerce, so that 'the rise and power of Castilian culture in the home of the Tudors were determined by and sensitive to the successive phases of the political contest between the English and the Spanish nations.' It was therefore chiefly through Latin, Italian, and French versions that Spanish works at first became known to the English, as e. g. the *Celestina* in 1530 through Rastell's adaptation of the Italian translation of Alphonso Ordoñez. Later, from the time of Mary and Philip II, translation was more and more the result of the direct study of Spanish originals, as is the case with Thomas Paynel's English rendering (published in 1568) of the *Amadis de Gaula*. In the peculiar character of the relations existing between the two nations, Mr. Underhill further finds an explanation for the classes of Spanish works with which the English became acquainted during this time. These were either of an occasional and didactic character, or purely literary in their nature, with a decided preponderance of those publications serving a practical purpose. To the first class belong the treatises on military tactics and on navigation, the chronicles of sea-voyages, etc., which interested the English soldier, sailor, and merchant. To the second or literary class, which was naturally of a more abiding influence, belong the moral court-treatises, such as those of Antonio de Guevara; the pastoral novels, in the present case exclusively represented by the *Diana* of Montemayor; the romances of chivalry, such as the *Amadis de Gaula* and the series of the *Palmerins*, all of which strongly appealed to the courtly circles of England; and last, though not least, the picaresque novel, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, rendered into English by David Rowland before 1576, and destined to attain to considerable popularity under the Stuarts. Mr. Underhill duly

notes the important fact that three other literary *genres* in which Spain excelled in the 16th and 17th centuries, and in which her genius found its most typical expression—the epic, the lyric, and the drama—exerted scarcely any influence upon the England of the sixteenth century. The Spanish ballads, as he correctly says, were too intensely national, both in form and feeling, to flourish upon any but their own soil. As for the lyric poetry of Castile, highly developed though it was, it could not impose itself successfully upon the attention of the English for several reasons. The style cultivated by the native school, the foremost champion of which in that period was Cristóbal de Castillejo, was too national, too local almost, to call forth an echo in England, while the Italian style, followed and firmly established by such singers as Boscan, Garcilaso de la Vega, and Camoens, was already known to the English through the direct influence of Petrarch and his school. According to Mr. Underhill (p. 267), the second and third lyrics of the first book of the *Diana* of Montemayor, which Sidney rendered into English in his *Arcadia*, and part of the sixth eclogue of Googe, are the only Spanish lyric poetry which was translated into English, independently of any prose setting, before the accession of James I. The Spanish drama, finally, had not sufficiently matured its forms in the sixteenth century to invite imitation abroad. 'Barring such few exceptions as the *Celestina* and Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, it is only in the reign of the Stuarts that the direct influence of Castile upon English playwrights makes itself felt. This opinion is in accord with the one advanced in 1890 by A. L. Stiefel in the excellent article published in Vol. 5 of the *Romanische Forschungen* under the title: 'Die Nachahmung Spanischer Komödien in England unter den ersten Stuarts,' and it is strange that Mr. Underhill should nowhere in his book mention this and other important recent contributions to the study of the literary relations of England with Spain, such as E. Koeppl's *Geschichte der Italienischen Novelle in der Englischen Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Strassburg, 1892, and the same writer's 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Elizabethan Dramas,' in *Englische Studien*, Vol. 16, and 'Zur Quellenkunde des Stuart-Dramas,' in *Archiv für Neuere Sprachen*, Vol. 97.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Other contributions to this subject are the following :

*Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries, from 1520, their Lives and Writings, according to the late Benjamin B. Wiffen's Plan, and with the Use of his Materials.*



One cannot follow Mr. Underhill in his diligent and useful, though rather diffuse, investigation of the various channels through which Spanish thought penetrated into the England of the sixteenth century without regretting that he should not prove better acquainted than he appears to be with some of the more familiar results of modern research in the field of Spanish literature which were easily accessible to him in Fitzmaurice-Kelly's *History of Spanish Literature*, a book which figures in the list of 'Authorities consulted,' and in the critical studies of Portuguese and Spanish literature by Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos and by G. Baist in Vol. 2 of the well-known *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*, edited by Gröber (1893). A proper consultation of these works, which is indispensable to any one dealing with the literary history of the Spanish peninsula, would have prevented him from committing the following more or less serious errors. On p. 39 the *Celestina*, which, as is well-known, was composed toward the end of the fifteenth century, is termed a 'masterpiece of fourteenth-century Spain.' On p. 41, the Marques de Santillana is referred to as 'the most popular of the poets of the pre-Italian period,' while on p. 78 the author commits a further error in the partially contradictory statement in regard to 'the allegorical method, . . . which is that of the School of Santillana and the fourteenth-century poets who amused themselves with contriving variations of the machinery of Dante;' and finally, on p. 271, he tells us that 'Wyatt and Surrey . . . were cultivating the Italian manner in England while the Spaniards [this time in the sixteenth century!] were introducing it in the peninsula.' The fact is that with the possible exception of Fran-

Described by Edward Boehmer. . . . Strassburg and London. 2 vols. Trübner, 1874-1883.

*Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles.* Por D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. Madrid, 1880.

*The Influence of the Celestina on the Early English Drama.* By A. S. W. Rosenbach. Berlin, 1903. Reprinted from *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakspeare-Gesellschaft*, Vol. 39.

'Die Celestina in England.' In Appendix (p. 68) of W. Fehse's Dissertation on *Christof Wirsung's Deutsche Celestina-Uebersetzungen*. Halle a/S, 1902.

*Die Preciosa des Cervantes.* Von W. v. Wurzbach. In *Studien zur Vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte* 1. 391.

'"The Curious-Impertinent"' in English Dramatic Literature before Shelton's Translation of Don Quixote.' By A. S. W. Rosenbach. In *Modern Language Notes*, 17 (1902) 179-184.

cisco Imparcial of Seville, who flourished in the reign of Henry III and during the early years of John II of Castile, there is no Castilian poet in the fourteenth century who is known to have imitated Dante, and that the Marques de Santillana (b. 1398, d. 1458) was one of the first Castilian poets to adopt the form of the Italian sonnet and the hendecasyllabic verse, and to render Dante into Spanish.

Mr. Underhill invariably (pp. 45, 46, 51, 75, 274, 370, 384) speaks of the *Lazarillo de Tormes* as the work of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, without ever so much as suspecting, apparently, that there are very weighty reasons for doubting the correctness of this attribution, which, as is well known, appeared for the first time in 1607, i. e. fifty-three years after the first publication of the book. These reasons are fully stated by Morel-Fatio in his *Études sur l'Espagne*, Première Série, Paris, 1888 and 1895, a work which Mr. Underhill quotes in his list of 'Authorities consulted' (p. 423), and are duly considered by Fitzmaurice-Kelly, who is cited in the same list. But what is still more singular is the following addition made to the title quoted in the Bibliography of the Spanish works published in the England of the Tudors, under the year 1576: 'Translated by David Rowland from the *Lazarillo de Tormes* of Diego Hurtado de Mondoza (?), Burgos, 1554.' From this one must infer that Mr. Underhill somewhere, in some contemporary mention of Rowland's version, found the story attributed to Mendoza in the misspelled form Mondoza. Where he found this he does not say. None of the editions of David Rowland's version contains such an attribution.

What the author says on p. 300 in regard to the *Palmerins* shows that he is not familiar with the important fact, established beyond a doubt since 1882 (cf. e. g. *Zeitsch. f. Rom. Philol.*, Vol. 6, and *Romania* 11. 619) that the *Palmerin of England* was originally composed in Portuguese by Francisco de Moraes between 1540 and 1546. On the same page the reader is informed that three of the four books of García Ordoñez de Montalvo's arrangement of the *Amadis de Gaula* were furnished him from the Portuguese adaptation of Vasco de Lobeira. Here, again, Fitzmaurice-Kelly could have put Mr. Underhill on his guard. But as long ago as 1880 (*Zeitsch. f. Rom. Philol.*, Vol. 4) Mrs. C. M. de Vasconcellos had rendered it highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that the author of the Portuguese version of the *Amadis* was not the fifteenth-century Vasco de Lobeira, but an ancestor of his, Joham (Pires) Lobeira, a

Portuguese troubadour of the second half of the thirteenth century. This subject is also discussed at length in Vol. 2 of Gröber's *Grundriss der Rom. Philol.*, pp. 219-221 and 440-441.

With the exception of these and a few other errors and omissions, Mr. Underhill's book deserves to be recommended as a useful contribution to the study of the literary relations between England and Spain in the sixteenth century.

H. R. LANG.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

*Geschichte der norwegisch-isländischen Literatur.* von Eugen Mogk. [*Nordische Literaturen A. Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*<sup>2</sup>, II Band. 3 Lieferung, 1902, 4 Lieferung, 1903]. Pp. 555-923.

A history of Old Norse-Icelandic literature most naturally falls into three parts: 1. Eddic poetry; 2. Skaldic poetry; 3. The Sagas. Chronologically, we cannot, indeed, draw any hard and fast line between the first two,—we cannot, *e. g.*, speak of an Eddic period and a Skaldic period for, on the one hand, even the *Þrymskviða* and the oldest parts of the *Hávamál*, are undoubtedly antedated by Bragi inn gamli and only contemporary with Þorbjörn Hornklofi, and on the other, many lays usually called 'Eddic' are of a comparatively late period. Nor can the two be set apart formally as absolutely distinct. Nevertheless, the Eddic lays represent an earlier stage, a more popular form of poetry, while the skaldic lays are the more artificial product of the court poets. The former contain in songs, whose authors we do not know, the divine myths and the heroic sagas, that were to a large extent the common property of the people, while the poetry of the skalds is historical, and the authors in nearly every case known. The poems of the Elder Edda belong to different ages just as they may be far removed in point of place within the West Scandinavian North. In general, we may say they have been composed between 850 and 1050. Among late post-Eddic poems called 'Eddic' because they are similar in character to the lays of the Codex Regius of the Elder Edda belongs also the *Grípispá*, which is a later interpolation into the original collection. The skalds *Kormák*, *Hallfreðr Vandræðaskáld*, *Gunnlaugr*, *Sighvatr*, *Þormoðr Kolbrunarskáld* and

*Arnórr Jarlaskáld*, who represent the best period of Icelandic skaldic poetry, lived in the last half of the tenth century and the first three-quarters of the eleventh.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the classical period of the Icelandic saga was between 1170 and 1250. With Snorri this reached its highest perfection about 1230.<sup>2</sup>

Mogk's history is necessarily only an outline of the whole field. The Eddic poetry is given 86 pages, the Skalds 73, while the Sagas are accorded 200 pages. The work includes the learned and the religious literature of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries thus bringing the work down through the Middle Norse-Icelandic period or the period of transition to the early modern literature. As introductory to the whole there are five chapters (pp. 555-569) on the prehistoric period, the period of oral transmission, the period of bloom of the saga, and the copying and transmission of the literary monuments.

In § 2 the author discusses the question as to what extent runes were employed and as to how far we may assume that part of the early poetry was transmitted in runes and not exclusively by word of mouth. That runes were used for such purpose is evidenced by e. g. *Sturlungasaga* I, 392, (Mogk, p. 557). The statement in *Sturl.* I, 341, 15, *þa fannsk vísa þessi á Sauðafelli ristin á kefli*—followed by the *vísa* in question furnishes proof that songs were enscribed by means of runes on *kefli* or cylinders of wood, but the passage does not warrant the assumption that the procedure was common, indeed it may rather indicate that it was unusual. We recall also the passage in the *Egilssaga* 286,<sup>3</sup> where Þorgerðr says to her father: *nu villða ek faðer, at vit leingdim líf ockart, suá at þú mættir yrkja erfikuæði eptir Boduar, en ek mun rista á kefli*. Professor Sievers<sup>4</sup> attaches much weight to this evidence and thinks that it proves, that this was the manner in which the old lays were regularly preserved, arguing 'denn nur so lässt sich die Menge und die relativ korrekte Ueberlieferung der alten Lieder begreifen.' One cannot help but answer with Finnur Jónsson,<sup>5</sup> however, that if the use of runes for recording lays was very general it is exceedingly strange that the custom should not be referred to oftener and

<sup>1</sup> Kormák was born 937 and died 967. Arnórr was born 1011 and lived until 1073.

<sup>2</sup> Mogk, p. 737.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Jónsson.

<sup>4</sup> Paul's *Grundriss* I, 243.

<sup>5</sup> *Litteraturhistorie* I, 348.

in the best sagas. It does not seem that much can be proved from the large number of the lays and their generally accurate transmission. Finnur Jónsson has pointed out how extensive the practice of committing lays to memory was. The aptitude of the early Norsemen and Icelanders for learning such lays and preserving them in memory is\* well known. Also that there were those who made it their profession to learn the songs of older poets both for self-instruction and for the purpose of entertaining others (F. J. p. 349). However, in view of such evidence as *Sturl.* I, 341, 15, cited by Mogk, 557, one cannot with F. J. reject absolutely partial transmission of lays by means of runes. Mogk's position, that for a part of the skaldic lays we may assume written transmission is therefore justified. The evidence of the Swedish Röksten<sup>1</sup> is important in this connection but, as it seems to me, by no means of such wide significance for Old Swedish literature as Professor Schück believes.<sup>2</sup> Björn M. Olson has gone farthest in assuming such transmission for early Icelandic literature. He believes that a considerable portion of the prose literature also—the laws and the earliest historical literature, were committed to writing in runes on parchment before the introduction of Latin script. Here Mogk accepts unreservedly the position of Gustav Storm (*Arkiv f. nord. F.* 2, 172 ff.) and Finnur Jónsson (*Lit.* 2, 246 ff.),<sup>3</sup> who have shown conclusively it seems to me that Olson's position is untenable.

The much-mooted question as to the date and course of the introduction of the heroic saga into Norway is discussed in § 3 and more fully in § 77 in connection with the heroic poetry. Mogk has elsewhere shown that the Herulii brought the *Ermanrichsaga* from the region of the Danube to Scandinavia in the first quarter of the sixth century. He further attempted to show that at the same time and in the following centuries Norwegians learned through the Franks the *Niflungasaga*, the *Sigfriedssaga*, the *Wayland* myths and perhaps others. He calls attention to the striking points of agreement with the account of Jordanes and how the Anglo-Saxon version differs from the Eddic. For the saga of Siegfried, that of the Burgundians and of Attila, Mogk now assumes a different course,

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced on p. 12 of Schück's *Illustrerad Svensk Litteraturhistoria*, Vol. I, discussion, pp. 11–15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15.

<sup>3</sup> Also *Den første og anden gram. Afhandling i. Sn. E., Indledning.*

inasmuch as knowledge of these is not evidenced in Denmark in early times. He therefore assumes direct contact between Germany and Norway. The Saxon confederacy formed a mighty barrier between Denmark and the western Franks and for centuries there was no intimate intercourse between Danes and Saxons. On the other hand, there was a lively commercial intercourse between northern Frankish territory and eastern England and western Norway extending from 500 down to as late as 850. Thus it is explained that the Frankish heroic saga appears among the Norwegian branch only of the Northern peoples. The view that Professor Bugge has held that the Anglo-Saxons were the medium of transmission Mogk rejects, 'denn wir haben weder Zeugnisse, die eine Pflege der Siegfried-Nibelungendichtung bei den Angelsachsen voraussetzen, noch wissen wir etwas von einem regeren Verkehr zwischen Norwegern und Angelsachsen vor Beginn der Wikingerzeit. Durch die Gedichte Bragis aber steht es fest, dass im 9 Jahrhundert nicht nur jener Sagenkreis im Norwegen bekannt, sondern auch bereits mit der Ermanrichsage verbunden gewesen ist (*Ark. f. nord. Fil.* 9. 10 ff.). Diese Thatsache spricht aber dafür, dass die Einwanderung nach Norwegen vor 800 stattgefunden hat.' In support of the author's strong position here we have the evidence of recent studies in the archæology of Norway and Denmark. This shows indeed that extensive commercial relations existed between the Norwegian coast districts and northwestern Germany from 600 to 800, of which no trace is found in Denmark. (Rygh, *Aarbøger f. nord. Oldk.*, 1877.) And Mogk adds: Aus diesen Thatsachen geht mit Wahrscheinlichkeit hervor, dass die Völsungen- und die Sigfried-Burgundensage vor dem 9 Jahrh. aus dem nördlichen Teile des fränkischem Gebietes direkt zu den Norwegern gekommen ist, die sie in d. Wikingerzeit gepflegt und weiter gebildet haben. Future investigation cannot fail to establish the correctness of this view.

With regard to the time of oral transmission (chap. 2), the author's position will probably be accepted only in part. We have here to do with the question of the home and age of the Eddic lays. First is treated briefly the political conditions in Norway that led to the settlement of Iceland, the self-imposed exile of a large number of the chieftains and the nobility, and the founding of a new home and a new cultural state. Politically Iceland was separated,

but between the Norwegians who emigrated and those who remained at home there continued to exist the closest social and commercial intercourse. It was a bit of Norway that emigrated. The voluntary exiles took with them their native customs, their songs and legends, their religion and their heathen gods. The songs and legends were fostered and further developed, and so here arose, Mogk believes, the greatest part of the lays that are handed down to us in the Eddic collection. The author speaks of the commercial relation that existed between Iceland and the British West, and that the culture of the people they came in contact with must have had its influence on them, but he does not think this influence was as extensive as some have held. 'Die direkte Herübernahme eines Stoffes aus keltischer, angelsächsischer oder antiker Dichtung lässt sich weder beweisen noch wahrscheinlich machen, wenn die Möglichkeit auch nicht zurückgewiesen werden kann. Dagegen scheint es mir ganz unmöglich, dass die Isländer—oder wie Bugge will, die Kolonisten auf den Inseln des Westmeeres Motive aus verschiedenen Dichtungen eines oder Mehreren Völker herübergenommen und diese zu einem wohlgegliederten Gedichte verarbeitet haben.' We do not believe with Mogk, however, that evidence of Christian influence, where present, argues much for an Icelandic as opposed to a Norwegian home. Such extensive Christian influence as Bugge accepted would hardly be possible in Norway or Iceland, hence their Western origin as Vigfússon had assumed before. But if we accept only a limited Christian influence, the question of the home has not necessarily much to do with it. Such Christian elements are not criteria of Icelandic origin. One is tempted here to compare Mogk's views with Finnur Jónsson's. The two scholars, who agree on so much that is fundamental, hold radically different views on many mooted questions regarding the lays of the Edda. Where they differ most it is well to be slow in passing judgment. Mogk's more conservative attitude toward the text will meet with the approval of scholars. Finnur Jónsson has less regard for the text as handed down, and thinks interpolations have crept in in large numbers, in which respect he certainly has gone too far in *e. g.*, the *Hárbarðsljóð*. On the other hand, Mogk's theory that these lays were composed in Iceland and not in Norway is nowhere supported by arguments that are convincing. In Mogk's opinion, lays that are largely the same in character and treat of the same general subjects

have probably arisen in the same locality. In 1867 Möbius urged the necessity of studying every lay by itself, both as regards time and place. These lays may all or most of them have been composed in Iceland, but it may as well have been in Norway. General conditions favor neither country to the exclusion of the other. Only in the case of the *Völundarkviða* and some of the *Hávamál* does Mogk accept certain Norse origin, while the *Þrymskviða* probably is Norse or had a Norse prototype. Mogk stands, therefore, in this respect diametrically opposed to Finnur Jónsson, who finds the place of origin of the greater number of Eddic lays in Norway (*Lit.* I, 1894). The only lays that in his opinion are Icelandic are the two late lays, *Völuspá enna skamma* and *Grípispá*, while five, *Helgakviða Hundingsbana*, *Oddrunargrátr*, *Goðrúnarhvotr*, *Sigurðarkviða skamma* and *Atlamál en grænsko* are assigned to Greenland. The arguments are from the language of the lays and the natural scenery they picture. Other scholars, Müllenhoff, Hoffory and Niedner had, in part from arguments of language, attempted to show that the lays were Norwegian, while, on the other hand, Björn Olson found that such evidence favored rather an Icelandic home. The evidence of language is, however, often very uncertain. We cannot know, *e. g.*, the geographical distribution of a word in West Scandinavian territory in those times. In the new environment with the changed conditions in Iceland, many nouns and verbs, for instance, would be lost or develop modified meanings and might thus often be helpful evidence, but not alone conclusive, it is clear. The argument of natural scenery is strong, but neither can this prove, *e. g.*, a Norwegian home as opposed to an Icelandic. Icelanders regularly visited Norway. A poem showing familiarity with Norwegian scenery might very well be written in Iceland, though the probability is on the other side.

The age of the lays is further discussed in § 16. With Hoffory<sup>1</sup> the author believes that they have originated at a time when the old heathen religion was in its decline, when indeed christian influence had begun to make itself felt 'und doch spricht noch aus fast allen Gedichten lebendiges Heidentum. Oðins Eingreifen in die Geschehnisse der Menschen, seine Wanderungen auf Erden. Pors Kraftvolle Taten im Dienste der Menschheit sind so lebensvoll dargestellt, dass aus ihnen auch die Religion der Dichter spricht.

<sup>1</sup> *Eddastudien.*



Nach dem Jahre 1000, wo sowohl in Norwegen als auf Island das Christentum zu Staatsreligion erhoben war, sind solche Lieder unmöglich. Somit sind die meisten Eddalieder in den beiden letzten Jahrhunderten des Heidentums gedichtet, zwischen 800 und 1000 n. Chr. Für diese Zeit spricht auch die Sprache, spricht die Form der Eddalieder.' In conformity with his theory of the home of the lays he finds the period between the establishment of the *Ulfjótssög*, 930, and the adoption of christianity, 1000 to be the only period that makes the greater number of the mythical lays and their *motifs* intelligible to us. The purely epic poems are for the most part older as well those of the divine as those of the heroic saga (p. 573). Certain lays Mogk assigns a much later date than F. J. and other scholars have done. Thus *Skirnismál* and *Baldur's Draumar* are dated 950 (F. J. 890-900), *Hárbarðsljóð*, the second half of the tenth century (F. J. 900-925, Niedner 890 about), *Alvíssmál* as late as 1200 (F. J. 950-975) and *Rígsþula*, the first half of the tenth century. It will not be possible here to discuss the age of these lays. A long period of transmission I cannot accept for the *Hárbarðsljóð* for reasons that I shall try elsewhere to show and the *Alvíssmál* is undoubtedly Icelandic, whether with Mogk we regard it very late or not. We cannot therefore hold Jónsson's arguments on home and age of lays to be everywhere *unwiderlegbar*.<sup>1</sup> Nor can we, on the other hand, accept Mogk's general theory as to home. In discussing the various etymologies of the name *Edda* the author decides in favor of the etymology offered by E. Magnússen, namely that it is formed from *Oddi*, the name of the estate where Snorri was reared, the meaning being, therefore, 'the Book of Oddi.' Gíslason's etymology, however, (< *odr*, 'poem,' *Edda* = poetics) is the only satisfactory one that has yet been offered, has been quite generally accepted now and will probably have to stand.

So much space has already been occupied that I can only outline the author's treatment for the remainder of the work. After a discussion of the Eddic lays under the general heads: A, Odin lays; B, Thor lays; C, Other lays of mythological content; D, The transition to the heroic epic (*Gróttasöngr*, *Völundarkviða*); E, Lays of the heroic saga, the author takes up the scaldic lays. The names and contents of these are considered, their form, language

<sup>1</sup> As Niedner, *ZfdA.* 41.

and transmission. This is followed by the Norwegian skaldic poetry (in which the genuineness and early date of Bragi is, with F. J., Gering and others, accepted unreservedly), the Icelandic skaldic poetry, the early renaissance and the Sturlungs. A chapter is given to the learned and the sacred poetry of the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, and one to the *Rimur*. These Mogk regards as going back to the Latin hymn, and not, as Keyser and G. Storm did, to the Norwegian popular ballad or as Wisén or Jón Þorkelson, who found their prototype in the Icelandic *Runhenda*. The saga literature is treated last. The introduction deals with the origin and development of the historical saga, the recording of the saga and its written transmission, the different kinds of sagas, their character and historical value, the sources of the historical sagas, Sæmundr and Ari inn fróði, after which follows a more detailed account of the separate sagas.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

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*Balder, Mythos und Sage.* Nach ihren dichterischen und religiösen Elementen untersucht von Friedrich Kauffmann. (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Altgermanischen Religionsgeschichte.) Strassburg, 1902. xii + 308 pp.

The Balder-legend has long been a standing problem in Germanic mythology. The most eminent scholars in this field for more than two centuries have exercised their ingenuity in their attempts to explain or interpret the myth; yet no result acceptable to all has ever been reached. Whether the attempt of Kauffmann has been more successful than those of his predecessors is a question; but the thorough scholarship and analytical acumen which the noted Germanist brings to his task, no less than the consistent application which he makes of the latest results in the study of Comparative Religion make this attempt one worthy of special notice.

In the preface the author defines his position. The conventional treatment of Germanic mythology hitherto in vogue has been superseded by the broader and more comprehensive methods of the historians of comparative religion. Kauffmann expresses his great indebtedness to students of this school, notably W. Robertson Smith,

J. G. Frazer, Hubert and Mauss. The study of the literary monuments is no longer sufficient in dealing with the problems of mythology. Popular traditions and usages must add their testimony, the customs of primitive races the world over must be brought in for comparison.

By way of introduction a review is given of previous attempts to explain the legend. It was interpreted either as a year-myth, Balder representing the sun, or as an ethical-moral allegory, Balder typifying innocence. Or the two views were combined and the origin of the myth was traced to some natural phenomenon ; in the subsequent development, however, the moral side gained ascendancy over the physical side.

Frazer ignored all this. In the religious ideas and magic rites of primitive races he sought for analogies to our myth. Balder is to him a deity of vegetation, his myth is "the text of the sacred drama which was acted year by year as a magical rite to cause the sun to shine and the trees to grow. . . . Myth stood to magic in the relation of theory to practice" (The Golden Bough, III<sup>2</sup>, p. 345). This certainly breaks with the conventional method, but a method which analyzes only the rôle of Balder and leaves all the other figures in the legend unexplained, is justly criticized as one-sided. Anthropological analogies alone are not sufficient to solve the problem ; the philological criticism of the literary sources is indispensable.

These sources are considered at length and under three heads : the myth connected with the rite, the legend in its purely literary development, and lastly, the material relating to the cult. Of special interest under the first head is the discussion of the *Völuspá*, the *Húsdrápa* and the *Snorra Edda*. Some new interpretations of words or passages are offered in this connection. Thus in Vol. 32 (ed. Symons) the words : *Ek sá Baldre . . . . ørløg folgen* are now usually rendered "I saw the fate of B. decided or determined." The author returns, and it seems to me with good reason, to the interpretation of older scholars who rendered *jela* by "to hide." The word *ørløg* is explained as "life," whereas it usually means "fate," and Kauffmann then translates the whole passage : "Für Balder . . . . sah ich das Leben verwahrt." He now argues that the second portion of the strophe indicates where this life is hidden, namely in the mistletoe. But is it safe to assume that in an oracular

and disjointed poem like the *Völuspá* there is causal connection between the two halves of a strophe? I believe the author's argumentation is inspired by the motif of the hidden life and not by philological considerations. The next strophe (33) has long been a *crux* to Edda-scholars. The words *Varð af meiða es mjó sýndesk harmflaug hættlig* have given rise to much controversy as to the local provenience of the *Völuspá*. If the relative clause is referred to *meiða* "tree" there is no sense in the passage, for the mistletoe is not a tree. To be sure, Gering translates the word by "Zweig," but Kaufmann is right in rejecting this rendering. To find a way out of the difficulty he refers the relative *es* to *harmflaug* and renders: "Vom Baum her stammte der so dünn er aussah gefährliche Schmerzenspfeil." No doubt, this makes good sense, but, I must remark, there is no other instance in the whole poem of a relative clause preceding its antecedent. This word-order, though common in skaldic poetry, occurs rarely, if ever, in the Eddic poems.

In the *Húsdrápa* occurs another contested passage :

*þar hykk sigrunni svinnum  
sylgs Valkyrjur fylgja  
heilags tafns ok hrafna.*

Kauffmann, following Egilsson and Bugge, takes the words *sylgs heilags tafns* together and makes them depend on *svinnum*. But instead of giving to *sylgr* its usual meaning "drink," he explains it as a noun of agency meaning "devourer" (cf. *svelgr, solginn*). The whole passage is then rendered: "Da begleiten, meine ich, Walkyrjen und Raben den Helden, der den Verzehr des heiligen Opfers kennt." This sacred victim is no other than Balder, and Ulf Uggason, so Kauffmann maintains, conceived of Balder's death as a sacrifice,—a conception to which the author is led by considerations developed at length in the second part of his book. If it were not for that conception, the word *sylgr* would never be explained as meaning anything else than what it usually means, namely, "drink." Then Bugge's rendering of the phrase in question, "der den Trank kennt des heiligen Opfers" seems to be on the whole, the most acceptable. The victim is simply the wise Kwásir, from whose blood the dwarfs made the drink of poets *Oprörir*, and it is Odin who is preëminently acquainted with this

drink (cf. p. 186). On purely philological grounds this interpretation has much more to commend it, I believe, than that proposed by the author.

In the discussion of Snorri's account it is pointed out that the enmity between Balder and Høpr and the motif of vengeance are here obliterated. As Snorri agrees in this respect with the *Völuspá* the author regards these motifs as not present in the primitive form of the myth, and explains them very plausibly as arising from a juristic conception of a ritualistic act, an unintentional murder being conceived as a crime demanding punishment. The killing of Balder, originally a sacrificial rite according to Kauffmann, was such an unintentional murder. The opposition between Balder and Loki is postulated as a later development, due to Christian influence under which Loki became gradually diabolized. On this point authorities are pretty well agreed.

Special attention is given to Saxo's version of the legend. Kauffmann makes clear that Saxo was influenced by many sources, by romances of antiquity as well as by contemporaneous literature, as for instance Icelandic sagas. It is now, however, certain that this kinship, at least as far as the Greek and Latin writings are concerned, is mainly stylistic and does not extend to the subject-matter itself, as Bugge claimed. The author accepts Olrik's conclusion that two parts, a Norse and a Danish, may be distinguished in Saxo's account, recognizable by local coloring as well as by style and content. The kernel of the Norse part, which is by no means a unit, is shown to be an old myth, that of the Danish portion, which again has two parts, an old fairy-tale, the hero of which was Høther. An analysis of these variants is given and then the author proceeds by means of a critical comparison to distinguish between the older and essential motifs and those of later origin. The conflict between Balder and Høther, the death of the former, inflicted by means of some object difficult to get and guarded by superhuman agencies, these motifs are found in all the variants. In everything else they differ. The mistletoe is known to the oldest form of the myth, and was not introduced, as is commonly believed, through an error, the name of the sword *mistilteinn* being literally interpreted. The relation between Loki and Høpr, obscured by Saxo, is also essential; so is the invulnerability of the hero or god. The juristic conception of this idea gave rise to the oath-motif in

Snorri's version. The story of the love for Nanna is not a primitive element of the myth, but a Norse interpolation. The net result obtained by the author is this. There are two independent versions of the Balder-legend, a Norse and a Danish one, the former in the garb of a myth, the latter in that of a fairy-tale. The Norse version split into two variants, a Norse romance (in Saxo) and an Icelandic saga (Snorri). Both myth and cult were common to all Norse folk and are best preserved in the disjointed strophes of the *Völuspá*. It is out of the question that one variant is derived from another; they are independent developments from a common germ. Any effort at interpretation must not confine itself to an analysis of the purely literary form of the legend, but must take into account the cult and rites as well.

The interpretation of all this material is attempted in the second division of the book. Two main motifs, Balder's life and Balder's death are distinguished and discussed separately. The former motif, the essential feature of which is the hero's invulnerability, is identified in accordance with Frazer with the widely-spread motif of the hidden life. In stories of this type a giant or sorcerer, who holds a maiden in captivity, is pursued by a youth but cannot be slain, because his life is hidden in some remote object, usually an egg. As soon as the hero of the tale gains possession of this object the giant dies and the maiden is liberated. This tale was widely known throughout the North as the variants adduced by Kauffmann prove. It also is of the greatest antiquity as shown by Egyptian, Indic, Persian, Greek and Germanic parallels. The most significant parallel cited in this connection is the Iranian story of the death of Isfendiār as related in the *Shāh Nāmāh*. The hero's body is impervious to all weapons until Rustam pierces him with a dart made from a branch of a certain tamarisk-tree pointed out by the Simurgh, the superhuman protector of Rustam's race. The life of Isfendiār (the Persian word is *hūsh* which may mean "soul" or "death"; Mohl translates by "sort," Pizzi by "morte") is bound up with this tree. Here is a striking parallel to the episode of the mistletoe in the Balder-legend. I think that it should make us regard with suspicion the view, accepted by many scholars, according to which the occurrence of the mistletoe in the Icelandic version is the result of a misunderstanding, the word *mistilteinn* being originally the name of the sword with which Balder was killed.

Having recognized the motif of the hidden life as a novellistic addition to the original kernel of the myth, which was purely religious, the author proceeds to analyze the fundamental conceptions underlying the myth. The myth seems to be based on the Germanic idea of a tribal king ruling by means of runic and magic wisdom, subsequently heroized and raised to divine rank. Great stress is laid on the fact that the *kenningar* characterize Balder as of kingly rank. The ON. *baldr*, AS. *bealdor* means "king." In this sense the word was current among poets, not among the people; its original meaning was "shining." Kauffmann believes that the radiant beauty of the king's hair caused the meaning of the word *baldr* to be changed to "king." But the epithet *beldeg*, applied to Balder by Snorri, is not in favor of this assumption. Kauffmann also restricts the significance of ON. *qss* to a god raised from human state, a heroized king; only later it was applied to all gods indiscriminately, even to Oðin and Thor. Among primitive people the king enjoys almost divine honor, his person is sacred. For he is believed to have power over the forces of nature; the welfare of the people is bound up with his sacred person. Therefore, the king could also be held responsible for the failure of natural processes, and, as a last resort, he might be offered as a sacrifice to the gods as the noblest victim that could be chosen,—witness the killing of King Vikarr by Starkapr as related in the Gautrekssaga, or the sacrifice of the Swedish King in the Ynglingatal. According to Kauffmann, Balder's death is to be conceived of as such a sacrifice. The gods sacrifice the noblest victim, one of their own number, famed for spotless purity, to the infernal powers ruled by Loki in the hope of obtaining for themselves a renewal of their waning vitality. Höpr is merely the tool of Loki; hence also his blindness. The story of the playful shooting at Balder in the assembly of the gods has its origin in a magic rite which symbolized the transference of the evils in the community to the victim whose sacrificial death removes these ills. So Balder is to be regarded as a scape-goat, a "Sündenbock." In the *Völuspá* his death is the prelude to the *ragnarøk* and the subsequent rejuvenation of the world. The author regards this poem as a prophetic revelation of the course of events of the great cosmic year (*annus mundanus*) and the Balder-episode as occupying the very centre thereof. The cosmic year having passed its meridian, the gods decide to replenish their waning

vitality by the sacrifice of one of their number. But the effect of this sacrifice cannot endure. The *ragnarøk* is bound to come. After this great universal sacrifice a new cosmic year will begin and Balder will reappear.

This, in brief, is the substance of Kauffmann's book. That it has entirely dispelled the uncertainty enveloping the Balder-legend and really settled the problem cannot be admitted. I believe that a final settlement of the question may never be reached; the character of the material with which we must operate is responsible for that. After all, we have to rely ultimately on hypotheses, and hypotheses, be they ever so plausible, can never be satisfactory substitutes for established facts. Knowledge resting on hypothetical foundations can never be certain. It is not surprising, then, that scholars continue to hold widely different opinions on the subject which we have just now reviewed. Elard Hugo Meyer in his latest work (*Mythologie der Germanen*, Strassburg, 1903) rejects Kauffmann's explanation and proceeds to explain the Balder-Höpr myth as a symbolization of phenomena connected with dawn or dusk. To him Balder and Höpr are a pair of brothers like the Greek Dioscuri or the Vedic Ashvins, and he identifies them with the Alcis of Tacitus. This is not the place to discuss Meyer's arguments; to me they are not convincing. But when he rejects Kauffmann's theory of the cosmic year and attributes the prophecy of the destruction and rejuvenation of the world to Christian influence (*op. cit.*, p. 502), he seems to come nearer to the truth.

One thing, however, may be confidently asserted. Kauffmann has made it clear that the conventional treatment hitherto generally accorded to Germanic mythology is unsatisfactory. Henceforth the scholar working in this field will have to take a broader and more comprehensive view of his subject. He will not rest content with having reduced the whole material of myth and legend to a few stereotyped formulas, as has, unfortunately, been so often done in the past. To have contributed towards bringing about this result is in itself no small merit and entitles the author to the gratitude of every student of Germanic mythology.

ARTHUR F. J. REMY.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

April, 1905.



*Scandinavian Influence on Southern Lowland Scotch.* A Contribution to the Study of the Linguistic Relations of English and Scandinavian by George Tobias Flom. [Columbia University Germanic Studies, Vol. I, No. 1.] New York, 1900. Pp. xv + 82.

In the preface to his 'Geschichte der Englischen Sprache' (Paul's *Grundr. Germ. Phil.*<sup>2</sup>), Professor Kluge regrets that the study of the linguistic relations between Scandinavian and English has not received the attention which the importance of the subject merits. Since Professor Kluge's article was written there has appeared a work by Dr. Erik Björkman, Upsala, on *Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English*, which treats exhaustively of the Scandinavian element in Middle English monuments.<sup>1</sup> The previous work of Erik Brate dealt with that element in one particular monument, the *Ormulum*. Except incidentally, Scandinavian influence in literary (Middle) Scotch has not been treated of before. It is, therefore, gratifying to note the appearance of a work which, as its title indicates, has for its object the discussion of the relationship between Northern and Scotch. The author brings to his task a thorough training in Scandinavian philology. On every page he gives evidence of his familiarity not only with the ancient dialects of the Northern peninsula, but, what is no less important, with the modern dialects as well.

At the very outset it is to be noticed that there are great difficulties in deciding whether a word is originally Norse or native English, due to the fact that the Old Norse and the Northumbrian have much in common as against West Saxon. The tests whereby the provenience of a word are determined have to take careful account of its form, meaning and distribution. When a word has been shown to be of Scandinavian origin the question arises whether it is originally East-Scandinavian (Swedish, Danish) or West-Scandinavian (Norse, Icelandic). To this question, also, the author has attempted to give an answer, and he has spared no pains to make his answer in each case as clear and definite as the circumstances allowed.

First comes the discussion of Scandinavian settlements in Britain.

<sup>1</sup> Part I appeared in 1900, Part II in 1902. For a review of the latter, see this *Journal*, v, pp. 422-426.

There are no historical records of such settlements in North-Western England; yet these settlements must have been extensive as shown by the number of place-names. Though these names are less numerous in Southern Scotch, the large number of Scandinavian loan-words in early Scotch shows that even there the extent of Scandinavian settlements is greater than the number of place-names might lead us to suppose. To determine whether such settlements were East or West-Scandinavian the place-names must be carefully examined. Names like *fell*, *tarn*, *force* are distinctly Norse; *thorpe*, *toft* are as distinctly Danish. *By*, generally regarded as Danish, is shown by the author to be doubtful. The word *býr*, from which it developed, is not exclusively Danish, but occurs often in ON. All that can be said is that *by* is more Danish than Norse. The author reaches the following results (p. 6): "Predominantly Danish settlements: Essex, Bedford, Buckingham, Suffolk, Norfolk, Northampton, Leicester, Rutland, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, East Riding. Mixed Norse and Danish settlements: North Riding, West Riding, Durham, part of Cheshire, and Southern Lancashire. Norse settlements: Cumberland, Westmoreland, North Lancashire, part of Cheshire, and parts of Northumberland . . . North of the Cheviot Hills the names are again predominantly Norse."

Early dialectal differentiation in the Old Northern language dates from about 800; about the year 1000 these differences are fully developed and distinguish Old Norse clearly from Old Danish. Some of the chief distinctive characteristics of Old Norse are *i*-, *u*- and R-*Umlaut*, consonantal development of *e*, *i*, in diphthongs (*ia* > *já*, &c.), and assimilation of *mp*, *nk*, *nt* to *pp*, *kk*, *tt* respectively. To this may be added the medio-passive in *sk* (East-Scand. in *s*) and certain peculiar pronominal forms.

Since Scotch is developed from a dialect of Old Northumbrian a consideration of this Northumbrian is of great importance in an investigation like the one in hand. Some of the chief differences between this dialect and West Saxon are enumerated in § 9. But I have my doubts about 1 and 2. Northumbrian as well as West Saxon shows *æ* for primitive West Germanic *a* in closed syllables. Deviations from this rule are rare. The latest and one of the most authoritative expositions of Old English phonetics, that of Bülbring (*Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg, 1902) fails

to mention any instances. Hence, I think it is better to dispense with hypothetical nominative forms like *\*dag*, *\*mag*, and to explain the *a* in the stem simply as due to the *a* in the flexion-endings of the oblique cases, as the author himself suggests (§ 10).

When it comes to determining Scandinavian influence on English the question of palatalization is of primary importance. In the case of Northumbrian this question presents particular difficulty as the extent of palatalization for this dialect cannot be accurately determined. Not in every case is the absence of palatalization a sure test. On the whole, *sk* furnishes a good criterion. But when words of apparently Scandinavian origin show *sh* for *sk* the question of palatalization in Old Norse arises. In modern Norse such palatalization has taken place, before palatal vowels, e. g., ON. *skipta*, mod. Norse *shifta*. At the time of borrowing, however, the sound of this *sk*, according to Flom, must not be assumed as palatal, but merely in the first stage of palatalization.

The author now turns to the consideration of the Scotch language, and proceeds to mention the characteristic changes that differentiated it from literary or Midland English. Of these, the most important is the development of *ǣ* and *ā*, both of which in Scotch became *ē*, whereas in lit. Engl. *ǣ* > *ē*, but *ā* > *ō*. This development is elaborately illustrated by Curtis's table (§ 16). Another development peculiar to the North is OE. *ō* to Scotch *ee* (*ui*, *ee*, *i*), instead of an *ū*-vowel, or *ū*-fracture as in the South. Examples are *ither*, *mither*, *fit*, "foot," *seer* "sure," *aifterneen*, etc. Still other characteristics are the appearance of inorganic *y* as in *yac*, OE. *āc*, "oak" (cf. *yirth* < OE. *eorðe*, not ON. *jorð*), and *d* for the spirant *th* as in *ledder*, *moder*, *ferde*, "fourth," etc. (See author, § 19).

Of special interest is the question of the provenience of Scotch words containing *ē* in the stem (= OE. *ā*) for such *e* might result in the North either from OE. *ā* or ON. *æi* (*ei*). In Middle English such Norse words, Wall assumed, are regularly spelled with a diphthong, while the genuine English words showed an *a*. But Northern texts, Scotch and English, show the variant spellings *a*, *ai*, *ay*. In Southern Scotland and North-Western England, however, ON. *æi* and OE. *ā* have always been kept distinct, the former remaining an *e*-vowel, the latter developing into an *i*-fracture. Here, then, is a test which will clear up the origin of a number of

doubtful words. In § 21 a list of words is given, which are shown by the application of this test to be Norse loan-words. In the following paragraph a number of words are examined, which, though of Norse origin, may have passed into Lowland Scotch through the medium of Gaelic or Irish. Thus *garth* and *loft* are certainly ON. So is *sker*. But *mask* is probably originally OE. or Old Scotch. In § 23 a number of words are cited that have generally been considered as derived from Scandinavian, but which can now be proved to be native, or, at any rate, from non-Scandinavian sources. Here belong, for instance : *breid*, *soom*, *teem*, *yirth*.

Part II gives an extensive list of Scandinavian loan-words found in Scotch. The tests adopted for determining the Scandinavian origin of these words are explicitly set forth in § 24. They are nine in number, and take account of form, meaning and distribution.

Part III is devoted to a discussion of the dialectal provenience of loan-words. The result that Flom arrives at is that the general character of these words is Norse, not Danish. To substantiate this he gives a list of words (*a*, p. 73) that do not occur in Danish, as *airt*, *duds*, *gane*; or such as have in Scotch a distinctively West-Scandinavian meaning, as *aweband*, *bein*, *farrand*, and also a list of words (*b*, p. 74) showing a distinctively West-Scandinavian form, like *bolax*, *clubbit*, *ill*.

Attention is given to Scandinavian loan-words in English showing a diphthong to correspond to Scan. *ou*, *ai*, *öy*. In Old Danish these diphthongs became the monothongs *ö*, *i* (*e*), *ō* respectively about the year 900 or not long after, at any rate. Are such words then W. Scand. or were they borrowed from Danish before the period of monophthongation? The greater number of loan-words, however, came in considerably later. At the same time it is known that the settlements in Central England were predominantly Danish. So the author is inclined to believe that in the treatment of these diphthongs the Danish spoken in England was more archaic than the Danish spoken in Denmark. In Scotch a number of words with the diphthongs in question are found, *e. g.* *bayt* (ON. *ai*, Dan. *e*), *smaik* (ON. *öy*), *blout* (ON. *ou*, Dan. *ō*). These words then need not be derived from Norse. This does not, however, affect the conclusion that the general character of the Scandinavian loan-words in Scotch is Norse.

On the last few pages tables are given exhibiting the values which the Old Northern vowels and consonants have assumed in the loan-

words in Scotch. This concludes the book, which in every respect is a valuable contribution to the study of the linguistic relations of English and Scandinavian.

ARTHUR F. J. REMY.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

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*Palæografisk Atlas*—Dansk Afdeling. Udgivet af Kommissionen for det arnamagnæanske Legat. Copenhagen, 1903. Folio. Price Kr. 30.00.

In Vol. iv, No. 2, of this *Journal* I had occasion to refer, briefly, to the fact that the work under review was in the course of preparation and to outline the plan upon which it was being prepared. The Atlas now presents itself in the shape of a portfolio containing 38 folio plates with 64 phototype renderings of Latin and Danish manuscripts and diplomas, chiefly the former, from Denmark's middle age, a few diplomas having been included, mainly for the reason that they, being of certain date, form reliable standards by which to judge the age of undated manuscripts. The phototype reproductions have been made in the establishment of Pacht and Krone, Copenhagen, and are characterized by the same excellence of workmanship that has marked previous Danish publications in this line, *e. g.*, the phototype edition of Codex Regius of the Poetic Edda, published in 1891, paper and print being in the present work on a still more sumptuous scale. The series will be completed by the early publication of an Old-Norse-Icelandic Section.

Each of the manuscripts here rendered is represented by at least one full page in the size of the original. The oldest manuscript with certainty originating in mediæval Denmark, of which the Atlas contains a sample, is the so-called *Necrologium Lundense*, begun in 1125, of which two pages, representing together 10 different hands, are reproduced. In the diplomatic transcription of the text, given on the opposite page, each of these hands is rendered in a special style of type. A brief description of each manuscript precedes the diplomatic transcription; the care and thoroughness with which this part of the work has been done is vouched for by the name of the editor, the learned librarian of the Arnamagnæan collection of manuscripts, Dr. Kr. Kålund. Wherever the manuscript has an error, whether corrected by the writer or not, the

editor in the transliteration prints the text as it ought to read and in the precursory remarks calls attention to the error. To some readers it might have seemed preferable to have had this arranged in the opposite manner ; but as the phototype reproduction is there, no harm can be done.

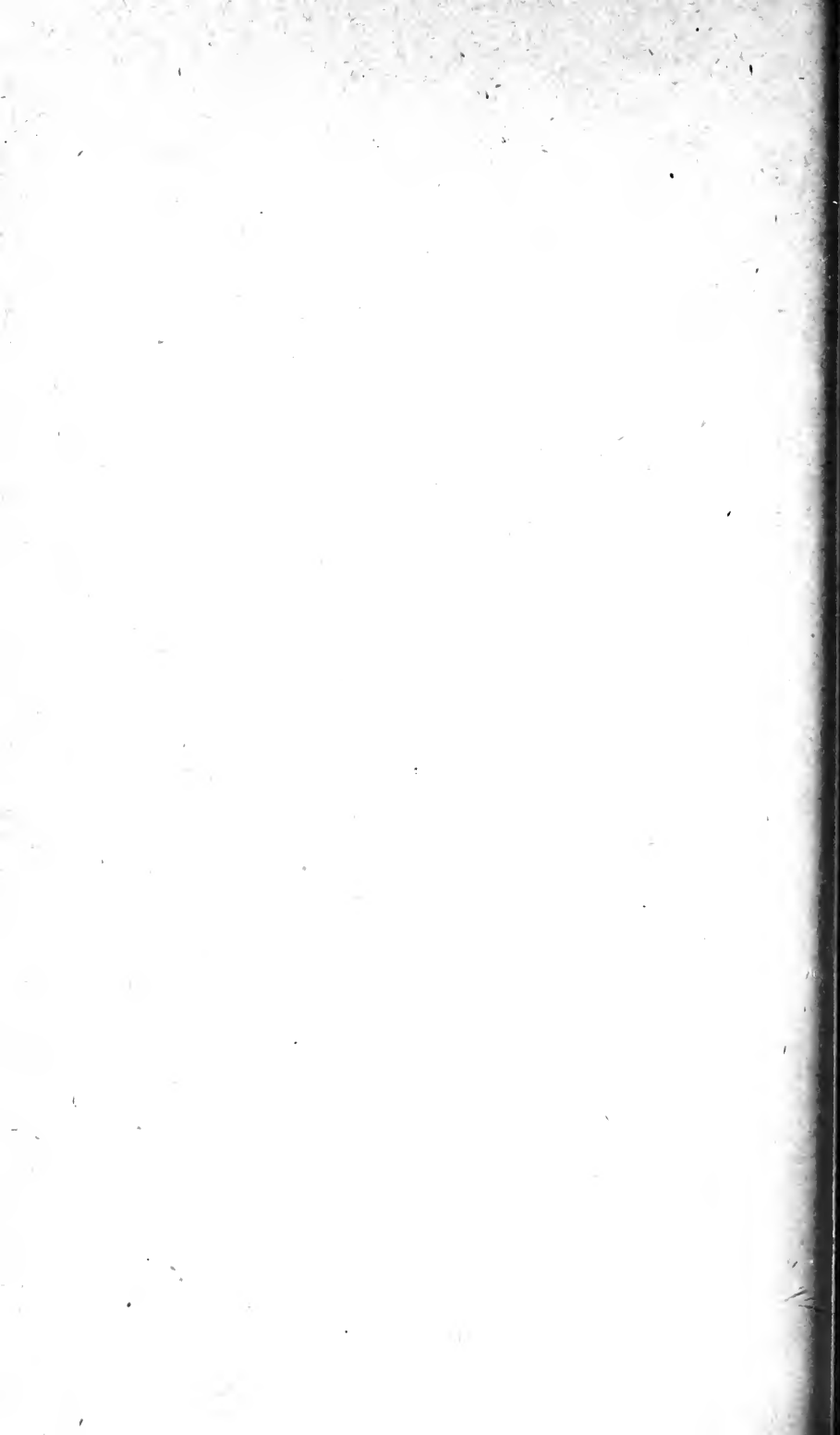
The student of mediæval Danish literature will in this work, containing, as it does, samples of all the chief literary monuments of Denmark's middle age, find not only a valuable means of forming an independent judgment regarding age and value of manuscripts, but also a first hand guide in the study of the Danish language during that period when the most radical changes in its phonology took place, and the student of palæography has here ample material for an exhaustive study of the development of the art of writing in mediæval Denmark.

The work is a credit to Danish bookmaking as well as to the editor.  
P. GROTH.

J. C. Poestion, *Norwegisches Lesebuch*. Lesestücke in der norwegischen Reichssprache. A. Hartlebens Verlag. 184 pages, 8vo.

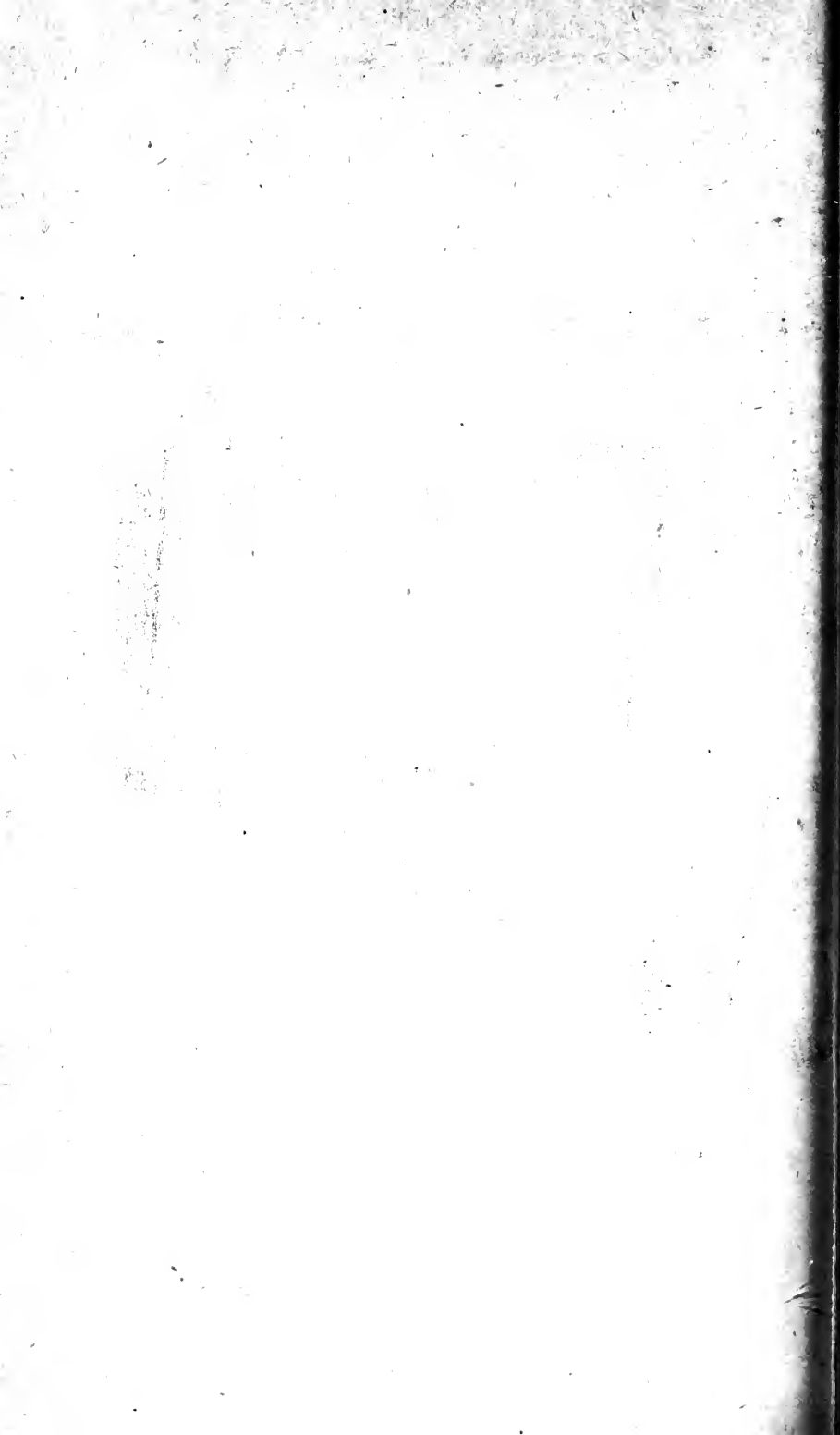
This is a very good selection of prose and poetry from the modern Norwegian literature, from Wergeland to Obstfelder, with particular stress laid on Ibsen and Björnson. It contains, besides, excerpts from the Norwegian constitution and a couple of selections from daily papers, and in addition thereto, a very good vocabulary. As an addendum are given a few pieces in Landsmaal, with some introductory remarks about the grammar of this tongue, and a separate vocabulary.  
P. GROTH.



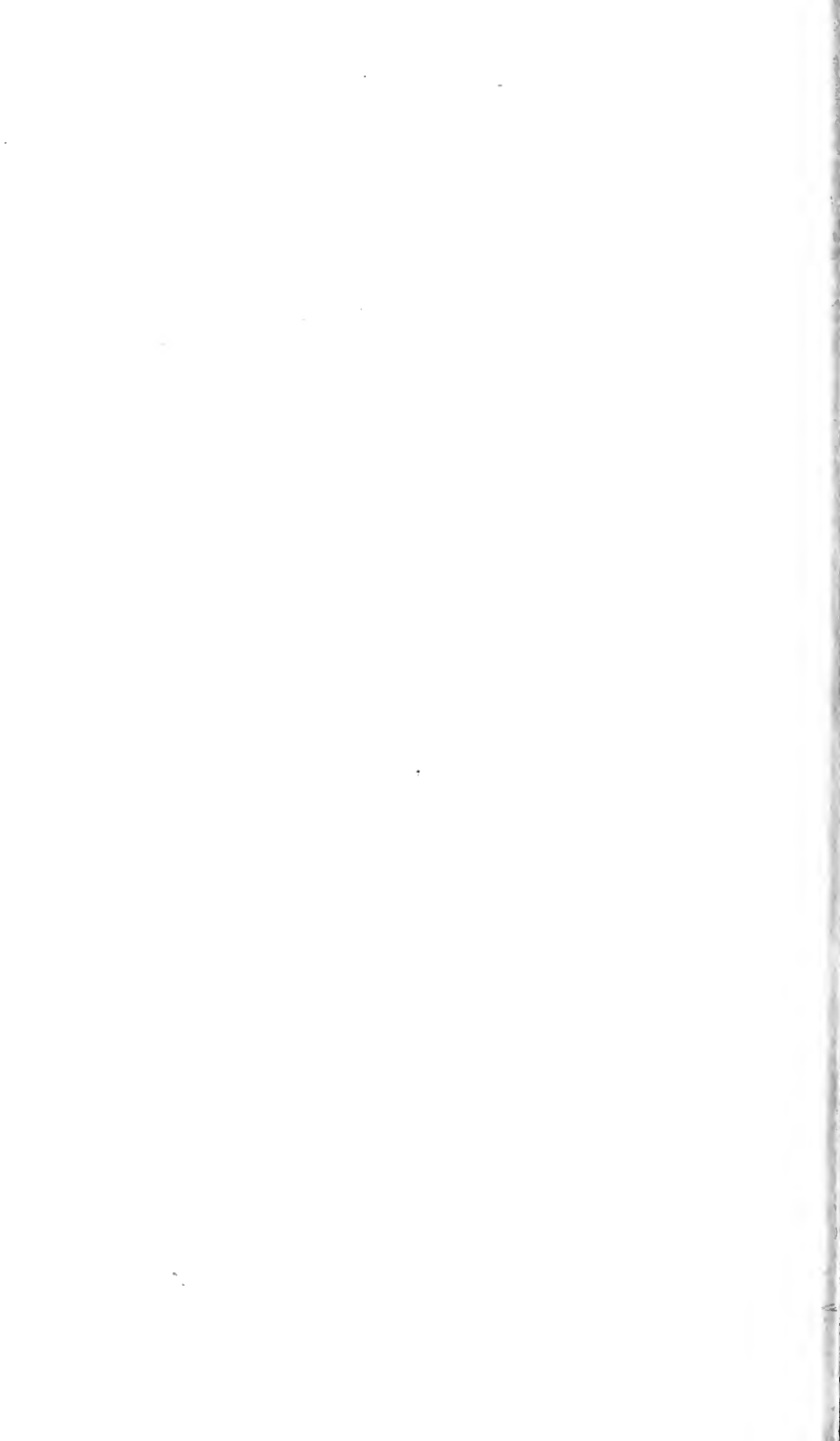


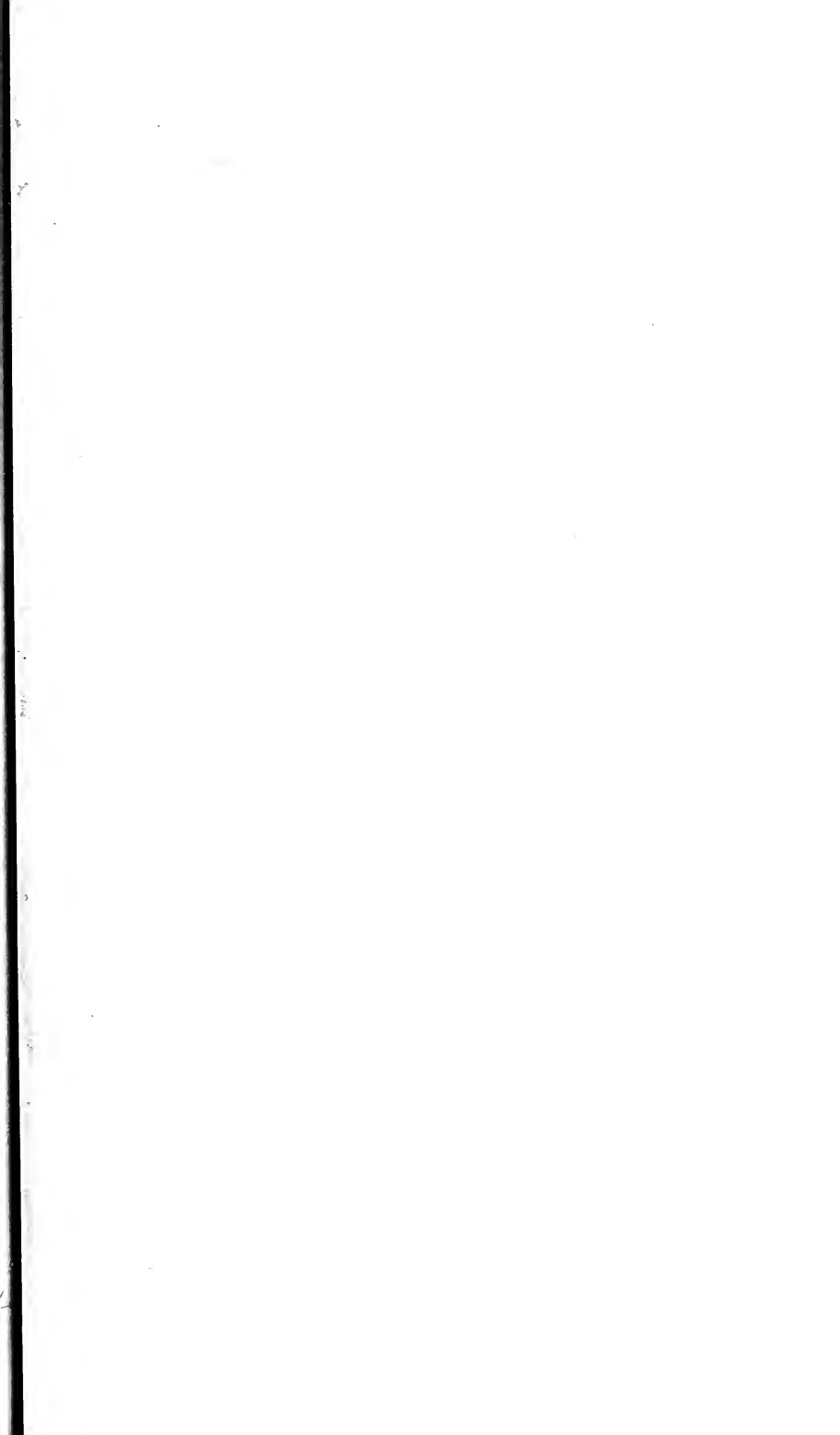














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